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THE

LIFE

OF

MARTIN LUTHER:

Related from Original Authorities.

WITH 16 ENGRAVINGS.

BY MORITZ MEURER.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN,

BY A PASTOR OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH

1971

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

The want of a more purely objective history of Luther in the English language has thus far been severely felt. In most, if not all, of the works, and in the most widely circulated of them, which furnish an account of Luther, the subjectivity of the authors is found to influence the character of their works in such a way, as to render these more or less partial, in some cases even chargeable with direct falsification. It would not prejudice the cause, which the present work is designed to advocate, if these assertions were shown not to be based upon truth. And any evidence, demonstrative of their falsity, would have been most welcome, and would have obviated the necessity of the present attempt to meet the wants referred to. The work here offered to the reader is purely objective in its character, and the historical authorities are permitted to speak for themselves without any wresting or distortion of their statements by the author. The candid reader is therefore enabled to form an unbiassed judgment.

In the translation it was proposed to preserve as much of the style, manner of expression, and antique colouring of the original, as was consistent with rendering the work into popular English. How very far any attempt of this kind must fall short of success, can be properly understood only by those who know what insuperable obstacles and difficulties meet the translator at almost every step of his progress. There will, of necessity, be many deviations from the course marked out, and there will also always be many which necessity does not require. The sense, however, it is trusted, has, in all cases, been faithfully given.

It is proper to state here, that the correction of the proofs, the preparation of the author's preface, of the contents in the beginning, and of the indexes at the end of the work, were executed by another hand.

May the God of truth prosper His cause, for the promotion of which a sense of duty caused the present work to be undertaken.

THE TRANSLATOR.

May 30th, 1848.

PREFACE.

It is a well known fact, that even the best Preface will not secure a book against evil reports and calumny; therefore the compiler renounces all intention of seeking to convince those of its merits who look for the ideal of historical science in an over-wise officiousness; or such as have had their tastes vitiated by the deceptive arts of modern writers, (who prefer to give their own vagaries instead of letting history tell its own story, and who do not believe that any work can be instructive or profitable, unless it is tinctured with their own reasoning and arguments.)

* * * * * * *

The chief merit of this work consists in this, that all self-babbling has been totally omitted. It presents the history of Luther *exclusively from authentic sources, and indeed in his own language or that of his cotemporaries.* The compiler has, therefore, abstained from making any addition of his own: he has studied his authorities carefully, and has examined, compared and compiled with the utmost watchfulness. It is natural, that it was necessary often to abbreviate and condense,—that the speech should sometimes be changed from the direct to the indirect,—or that some other turn should be made;—it was also necessary sometimes to unite two reports into one; but a material alteration the compiler has as little allowed himself as a material addition. His entire additions confine themselves to the connection of the various authorities, the borrowed passages, &c., so that they may be compared to the string upon which the pearls are strung, or the mortar which binds the building-stones of a house. Whoever will take the trouble to compare the authorities cited at the close of each chapter, will find this assertion verified.

This mode of representation necessarily has its defects: it is natural that the language will not be as fluent and smooth as if it had come from a single pen. But if the work has otherwise succeeded,—the *gain* for the reader will be greater than the *loss*. Here he has a Luther as he actually presented himself, and as he appeared to those who surrounded him;—no ideal, and no caricature. It is true, that the reader must form his own judgment, but the material has been laid before him in all candour; and as regards the language,—the freshness, originality and variety of the same, will compensate him for the lack of smoothness and symmetry.

Accordingly it is evident, that this History of Luther stands diametrically in opposition to those histories which represent him "*in the light of our times*," or dress him in this or that garment, according to the peculiar plan that may, perchance, be followed.

As regards the *selection*, made from the rich treasury which stands at the command of a biographer of Luther, the compiler does not expect to have satisfied all, nor that he has always hit upon the right. But he must also, in this respect, for the understanding of some, remind, wherein his work differs, if not from all, still from many of its equals.

While in many biographies of Luther the whole history of the Reformation is embodied in extracts, so, on the contrary, the compiler has strictly kept in

view, *that he only intended to write a Life of Luther;* he has therefore only so far touched upon the scenes of the Reformation as Luther was therein a participator. Thus giving in these narrow limits an unequally greater amount of details than are generally to be found in most other biographies of Luther.

The compiler has directed his particular attention to Luther's *Works:* whatever was found in any manner of importance, has at least received notice according to its contents; of the more important, copious extracts, or at any rate, specimens have been given. A particular Index at the close of the volume gives information upon this point. The compiler hopes, that his work in this manner will serve as a guide to those who are unacquainted with Luther's Works.

The reader *will look in vain for many of the current anecdotes* which are to be found in all biographies. The reason of this is, that many fictitious tales have crept into the histories of Luther. Whatever seemed unwarranted or as not harmonizing with other authentic reports, or that which appeared doubtful, the compiler has omitted. The reader can, therefore, more safely rely upon that which has been stated; for wherever there still existed an obscurity or an unsolved contradiction, he has directed the attention to it in the notes.

The compiler has not disdained to describe, even in the minutest details, many less important scenes in the life of Luther, whenever the authorities gave him an opportunity to do so, in the hope that such pictures of life would enhance the intuitive contemplation of the whole. To this class belong his interview with the two Swiss, in the hotel of the Bear, in Jena, several of his sick-bed and travelling stories, &c. &c.

The last days of Luther, his death and burial, have, perhaps, in proportion to the whole, been portrayed with too much exactness: this would probably not have happened, if the completion of the work had not taken place at the same time that the commemoration of the third centennial celebration of Luther's death was solemnized. This demanded some notice.

It may also not be amiss to remark here, that whenever the compiler could get access to the authorities in the Latin original, *he never satisfied himself with the translations already at hand*, but has translated independently, and diligently exerted himself to hit the antiquated colouring of the language.

Often enough he may not have succeeded, but frequently he has had the satisfaction, that connoisseurs have mistaken the translation for the original.

In order to be able to find any desired portion of the history, there has been appended to each part an Index and Chronological Table, and a double Index has also been supplied at the end of the volume.

* * * * * * *

At the tomb of Luther, then, let this work be dedicated, not to bring him laurels, which he never desired, but to preserve the memory of this exalted teacher in our minds, who has taught us the Word of God as no other has done. Let others make a vain pageant with his name and deeds: it is our duty, ye sons and daughters of the Church, to behold his end and to imitate him in his faith.

THE COMPILER.

CALLENBERG, Saxony, January, 1846.

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PART I.

LUTHER'S YOUTH.

FROM HIS BIRTH TO HIS ENTRANCE INTO THE CLOISTER OF THE AUGUSTINES AT ERFURT, 1483–1505.

CONTENTS OF PART I.

Born at Eisleben of poor parents, brought up at Mansfeld, under strict discipline, as pupil at Magdeburg struggling against want, Martin Luther learns to bear the yoke in his youth. At the university of Erfurt God adds inward trials (tentatio) to his diligence in prayer and study, (oratio et meditatio,) in order thus to make of the pious young man, not a jurist but a true divine (theologum). But both from himself as well as from his friends God's design with him is yet concealed; in the anguish of his terrified conscience, he, yet wholly ignorant of the gospel way of salvation, suddenly, and in opposition to the wishes of his father, enters the cloister.

CHRONOLOGICAL SYNOPSIS.

1483,	Nov. 10. Luther is born at Eisleben,	Chap.	1
(?)1484.	Luther removes to Mansfeld with his parents,	"	1
1497.	—— frequents the school at Magdeburg,	"	2
1498.	—— frequents the school at Eisenach,	"	2
1501.	—— enters the university of Erfurt,	"	3
1503.	—— receives the degree of bachelor of arts,	"	3
1503.	—— is taken ill and comforted,	"	3
1505.	—— receives the degree of master of arts,	"	4
1505.	—— enters the cloister,	"	4

CHAPTER I.

LUTHER'S PARENTS—HIS BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD.

On St. Martin's eve, it being the 10th day of November of the year of Christ our Saviour 1483,[1] there was born to *John Luther*, by profession a miner,[2] and to *Margaret*, his wife, their son, Martin Luther.[3] But the place of his nativity was *Eisleben*,[4] a town subject to the Counts of Mansfeld, and situate near the Harz Mountain. Now being, on the day after his birth, brought to the church of St. Peter, he was there baptized, according to the institution of Christ, in the name of the Holy Trinity, and named Martin.

From Eisleben Martin's parents removed to Mansfeld. Here his father was chosen a member of the town council, and was highly esteemed by all honest men for his uprightness. Martin's mother, whose maiden name was Lindemann, was possessed of many of those virtues that adorn the character of an honourable woman. She was especially distinguished for the propriety of her deportment, her piety and diligence in prayer, so that the other worthy matrons of the place regarded her example as one deserving of imitation.

Luther's parents, at first, lived in very straitened circumstances, his father being a poor miner, and his mother often employing herself in carrying wood on her back in order to procure a subsistence for the family; but a kind and bountiful God subsequently blessed the father's labours, so that he became the owner of two furnaces at Mansfeld. Their son Martin they trained up in the fear of God, and, by means of their family discipline, faithfully habituated him to the performance of every good work. They, however, were very

severe with him, so that he, in consequence, grew exceedingly timid. He himself says: "My father once scourged me so severely, that I conceived for him great aversion and dislike, till he again gained me to himself. My mother, at another time, because of an insignificant nut, beat me till the blood flowed; and the austere and stern life which she led, was the cause of my afterwards entering the cloister and becoming a monk. They, nevertheless, meant it perfectly well, but were not able, as regards dispositions, to observe the distinction, according to which punishment must be meted out. For punishment must be conducted so, that the apple may be with the rod."

When the capacities of the boy were sufficiently developed, his faithful parents took care to have him learn something, and accordingly sent him to the Latin school,[5] where he diligently and speedily learned the Ten Commandments, the Children's Creed, the Lord's Prayer, besides his Donatus, or Latin grammar for beginners, his Cisio Janus, (an almanac,) and Christian Hymns.

Authorities.—M. John Mathesius, (minister of the gospel at St. Joachimsthal, and formerly resident in the family of Luther,) Leben Luthers, (in sermons), first printed in 1565, Serm. 1. M. Phil. Melanchthon, Vita Martini Lutheri, (according to the edition of Heumann Gotting, 1746.) p. 3–5. Luther's Tischgespräche, edition of Stangwald, 1700, fol. 673, *a* and *b*.

Notes.—1.) Luther's mother, whom Melanchthon (p. 4,) repeatedly questioned on the subject, distinctly remembers the day, was not certain, however, as to the year; but his brother Jacob stated, that they had always in the family regarded the year 1483 as that of his brother's birth. Luther himself regarded it so; for in a Hebrew psalter, preserved in the council library at Dantzig, he has written: "Anno 1483 natus ego."

2.) Not originally, however; Luther himself writes: "I am the son of a farmer. My father, grandfather and great-grandfather, all were farmers. Subsequently my father removed to Mansfeld, and there was engaged in mining." (Hall. ed. vol. 22, p. 2264.)

3.) In older records the name is likewise found written Luder, Lüder, Luter, Luther. At first Luther himself wrote it in different ways; sometimes too he played upon the word, often, in the beginning of the Reformation, writing: Mart. E-leutherius, once M. Luther, Christi lutum. The derivation of the name he gives in his "Namensbüchlein." (Hall. ed. of his works, vol. 16, p. 1284.)

4.) It afforded Luther pleasure to think of the place of his birth, and he was often heard to remark: "Hæc est Islebia! There is life!" What the occasion was of his parents removing to this place from Möra, is not known. The account derived from M. Nicholas Rebhan (sup. at

Eisenach, in the beginning of the 17th cent.), and first found in Seckendorf, (Historia Lutheranismi, p. 20, Add. I.), namely: that Luther's parents had gone from Möra to Eisleben, on the occasion of an annual fair, and that the pregnant mother was here unexpectedly confined, improbable already in itself, is sufficiently disproved by the statement, that Eisleben never had a fair in the beginning of November.

5.) Conrad Schlüsselberg, in his Oratio de Vita Lutheri, says: that he had often heard from Luther's relatives at Mansfeld, how his father frequently had, before the bed of the child, aloud and fervently prayed God, to grant this his son grace, that, being mindful too of his own name, ("Luther" signifies "pure," Seckendorf, German, by Elias Frick, p. 48), he might be instrumental in advancing pure doctrine; how he further, as a friend of godliness and the sciences, and because of his son, had cultivated the society of the ministers of God's Word, of school-teachers and others.

CHAPTER II.

LUTHER AT SCHOOL.

The Saxon Latin schools of that day were of quite a respectable character. Martin, therefore, being now in his fourteenth year, was sent to Magdeburg, where he attended the school of the Null-brethren, (that is, the Franciscans). John Reineck,[1] who, afterwards too, always remained a faithful friend of his, accompanied him and entered the school at the same time. At this place Martin too went around begging his bread and crying his "panem propter Deum." In after years he himself remarked: "I would not have those lads despised that stand at the doors, saying their panem propter Deum, and singing their bread-song. I too was such a fragment-gatherer,[2] and obtained my bread at the doors of the houses, especially in my dear town of Eisenach." For to the latter place the boy had betaken himself, after he had been only one year at Magdeburg; his parents consenting to the change and desiring it, as it would place him among his mother's relatives, who resided in that town. Having here too for a time obtained his bread by singing at the doors of the houses, a pious matron[3] at last took him to her table, she entertaining for the boy, because of his singing and earnest prayer at church, a cordial affection.

In the school at Eisenach, he, for the space of four years, enjoyed the instruction of a teacher,[4] who taught grammar better and more ably than was done elsewhere. There too he finished his grammatical studies. Being quick of comprehen-

sion and having distinguished talent for eloquence, he soon was in the advance of his fellow pupils, excelling them both in oral and written exercises, in verse as well as prose.

AUTHORITIES.—Melanch. p. 6. Mathes. 1. Pred. Luth. Works, vol. 22, p. 222.

NOTES.—1.) John Reineck subsequently was overseer of a foundry at Mansfeld, and several letters of Luther's are addressed to him.

2.) The German is "Partekenhengst," being a nickname given to such poor pupils as went around singing before the doors of the houses and asking for alms, especially for provisions, (particulæ, fragments).

3.) She is said to have been the wife or widow of John Schweickard *Kotta*, and daughter of Henry Schellen or Schalken, burgomaster of Ilefeld. Compare Uckert, Luther's Leben, vol. 1, p. 64.

4.) Most probably the rector John Trebonius. Compare Löscher's Reformationsacten, vol. 1, p. 206.

CHAPTER III.

LUTHER STUDIES AT ERFURT.

IN the year 1501, Luther's parents sent him to the university of Erfurt, maintaining him there from the honest proceeds of their mine, as he himself with praise relates of his father: "He showed me all due love and kindness, maintaining me at the university of Erfurt by his strenuous exertions and labours, and enabling me thus to become what I am."

At Erfurt he came in contact with the cavilling dialectics of those times,[1] and with his ready powers of perception he speedily made himself master of them. As his earnestly-inquisitive spirit, however, longed for different and more substantial food, he privately read most of the ancient Latin authors, the works of a Cicero, Virgil, Livius and others. And this he did not merely after the manner of schoolboys, on account of the words, but for the sake of the instruction which they afford, and the mirror of human life which they hold up. This caused him more attentively to weigh the sense and the meaning of these writers, and, being gifted with a faithful and sure memory, he always had at his command most of what he had read or heard. Yet with all this, and though he was naturally of a lively and joyous disposition, he notwithstanding every morning began his studies with earnest prayer and attendance at church; in reference to which too he was accustomed to re-

mark: "By diligently praying, one studies more than half." Nor did he ever either doze away or neglect any lesson, but sought opportunities to make inquiries of his teachers, respectfully conversing with them; often, too, reviewing with his chamber-fellow[2] what had been learned; and whenever there were no public lectures, he could always be found in the university library.

Thus it happened that, on one occasion, as he was engaged in examining the books one after another, in order to inform himself of those that were valuable, that he met with the Latin Bible, a copy of which book, though he was then in his twentieth year, he had never seen before! With great astonishment he now perceived, that there were many more texts, epistles and gospels contained in it, than were usually explained in the ordinary postils or in the churches from the pulpits. Then carefully turning over the leaves, he came to where in the Old Testament the account of Samuel and his mother Hannah is given; eagerly perusing this with heartfelt pleasure and joy, and finding it all to be new to him, he began most earnestly to wish that a faithful God would one day likewise make him the owner of such a book!

Shortly after this he was taken severely and dangerously ill, so that he began wholly to despair of his life. But he was visited by an aged priest who comforted him and said: "My baccalaureus,[3] do not despair, you will not die of this illness, our God will yet make a great man of you, and you shall comfort many people. For God early permits those whom he loves and whom he wishes to use for great and good purposes, to bear the holy cross; and those, that in this school of trial patiently submit, learn much."

It was at this time too, (about 1503,) that another misfortune befell him. On the 3d Easter holyday) he was on his way to his parents. As he was journeying along, he accidently struck his foot against his sword, which flew out of its scabbard, and wounding him severely, severed one of the larger blood-vessels. He was about half a (German) mile from Erfurt, having with him but a single companion. The blood gushed forth at a fearful rate and could not be checked. He therefore placed himself on his back, at the same time raising up his leg and pressing his finger against the wound. But now the leg began to swell up excessively. At length a surgeon arrived from town and bandaged the wound. But Luther, in view of death, cried:

"Mary, help!" And when during the night the wound opened and he fainted away, he again called only upon Mary. "At that time," said he, afterwards, "I would have died in full reliance on Mary!"

AUTHORITIES.—Mathes. 1. Pred. Luther's Works, vol. 22, p. 222. Melanch., p. 6, sq. Colloquia L—i, Msta., in Dr. Martin Luther's Reisegeschichte by Lingke., Leipzig, 1769, p. 12. (See further, Uckert, p. 72.)

NOTES.—1.) Particularly celebrated among his teachers was M. Iodocus Truttvetter, whom Luther highly revered, and during whose rectorate he was inscribed in the records as: Martinus Ludher ex Mansfeld.

2.) Uckert, (on the authority of Unschuld, Nachrichten, vol. 20, p. 568,) without giving further particulars, calls the subsequent pastor at Nordhausen, *Laurentius Süss*, Luther's chamber-fellow. The truth of his having been this, however, remains very questionable. But this Süss was without doubt a fellow inmate of the cloister at Erfurt.

3.) The degree of bachelor, Luther (according to Motschmann Erfordia litterata, p. 698,) had received in the year 1503.

CHAPTER IV.

LUTHER ENTERS THE CLOISTER.

IN the year 1505, Luther, whose genius began to excite the admiration of the whole university, obtained the degree of master of arts, and, in accordance with the advice of his relatives, who meant to cultivate his extraordinary talents for public life and the service of the state, he now applied himself to the study of law.

But not long after this,[1] he, contrary to the expectation of his parents and relatives, all of a sudden entered the *cloister of the Augustines* at Erfurt. The reason why he chose this mode of life, which he regarded as the one most favourable for growth in piety and the acquisition of divine knowledge, was this: he had repeatedly already, on more earnestly considering the wrath and severe judgments of God, been suddenly seized with such terror, as nearly to expire under the influence of it. Melanchthon himself was witness how, even in after-life, during a conversation on a doctrinal point, he became so lost in thought and grew so dispirited, that he cast himself upon a bed in a chamber near by, and again and again in his prayer, repeated to himself the words: "He has concluded all

under sin that he might have mercy upon all." These terrors of conscience he experienced first, or at least most intensely, at the time when an intimate friend of his was assassinated, and a heavy gust and fearful clap of thunder so greatly terrified him, that he fell prostrate on the ground and made a vow to enter into a cloister, there to serve and to appease God by saying mass, hoping thus to earn eternal salvation by means of monastic holiness.[2] It was not deliberately or willingly, therefore, that he became a monk, but, as he himself states, being of a sudden encompassed with the terrors of death, he made a reluctant and forced vow.

To carry out his intention, he secretly one evening, after a repast to which he had invited his countrymen and friends, suddenly entered the cloister, and on the following day sent letters to his parents and friends, informing them of the step he had taken. It grieved them even to tears, that a genius of so high an order should be buried alive in the cloister. His fellow students and friends accordingly beset and literally besieged the cloister for two days, in the hope of regaining Luther; but the doors were locked and bolted; and for a whole month no one was permitted to come to him. His father returned a written reply to his letter, and addressed him with "Du," (thou) whilst before, because of his being magister, he had addressed him with "Ihr," (you); he besides declared to him his withdrawal of all favour and paternal good-will. Soon after this an epidemic disease proved fatal to two of his sons, and he was informed that Martin, too, had fallen a victim to it. His friends on this occasion insisted and urged him to sacrifice his personal wishes, and to give his consent to his son's entering the holy order and becoming a monk. But he hesitated and refused, till finally he was persuaded and said: "Be it so! God grant that he may do well!" Yet he did not consent freely or with a willing heart.

Luther, now, according to the custom in cloisters, laid aside his baptismal name Martin, and was thenceforth called Augustinus, a change which he afterwards greatly abhorred, and regarded as a denial of Christ and of baptism.

Authorities.—Melanchthon, p. 7, sqq. Mathes. 1. Pred. Ratzenberger in Seckend, p. 21, Add. III. a. Luther's Works, vol. 18, p. 55 —vol. 2, p. 820. Nic: Selnecceri, Vita L–i (edit. Mayeri Witteb. 1687) p. 18. Fragment of a sermon of Luther's, on 2 Epiph. 1544, "Against secret betrothments," taken from the MS. of Valent. Bavarus, and con-

tained in W. E. Tenzel's historical report concerning the beginning and the progress of the Reformation, and published by Dr. E. S. Cyprian, 3d edition. Leipzig, 1718, chap. 3.

NOTES.—1.) The chronology in this as well as in the earlier part of Luther's life, generally is rather unsettled; yet it is certain that in 1501 he entered the university, that in 1503 he received the first philosophical degree, that of Bachelor, and in 1505 that of Master, although Melanchthon departs from the latter statement. He entered the cloister most probably even before the close of the year 1505: with this Luther's own statement (Works, vol. 18, p. 55,) can at least be made to agree. If he actually entered on the day of Alexius, it cannot have been till 1506.

2.)What is here related, is based on the testimony of three intimate friends of Luther: Melanchthon, Mathesius and Ratzenberger, (his family physician towards the close of his life); all other accounts are less authenticated, and in part, probably, embellishment. The Colloquia L–i MSta; in Lingke, p. 12, mention Stoterheim, near Erfurt, as the place where Luther was terrified by the thunder-storm; they likewise have him enter the cloister die Alexii (16 July); and in the 2 vols. of Collections by Valentin Bavarus, a Naumburg citizen, which are entitled Rhapsodiæ de dictis et scriptis Lutheri, and are found in the library at Gotha, Luther's friend is called Alexius, and is said to have been struck dead by lightning at Luther's side. This apocryphal account is repeated by most of the moderns without examination.

PART II.

LIFE IN THE CLOISTER.

FROM LUTHER'S ENTRANCE INTO THE CLOISTER TO HIS FIRST TESTIMONY AGAINST INDULGENCES, 1505–1517.

CONTENTS OF PART II.

In the cloister, the studious and pious Luther is, through Staupitz's influence, freed from the control of ignorant monks and the vexatious labours of the novitiate. For a time he can read and enjoy his dear Bible, which had but lately become known to him; on being made priest, however, he is obliged likewise to study the works of the scholastics. Continual terror of conscience, which no exercise of monastic piety, or acts of self-mortification, though never so faithfully performed or unsparingly inflicted can banish, nearly drives him to despair. No one is found to understand him; yet, whilst he is thus severely borne down by sin and the law, Staupitz speaks many a word of gospel comfort to him, till, finally, through the pious teachings of an aged cloister brother, the true light concerning the righteousness of faith first dawns upon him. By prayer and by searching in the Scriptures, as well as by the reading of Augustine's works, this light had already been increased, when he was drawn from his seclusion by Staupitz, and called as professor to the new university at Wittenberg. Here he occupies the station where he is himself to let his light shine before men, and this he does too, already at that time, in his lectures and sermons. Sent to Rome on business of his order, Luther does not find the anticipated comfort, which he had promised himself from a visit to the holy places; on the contrary, he is much offended at the improper conduct of the clergy, but by this very means forced back only more and more to the innermost sanctuary, and the firm stronghold of the righteousness of faith. Already consecrated by the spirit of God, he, at the instance of Staupitz, receives the external consecration, by having the degree of Doctor conferred on himself; and now, as doctor of the Holy Scriptures, he daily penetrates more deeply into their meaning, and points out the same to others; he successfully combats the theology of the schools with the theology of the Scriptures, and, the vicariate of the Augustine order having been committed to him, he has abundant opportunity to employ his knowledge of the Bible for comfort, advice, admonition and rebuke. Supporting himself on this scriptural ground, he now too feels himself obligated by his office, both in the confessional and in the professor's chair, to bear testimony against the pernicious sale of indulgences, calculated, as it was, so much to perplex the consciences of men.

CHRONOLOGICAL SYNOPSIS.

1507.	May 2. Luther celebrates his first mass,	Chap.	1
1508.	Luther called to the University of Wittenberg,	"	3
1509.	March 9. Luther created Baccalaureus ad Biblia,	"	3
1510.	Luther sent to Rome,	"	4
1512.	Oct. 18, 19. Luther created Doctor of Theology,	"	5
1516.	Luther attacks the scholastic theology,	"	6
1516.	Luther travels as vicar of the Augustin order,	"	7
1517.	Oct. Luther declares against the sale of indulgences,	"	8

CHAPTER I.

LUTHER'S LABOURS IN THE CLOISTER AND CONSECRATION AS PRIEST.

On his entrance into the cloister, Luther had left behind him all his books, among the rest the *Corpus Juris*, having retained only Plautus and Virgil. The monks, however, at his request, gave him a Latin Bible, bound in red leather. This he perused with such zeal, that he was able, at last, immediately to find in it any passage he wanted. On this account he afterwards much regretted that he could not retain this copy. Sometimes he would for a whole day be engaged in thought upon one or the other important passage, and he committed to memory many sentences from the prophets, which he did not at that time yet understand. But being a novice, the monks imposed upon him many filthy and degrading labours; he had to officiate as doorkeeper and sexton, and in these capacities to clean out the most loathsome apartments; they besides associated with him a mendicant friar, and in plain language said to him: Cum sacco per civitatem! (with the bag through the town!) by begging, and not by studying, are cloisters served and enriched! But, being a member of the university of Erfurt, the latter interfered in his behalf, and solicited his prior and convent to excuse him from such disgusting and vexatious labours. The provincial, Dr. Staupitz too, once paying a visit to the cloister, reminded the prior, that he should show Luther, as being a magister and a studious man, more humane treatment, and leave him time for study. It was he also who advised Luther above all things to read the Holy Scriptures, and to acquire an accurate local knowledge of them; a counsel which Luther obeyed with such success, as to cause Staupitz to marvel, and

on that account to prefer him to all others. Few, however, at that time, participated in such views; and Dr. Usingen, Luther's teacher in the cloister, observing how much he read and loved the Bible, on one occasion said to him: "Why, brother Martin, what is the Bible? You must read the ancient writers, they have extracted the essence of truth from the Bible. The Bible is the cause of all disturbance!"

In the year 1507, he was consecrated as priest, and on the 2d of May, it being the Sunday called Cantate, he celebrated his first mass. "The bishop who consecrated me," (it was Jerome Scultetus, bishop of Brandenburg,) he afterwards himself related, "as he instituted me a priest and placed the chalice into my hand, spake these very words: 'Accipe protestatem sacrificandi pro vivis et mortuis, Receive the power to offer sacrifice for the living and the dead!' That the earth did not, at that time, swallow us both up, was wrong, and showed too great favour and long-suffering in God!"

His father, to whom he had sent a written invitation to attend in honour of himself and of God, arrived at the cloister, accompanied by twenty men, all, as well as himself, on horseback, and presented him with twenty florins. They being now seated at table, the son began, though in kindness, to address his father, charging him with not doing right, but justifying himself, saying: "Dear father, why were you so greatly opposed to my becoming a monk, and became so highly displeased and refused to give your consent, and perhaps even yet are not wholly satisfied? Is it not an agreeable, quiet, holy life?" But the father, in presence of all the doctors, magisters and other gentlemen, answered and said: Ye learned men, have ye not read in the Scriptures, that it is commanded *to honour father and mother?*" And on the son's remarking, that he had been induced to the step he had taken, by a frightful sign from heaven, and others too speaking to the same effect, the father replied: "God grant that it may not have been a deception and delusion of the devil!" Thus he had indeed consented but not willingly, and if it had depended upon him, he would sooner have said: "No! I do not approve of it!" As he gave them to understand, saying: "I have to be present here, eating and drinking, but would rather be absent."

Authorities.—Bavari MSS. in Seckend, c. 1. Mathes. 1 Pred. (See further, Selnecker, p. 18.) Ratzenberger in Seckend, l. i. L. W. Hall. ed., vol. 22, p. 35; vol. 16, p. 1145. Fragment of a Sermon, by

Luther, from the MS. of Bavarus in Tenzel, Chap. 3, compared with Luther's Works, vol. 18, p. 55.

NOTE.—1.) A written invitation to this day's ceremonies, addressed to John Braun, vicar at Eisenach, dated the 22d of April, 1507, is the earliest letter of Luther's extant.

CHAPTER II.

WHAT INWARD TRIALS LUTHER HAD IN THE CLOISTER, AND HOW HE WAS COMFORTED.

ON Luther's being made priest, his brethren again took from him the Bible, and gave him instead the writings of the scholastics, which he then, too, from monastic obedience, diligently perused. He sometimes read and wrote with such application, as, in consequence, for several days, to neglect saying the regular prayers, which were required. In order then to satisfy his conscience and the papal decretals, he would lock himself up in his cell, and without partaking of food or drink, make up what he had omitted, all which exerted so injurious an influence on his system that he at one time, for five weeks together, was deprived of sleep and nearly became deranged.[1] He could afterwards with truth say of himself: "I speak what is true, when I say, I was a pious monk, and so strictly observed the rules of my order, that I can declare, if ever a monk, by monastic exercises, obtained salvation, I would have obtained it too! In this, all my monastic associates who knew me, will bear me witness; for, if it had continued longer, I would have tormented myself to death by keeping vigils, saying prayers, by reading and other works." And in another place: "If ever there was any one under the Papacy, before the Gospel again was brought to light, who truly esteemed the traditions of the Pope and of the Fathers, and contended for them with unfeigned ardour, I may say that I did so especially, contending for them with great earnestness and sincerity, and defending them as if they had been holiness itself, or as if it had been altogether necessary to salvation to keep them. Therefore, too, I exercised myself to the utmost in observing such traditions, torturing and tormenting my body by fasts and vigils and praying and other similar exercises, much more than any of those that are now my bitterest enemies and persecutors; and being thus qualified

to speak from experience, I now teach that such foolish works cannot make any one just before God. For I was so intent on observing such nonsensical regulations, that I undoubtedly became quite superstitious in consequence, imposing more on myself than I was able to bear without injury to health. I worshipped the Pope sincerely from my heart, not for the sake of fat livings, spiritual fiefs, and high prelacies, &c., but what I did, I truly did from a pure, simple heart, true and honest zeal, because I believed it was well so to do, and that it ought to be so done to the honour of God, &c."

But though he studied and prayed day and night in the cloister, besides mortifying and torturing his flesh by fasting and watching, he was yet continually sorrowful and dejected, nor did the ceremony of the mass afford him any comfort. He thought to satisfy the law and to deliver his conscience from the rod of the taskmaster, but he accomplished nothing, and the further he proceeded in this course the more he was terrified, so that at last he would have given himself up to despair, if Christ had not in mercy regarded him, and enlightened him with the light of his Gospel.

He portrays the state of his mind at that time, when in the hymn: Let Christians all in God rejoice, etc., (Nun freut euch, lieben Christen Gemein,) he sings as follows:

"By Satan bound, I captive lay,
In death I was forsaken;
My sins distressed me night and day,
My conscience they 'd awaken.
But I sunk only more and more;
There was no good in me, and sore
Had sin my heart corrupted.

Good works I did, were not received,
For sin with good was mated;
God's Word free-will had not believed,
And all that 's good it hated;
Thus terror drove me to despair,
Of nought but death I was the heir,
To hell I fast was sinking."

Luther repeatedly confessed to Dr. Staupitz, and complained to him of his inward trials. The doctor replied: "I have never had or experienced such trials; but as much as I can understand and perceive, they are more necessary for you than food and drink." If he went to any one else, the result was the

same; no confessor knew anything of such things. Then he thought to himself, no one has such trials but alone thou! and he began to look like a corpse. At last, Dr. Staupitz, still observing him so sad and desponding, addressing him, as they were sitting at table, said: "Why are you so sad, Frater Martine? But Luther replied: "Alas, whither shall I go?" Staupitz answered: "You do not know that such trials are good and necessary for you, as without them nothing good would come of you."

On another occasion, when Luther was quite borne down by despondency, Dr. Staupitz powerfully comforted him, saying, among other things: "You wish to be an imaginary sinner, and to take Christ for an imaginary Saviour; accustom yourself to think that Christ is a true Saviour, and that you are a real sinner. God does not play with shadows, and does not trifle when He sends us His Son, and gives Him for us." At another time, on Luther's complaining to Dr. Staupitz, that great mental distress and anguish had befallen him, whilst reflecting on the subject of predestination; the doctor said: "*In the wounds of Christ predestination is understood and found*, but nowhere else. For it is written: *Him you shall hear!* The Father is, too, exalted, therefore He says: I will give you a way in which you can come to me, namely, Christ; on him believe and to him cling, then you shall at the proper time find out who I am. For God is incomprehensible, and we cannot understand, or with our thoughts attain to, what He is, much less what is His will; he cannot be comprehended, and, in short, will not be comprehended either, out of Christ. If you wish to dispute concerning predestination, then begin at the wounds of Christ, when all doubtful disputing concerning this subject will immediately cease and be silenced. Therefore, only cling to the Word, in which God has revealed himself, and abide in the same; there you have the true way of your salvation, if you only believe him. But where one follows his own thoughts or reason, God is forgotten; there the "laudate" (praise ye) ceases, and the "blasphemate" (blaspheme ye) begins, for in Christ Jesus all treasures lie concealed, but out of him, they are all locked up. Therefore, learn to know Christ well, then predestination is accomplished, and you are already predestinated. For God has before predestinated and ordered it that His Son should suffer, not for the just, but for sinners. He that believes this shall be a dear child. Therefore we are

to think thus on this subject: God is true, and does not lie or deceive: this I know: and He has given me His only-begotten Son, with all his blessings; has given me holy baptism, the sacrament of the true body and blood of His dear Son, with all manner of gifts, temporal and spiritual. When I thus reflect upon the great and unspeakable blessings, which my Heavenly Father, purely out of grace and mercy, for Christ's sake, has bestowed upon me, without any merit, good work or worthiness of mine, according to the testimony of His Word, and if I abide in this, then predestination is attractive and consoling, remaining firm and sure to me, especially, because I know that God, in His Word, speaks to me through His servants."

The conversation, at one time, turning upon the word *penitentia* or repentance, Staupitz said: "That there was no true repentance, except that which flowed from love to God and His righteousness." This assertion, as Luther himself, afterwards, on transmitting to Staupitz the defence of his theses, (compare Part 3, ch. 4,) states to the latter, remained fixed in his soul, as a sharp arrow discharged by an able archer; he searched the Scriptures for further light on this subject, and with the deepest emotions of joy perceived, that every word in the Bible sustains the position taken by Staupitz, so that, if before there had been no word in all the Scriptures more bitter to him, nothing afterwards had a sweeter or more agreeable sound for him than the word repentance.

Luther, with great regard and heartfelt gratitude, often, in particular, mentioned an aged cloister brother, who, on the former's complaining to him of his inward trials, had pointed him to the Apostles' Creed, where it says: *I believe in the forgiveness of sin.* This clause he explained thus: "It is not enough to believe in general, that the sins of some men are forgiven; the devils, too, believe, that the sins of David and Peter are forgiven; but God will have every one to believe that his own sins are forgiven. And this explanation he supported by a quotation from a sermon of St. Bernard on the Annunciation, in which the latter says: "But do thou now, too, believe this, that through him thy sins are forgiven thee? That is the testimony of the Holy Ghost in thy heart, when He says: 'Thy sins are forgiven thee.' For this is the meaning of the apostle, '*that a man is justified out of grace through faith.*'"

From this conversation, Luther not only derived strength, but was likewise, by it, directed to the doctrine, so often in-

culcated by the apostle: *We are justified by faith.* Having now read many comments on this and similar passages, he was, by means of the conversations with this man, and the comfort he experienced in his soul, led to perceive how meagre and deficient the comments were, which could then be had. By reading and comparing the words and examples recorded in the prophets and the writings of the apostles, as well as by exciting faith in himself through daily prayer, he gradually gained clearer perceptions. He now, too, began to peruse the writings of Augustine; and in the latter's explanation of the psalms, as well as in his book De Spiritu et Littera, he met with many clear passages in support of this doctrine of faith, confirmatory to him of the comfort which had been diffused over his soul. Yet he did not wholly neglect the writings of the scholastics. Gabriel and Peter of Alliaco, he was able to repeat from memory, almost word for word. He spent much time, too, in reading the works of Occam, whom he esteemed above Thomas and Scotus for penetration and genius. He diligently, too, read Gerson, but most of all, the works of Augustine, in which he was most at home.

Authorities.—Mathes. 1 Pred. Bavari MSS. in Seckend, c. I. Tischreden, Hall. ed., vol. 22, p. 814. Luther's Works, vol. 21, p. 21, 11, 53, 7, 104, Hall. ed., vol. 22, p. 1254. Luther's Lett., vol. 5, No. 2229, vol. 1, No 67. Cyriac, Spangenberg's Adelspiegel, Schmalkalden, 1791–1794, vol. 2, p. 88. Melanch., p. 10, 11.

Note.—Seckend, c. I. states, on the authority of Ratzenberger's MS., that Luther being in great mental distress, once locked himself up, not permitting any one for several days to come in to him. That Lucas Edemberger, at last, together with several other young men, skilled in music, having knocked at the door and receiving no answer, had forced it open. That on entering they had found Luther lying there senseless, but by means of music, in which he delighted, had brought him to again.

CHAPTER III.

LUTHER IS CALLED TO WITTENBERG—TEACHES AND PREACHES THERE.

In the year 1502, the elector, Duke Frederick of Saxony, had, at the instance of his brother, the bishop of Magdeburg, resolved to establish a university at Wittenberg. The execution of this design he had committed to Dr. Martin Mellerstadt and Dr. John Staupitz; the latter, at that time, being vicar or su-

perintendent of forty Augustine cloisters in Meissen and Thuringia. Dr. Staupitz, now, being anxious to promote the study of theology in the new university, and having discovered in brother Martin special ability and sincere piety, brought him to the cloister at Wittenberg, in the year 1508. His departure from Erfurt proceeded with such haste, that scarcely his most intimate friends knew of it at the time.

In Wittenberg, Luther, at first, lectured on the dialectics and physics of Aristotle. But the chair of philosophy was not his choice. From the beginning—so he writes to his friend, John Braun—he would much have preferred the chair of theology, of that theology, namely, which penetrates to the kernel of the nut, the pulp of the wheat, and the marrow of the bones. "But," said he, "God is God, man often, yea, always, errs in his judgment. That is our God; may He himself conduct us according to his loving kindness forever."

On the 9th of March, 1509, Luther was admitted to the first theological degree, that of a "*baccalaureus tanquam ad biblia.*" He now began to hold disputations against those sophistical principles, which, at that time, were everywhere in vogue. In opposition to these, he inquired after the true and sure ground of our salvation. The writings of the prophets and apostles, as proceeding forth from God, he took to be much higher, more profound and certain, than all the sophistry or theology of the schools, which at that time already excited the surprise of reflecting men. Dr. Mellerstadt frequently said: "*This monk will confound all our doctors, establish new doctrines, and reform the whole Roman Church;* for he bases himself on the writings of the prophets and apostles, and is firmly planted on the Word of Jesus Christ; this no one can successfully oppose or eventually subvert, be it with philosophy, sophistry, albertistry, thomistry, or the whole array of authorities."

Staupitz earnestly admonished Luther likewise to apply himself to preaching, which the latter, however, considering that it was not a small matter, in God's stead to speak to men and preach to them, was not easily persuaded to do. He advanced some fifteen reasons and arguments by way of excusing himself and showing his unfitness for the ministerial office, and finally said: "Doctor, it will deprive me of life, I shall not endure it three months." But Dr. Staupitz rejoined: "Well, in God's name, grant it be so; but, what shall we do? God has important business, and has employment for intelligent men in

heaven too," &c. And thus Martin had to comply, having, in the first place, to preach to the brethren in the saloon of the cloister, and afterwards publicly to the congregation.[1] But Myconius thus describes the little church, in which Luther at first preached: "In the new cloister of the Augustines at Wittenberg, the foundations for the new church were indeed laid, but had not been carried up further than to a level with the ground. Within the space embraced by this new foundation, there yet stood an old chapel built of wood, daubed with clay, in a very dilapidated condition, having props on all sides, and being about 30 feet by 20 in size. There was in it a small, old, sooty gallery, scarcely affording convenient room for twenty persons to stand upright. Against the wall, on the south, there stood a pulpit, which was raised about four feet and a half above the ground, and was put together of old rough planks. In short, it every way had the appearance which artists give to the stall of Bethlehem, in which Christ was born. Now, in this poor and wretched chapel, God permitted his holy Gospel and dear child Jesus to be born anew; held forth and exhibited to all the world. It was not a minster or famous cathedral, though there were many thousand such, which God had chosen for this purpose. But soon this chapel became too small, and Luther was directed to preach in the parochial church;[2] thus the child Jesus was brought into the temple too.

Authorities.—Mathes. 1. Pred. Melanchth., p. 12. Luther's Letters, No. 2. Records of the Theol. Faculty at Wittenberg, in Sennerti Athen., et. inscriptt., Witeb. p. 57. Spangenberg, Adelspiegel, as before. Frid. Myconii Histor. Reformat., ed. by E. S. Cyprian. Lpz., 1718, p. 24, sq.

Notes.—1.) It cannot be determined whether, what is related here took place at Wittenberg or perhaps already at Erfurt; it is, besides, so much like what took place between Luther and Staupitz, before the former was made doctor of theology, that the whole may be based upon an error as regards the occasion. (See chap. 5.)

2.) Luther's preaching in the parochial church, was occasioned thus: the pastor, Simon Heynss, son of a wealthy citizen of Brück, and brother to the well-known Dr. George Brück or Pontanus, being in ill health, Luther was called on to supply his place; this was done with the consent of the university as well as of the elector. Vid. Tenzel's Hist. Bericht, &c., p. 232.

CHAPTER IV.

LUTHER'S JOURNEY TO ROME—AND WHAT HE LEARNT THERE.

LUTHER had begun to explain the epistle to the Romans. As he was progressing with this, he came to the quotation from the prophet Habakkuk: *The just shall live by faith.* This made so deep an impression on his mind, that, no matter with what he was engaged, a voice seemed continually to say to him: The just shall live by faith. He felt himself powerfully excited, but how to calm the emotions of his mind, he knew not. Under these circumstances, it happened that his convent (in the year 1510) sent him, together with another brother of his order, on a mission to Rome, for the purpose of arranging some business appertaining to the cloister.[1] He undertook this journey the more willingly, because he hoped, by a visit to the sacred places, as they were called, to obtain comfort and rest for his soul. So he journeyed on: but the farther he journeyed, the more frequently and earnestly did that voice still seem to say: *The just shall live by faith.*

Before Luther had even reached the Appenines, he, as he was travelling on, came in contact with some monks, whom he found eating meat on a Friday. These he kindly and friendly admonished not to act thus, but to remember that the Pope had forbidden them the use of meat. At this, the monks were greatly alarmed, fearing, that, if the matter became known, they would be involved in great danger and public disgrace; wherefore, they bethought themselves, how they might secretly dispatch Luther. But God so ordered it, that this bloody design was made known to Luther through the doorkeeper; whereupon he lost no time in making his escape. On another occasion, he and his companion slept a whole night with the window of their apartment open; which affected their heads with such heaviness, that they could not travel more than one (German) mile the whole of the next day. They at last were again refreshed and revived by eating two pomegranates, by means of which God preserved their lives.

On first coming in sight of Rome, he fell prostrate on the ground, and exclaimed: "Hail to thee, thou holy Rome!" But he found it to be far otherwise, and therefore afterwards said: "Sooner than not to have seen Rome, I would miss a hundred thousand florins." "Among other vulgarities," so he

afterwards related, "I there, as we were seated at table, heard the courtiers laughing and telling how some would say mass, and speak these words over the bread and the wine: Panis es et panis manebis, vinum es et vinum manebis! (bread thou art, and bread thou shalt remain; wine thou art, and wine thou shalt remain!) What was I to think of these things? If here in Rome they publicly and without reserve speak in this way, what if they, one and all, pope, cardinals, and courtiers, say mass thus! And, indeed, besides this, it exceedingly disgusted me, to find them saying mass with such utter indifference and haste, as if they had been practising legerdemain; for, before I had come to the Gospel, my fellow priest had ended his mass, and was calling to me: *Passa, passa*, that will do, come away, &c.

It was out of devotion that Luther had come to Rome, and there he had hoped to obtain peace for his soul. "Whilst at Rome," said he afterwards himself, "I too was such a foolish saint, as to run to every church, nook and corner, believing all their ridiculous stories and detestable falsehoods. I likewise said a mass or ten at Rome, being very sorry, at the time, that my parents were not dead, as I would have liked, by means of my masses and other precious works and prayers, to have delivered them from purgatory!" At that time, the Pope had promised an indulgence to all, that, as a last resort to obtain peace and rest, would, on their knees, climb up Pilate's staircase, said to have been brought to Rome from the Hall of Judgment at Jerusalem. As Luther, therefore, with a view to obtain such indulgence, was engaged in the performance of this work, hoping by it to appease the wrath of God, and to do penance for his sins, he again felt, as if, all the while, a voice of thunder frightfully called to him: The just shall live by faith. He at length perceived that there was in these words an especial, divine power; and, hastily departing from Rome, he returned to Wittenberg, and began more earnestly to weigh the import and power of this passage. Now he gradually learned to understand what is that righteousness of God, so often mentioned by the apostle, namely, such a righteousness *which God for Christ's sake grants to faith.* "I here immediately felt," he himself writes, "that I was wholly born anew, and at once had found a broad and open door into paradise itself; the Holy Scriptures, too, now seemed to me to be quite different from what they had been before. I therefore hastily, as well

as I could, at the moment, recalled all similar expressions in the Bible, explaining them by this same rule; as, for instance, that this is called the work of God, which God himself works in us; the power of God, that, with which he strengthens us; the wisdom of God, that, with which he makes us wise; so the rest, the strength of God, the salvation of God, the majesty of God, and the like. As, therefore, I had before, from my soul, hated this word: God's righteousness; so now, on the other hand, I began highly to prize and to esteem it, as above all comparison, lovely and consoling; and this passage of St. Paul now, in truth, was the entrance to paradise."

Authorities.—Dr. George Mylius, Vorr. zu der Auslegung über den Brief an die Römer aus der Uebersetzung in Lindner's Compend. Seckendorfianum, vol. 1, p. 40, seq. Narratio de profectione, Lutheri in urbem Romam in Math. Dresseri, Historia Lutheri, Lipz. 1598. Luther's Works, Hall. ed. vol. 22, p. 2364, 2374; 19, 1509; 5, 1646; 6, 490; 14, 426.

Note.—1. Concerning the particulars of this business, the accounts are not agreed. Bzovius, annall. ad. an. 1517, says: that the occasion of the mission was a difficulty which had arisen between seven Augustine cloisters and the vicar-general. The Narratio de Profect. &c., states, that Luther was to obtain permission for sick monks to use meat as food on fast-days. In order to succeed in this, ten florins of gold had been given him to procure an intercessor.

CHAPTER V.

LUTHER CREATED DOCTOR OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

In the year 1512, Staupitz, Luther's vicar and superior, together with the whole convent, determined that brother Martin should become doctor of the Holy Scriptures. This determination Staupitz made known to him at Wittenberg, in the fields of the cloister, beneath a tree, which Luther himself once pointed out to Mathesius and others. But on Luther's most humbly excusing himself, and among other reasons mentioning as a last one, that he was a weakly and sick brother, who had not long to live, wherefore they should look out for one more competent and healthy, Staupitz playfully replied to his last objection: "Things have the appearance, as if our God would soon have much to do in heaven and on earth: he will therefore need many young and industrious doctors, through whom to transact his business. Whether now you live or die, God

needs you in his council. Therefore submit to what your convent imposes on you, as you are, too, by your vows, obligated to obey me and them. As to the expenses, our most gracious elector, Duke Frederick, will, out of his own treasury, defray them, for the furtherance of the cause of God and of this university and cloister." For the elector had heard Luther preach, and had admired his genius, the vigour of his language and the useful instruction which he had given.

Thus then Martin Luther, about one o'clock in the afternoon of the 18th of October, it being the festival of St. Luke, was, in accordance with the prescriptions of the statutes, declared licentiate of sacred theology, by Dr. Andrew Bodenstein Karlstadt, archdeacon of the church of All Saints, in presence of a very large number of gentlemen from the university, as well as of other respectable men. The fathers and the guests having, on the following day, during the ringing of the great bell, assembled as before, he was, by the aforesaid Dr. Andrew, according to the requirements of the statutes, adorned with the badge of *a doctor of sacred theology.* The attendants were the Augustine M. Wenzeslaus Link, and Nichol. Virimontanus, pastor of the parochial church.

With this regular and public call, and the solemn obligations he had entered into in his oath to God, the Holy Scriptures, and the university at Wittenberg, Luther subsequently often comforted himself under his great distresses and trials, when Satan and the world attempted to terrify and to dismay him, by asking: Who had given him command? or how he would answer for it, that he was causing such disturbance throughout christendom? "I received a regular call," he wrote, "and was forced to become a doctor, without any thanks for it, it being required as a matter of pure obedience. I was compelled to receive the doctorate, and to take oath and vow to my dearest Holy Scriptures, to preach them faithfully and without adulteration. Whilst engaged in such teaching, the Papacy crossed my path and attempted to withstand me, but for such conduct it has fared too, as every one now sees, and it shall yet fare much worse, nor shall they be able to deliver themselves from me!"

Now Luther began to lecture on the Epistle to the Romans, and then on the Psalms, and so explained these writings, that, in the judgment of all pious and intelligent men, after a long and dark night, a new light in doctrine seemed to be arising. In these lectures he pointed out the difference between the law

and the gospel; in them he refuted the error which at that time prevailed in the schools and the pulpits, namely, that men can obtain the forgiveness of sin through their own good works, and can become just before God through outward acts, as the Pharisees had taught. Thus Luther again drew the hearts of men to the Son of God; and as John the Baptist pointed to the Lamb of God, that bore our sins, so the former showed that sin is forgiven for the sake of the Son of God, and that we must accept this blessing in faith.

Thus, for instance, he wrote to a friend and brother of his order, George Spenlein of Memmingen: "I would like to know how matters stand with regard to your soul; whether, at last, it is loath of its own righteousness, and learns to refresh itself in the righteousness of Christ, and to trust in it. For in our time very many fall a prey to presumptuous conceit, especially such as labour with all their might to become just and pious; they know not the righteousness of God which in Christ is bestowed upon us superabundantly and gratuitously, but seek of themselves to do so much good as to enable them to have the joy of appearing before God, as people adorned with good works and merits, which yet cannot possibly be effected. When you were with us you entertained this opinion, or much rather this error, and I too entertained it, and even yet have to contend against it and have not fully overcome it. Therefore, my dear brother, learn to know Christ and him crucified; learn to praise him, and, despairing of thyself, to say: *Thou, my Lord Jesus, art my righteousness, but I am thy sin. Thou hast taken upon thyself what was mine, and given me what was thine.* Thou hast become what thou wert not, and made me what I was not. Beware of thinking to become so holy, that thou wilt no longer appear or be a sinner in thine own eyes, for Christ dwells only in sinners. He has come down from heaven, where he has his abode in the righteous, that he may likewise dwell in sinners. This, his love, contemplate, and you will in it find the sweetest comfort. For if we had to obtain peace of conscience by our labour and toil, what need would there have been of his death? Therefore only in him, by utterly despairing of yourself and your works, will you find peace, and moreover learn from himself, that as he has received you, and made your sins his own, so likewise he has made his righteousness your own. If you firmly believe this, as you must, (for cursed is he that does not believe it,) then

likewise receive your still-failing and erring brethren, patiently bearing with them, and making their sins your own; and if you have anything good, then let it be theirs, as the apostle teaches: "Receive one another, even as Christ likewise has received you to the honour of God; and again: Let the same mind be in you which was also in Christ, who, being in the form of God, made himself of no reputation, &c. Thus, likewise, do you, if you think you are better, not consider it robbery, as if it were yours alone, but make yourself of no reputation, forgetting who you are, and being as one of them, that you may bear with them. For wretched is his righteousness, who compares others with himself, considering them worse and being unwilling to bear with them, but thinking of fleeing and withdrawing, when he ought to make himself useful to them through patience, prayer and example. That is burying one's talent, and not giving to one's fellow-servants what yet belongs to them. Therefore, if you are a rose or lily of Christ, know that you must live amidst thorns, and beware, lest through impatience, prejudice and secret pride, you yourself become a thorn. The kingdom of Christ is in the midst of his enemies, as the psalm says: Why do you then think, that he ought to be in the midst of friends? Upon your knees, therefore, ask of your Lord Jesus whatsoever you lack. He himself will instruct you in everything; only do you observe what he has done for you and all, that you may learn, too, what you must do for others. If he himself had wished to live only among the good and to die for friends, for whom, in all the world, could he have died, or with whom ever have lived? Act accordingly, my brother, and pray for me, and may the Lord be with you."

Authorities.—Mathes. 1 Pred. Melanchth., p. 13. Proceedings of the Theol. Faculty, in J. Fr. Mayer, Annott. ad Selnecc. Vitam Lutheri, p. 32. Luther's Works, vol. 20, p. 336. Letters, No. 9.

CHAPTER VI.

LUTHER CONTENDS AGAINST THE THEOLOGY OF THE SCHOOLS.

That Luther treated of these principal parts of Christian doctrine, procured for him great respect, the more so, as his life was conformable to his doctrines; and it could be seen, that it

was a matter with him, not merely of the lips, but of the heart. This, his worthy life, very much disposed the hearts of his hearers in his favour; and when he subsequently changed some ceremonies of the Church, respectable men, who knew him more intimately, were on this very account less opposed to his measures, and supported him because of the consideration which he had gained for himself by the explanation of such wholesome doctrines, and the unblameableness of his life. At that time, however, Luther had not yet changed anything in the ceremonies of the Church, but was much rather a strict guardian of order among those around him. He did not, however, intermingle any of those subtle doctrinal views, (which were in vogue in the theological schools at that time,) but only more and more treated of those universal, and for all so necessary doctrines of *repentance, of the forgiveness of sin, of faith, and of true comfort under affliction.* The soothing influence of these doctrines took a deep hold upon the minds of all pious men; and the learned were pleased, that Christ, the prophets and the apostles were, so to speak, drawn forth from the darkness and the dust in which they were lying captive, and that men learned to see the difference between the law and the Gospel, and the promises of both, between philosophy and Scripture doctrine, (of which nothing was to be found in Thomas, Scotus and others of their kind,) and finally between spiritual and wordly righteousness. It was a favourable circumstance, that the youth had, through the writings of Erasmus, been drawn to the study of the Latin and Greek languages; and a better method of teaching having thus been introduced, many able and clearer heads became disgusted with the barbarous and scholastic system of the monks. Luther himself had begun to apply himself to the study of the Greek and Hebrew languages, in order, by acquiring an insight into the peculiarity of the language, to be able to draw the doctrines from their sources, and with more certainty to arrive at a decision.

At that time, the learned *Dr. John Reuchlin* had a dispute with the baptized Jew, Pfefferkorn, and the grand inquisitors at Cologne, because he could not approve of committing to the flames the Hebrew books of the Jews, giving as a reason, that we could not possibly do without the Hebrew books and language in Christendom, if a correct and saving understanding of the prophets was to be acquired. In two letters to M. Geo.

Spalatin, court-preacher to the electorate of Saxony, who through the Augustinian, M. John Lange, had inquired of Luther his opinion, the latter expressed his decided approbation of Reuchlin's course. With Erasmus, on the other hand, he became more and more dissatisfied. He indeed saw it gladly, that Erasmus refuted the monks and priests in so forcible and learned a manner, thus exposing their ignorance; but he feared that the doctrine of Christ and of His atonement would not be promoted by it, as of this, in his opinion, Erasmus understood nothing. The human, he thought, preponderated with him over the divine. Not every one that understood Greek or Hebrew, said he, was, therefore, already an experienced Christian. One dialogue of Erasmus, indeed, he would not put into the hands of any one, because of its being written so pleasingly, learnedly, and ingeniously, that a person was led involuntarily to laugh and jest over the defects and the sad condition of the church of Christ, whilst every Christian should rather sigh to God and be filled with grief on account of these things. With Erasmus' Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, Luther found fault especially for this, that by the righteousness of works, or of the law, he understood the observance of the ceremonial law, and that he refused to admit, that in the 5th chapter, Paul speaks of original sin. Yet these opinions of his he wished to have kept quite secret, in order not to confirm the enemies of Erasmus in their views, and he hoped God would perhaps, at the proper time, likewise bring Erasmus to see things in their true light.

Meanwhile Luther, in his lectures and disputations, treated particularly of this question: *Whether we should or could learn true faith, so as to lead a Christian life and to die happily, from the Holy Scriptures or from the heathen Aristotle.*[1] Against the latter's philosophy and theology, he, in a writing (of the 8th of February, 1516) to his former instructor, Dr. Iodocus, proposed a series of questions, and towards John Lange he expressed his displeasure about it, that Aristotle, this dramatist, in his Grecian mask, had so completely mocked the Church of Christ; and further he said, that he would not hesitate to take him for the very Devil, if he had not had flesh and bone.

But because Luther's opponents had all manner of things to say about his lectures, M. Bartholomew Feldkirchen[2] prepared a disputation from them, "Concerning the ability and the will of man, without grace, in opposition to the doctrines of the so-

phists ;" the defence of the disputation, over which Luther presided, was conducted in public, for the purpose of stopping the mouths of brawlers, and in order likewise to hear the opinion of others on the subject. Among other theses maintained were the following:

Man being, according to his soul, in the image of God, and therefore fitted for God's grace, with his merely natural powers subjects every creature, which he uses, to vanity, and seeks what is his own and what is carnal.

Aside from the grace of God, man cannot at all keep God's laws, and can neither partly nor wholly prepare himself for God's grace, but of necessity remains under sin.

Since, to a believer, all things are possible through Christ, it is superstition, when men arbitrarily ascribe the power to help in one case to this, in another to that Saint.[3]

Because of such doctrines, Luther was indeed already at that time denounced as a heretic, and "some high-learned folks,"—says he, in the preface to the "German Theology," a book of which he with praise declares, that, next to the Bible and St. Augustine, he had not met with another, from which he had learned so much concerning the nature of God, Christ, man, and everything else,—"speak abusively of us Wittenberg theologians, as if we wished to undertake new things, and as if there had not likewise been men elsewhere before us. Yet surely there have been; but God in His displeasure, which we have incurred by our sins, has not deemed us worthy to see or hear them. For it is evident, that these things have for a long time not been treated of in the universities, and things have been in such a pass, that God's Word has not only been lying under the bench, but has been nearly destroyed by dust and moths."

Whilst Luther was thus, step by step, learning to spell the Bible, Staupitz, Spalatin, and other good men, used their influence with the elector for promoting the study of the learned languages, and of the liberal arts; for these languages, connected with sincere prayer, the holy cross, and earnest reflection, are the best commentators and exponents of the Word of God. The text of the Bible, consequently, became daily more plain and easy, and on the 17th of May, 1517, Luther could write to John Lange: "Our theology and St. Augustine flourish, and with God's help rule in our university. Aristotle is gradually descending from his throne, and will soon be overthrown, perhaps, forever. The lectures on the Sententiarians

are much despised, and no one can count on an audience, if he does not lecture on this theology, i. e., on the Bible or St. Augustine, or some other genuine Father of the Church."

Towards the close of the year 1517, M. Francis Günther, under Luther's presidence, held another disputation, in which the Scholastics, and the whole system of doctrine in vogue at that time, were decidedly opposed in 99 theses, among which were the following:

4. It is certain that man, having become an evil tree, can wish and do only that which is evil.

5. It is false to say, that free-will is able to decide for both sides; rather it must be said not to be a free but a captive will.

13. It is a very absurd conclusion to say: erring man can love the creature above all things, therefore God too.

16. Much rather is this the conclusion: erring man can love the creature, therefore it is impossible for him to love God.

40. We do not become righteous by doing what is right, but when we have become righteous then we do what is right.

41. Nearly the whole of Aristotle's Moral Philosophy is in direct opposition to grace.

42. It is an error to say, that without Aristotle no one becomes a theologian.

44. Much rather, no one becomes a theologian but without Aristotle.

It is asserted, in conclusion, that in all this, nothing is said but what agrees with the Catholic Church and the ancient Fathers. Luther, notwithstanding, when, under date of the 4th of September, 1517, he sent these theses to John Lange, feared that they would be considered dangerous, but declared himself ready to dispute concerning them, either in the university or cloister of Erfurt, lest it might be supposed, he wished to speak these things only in a corner, if, namely, the university of Wittenberg were considered as insignificant so to be taken for a corner.

Authorities.—Melanch., p. 14, sq. Mathes. 1. Pred.—Luther's Letters, No. 3, 7, 29, 47, 22, 8, 19, 34, 37. The Theses de Viribus et Voluntate Hominis sine Gratia, in Löscher's Reformationsacten, vol. i., p. 328, sq.—Luther's Works, vol. 22, append., p. 74.—Tom. Jenens. 1, p. 9, sqq.

Notes.—1.) The philosophy of Aristotle, as is well known, formed the basis for the so-called scholastic or school theology, which prevailed in the middle ages, continually departing farther and farther from the

Holy Scriptures, and deteriorating into the extreme of subtlety, till finally the Reformation opposed to it a biblical and scriptural theology.

2.)—He was the first clergyman who afterwards took the bold step to enter into the married state.

3.)—The subject of these theses was the primary cause of the controversy between Eck and Carlstadt, which afterwards led to the disputation at Leipzig. Compare Part 3d, chaps. 4 and 8.

CHAPTER VII.

LUTHER'S VISITATION OF THE CLOISTERS AND OTHER LABOURS IN THE YEARS 1516 AND 1517.

The Elector of Saxony, who had before been in the Holy Land, had caused a new cathedral to be erected in his castle at Wittenberg to the honour of all saints, and was having all manner of relics collected for it. Thus it happened that Dr. Staupitz was dispatched to the Netherlands to bring some relics from a cloister there, and in the meantime, the vicariate or visitation of the Augustine cloisters (in Meissen and Thuringia) was committed to Dr. Luther. He accordingly, for some time, travelled from one cloister to the other, assisted in establishing schools, and admonished all under his charge to apply themselves to the study of the Bible, as well as to live piously, peaceably, and orderly. On the first of May, he was in Dresden, then visited the cloisters in Gotha, (here delivering a discourse[1] in the convent,) Langensalza, Nordhausen, and other places of Thuringia, and in health, at least as to the body, returned to his station in the beginning of June. Now he was every day so busily occupied in writing letters on business connected with his order, that he might well have employed two secretaries.

To Michael Dressel, Augustine prior at Nuestadt, who lived in discord with his monks, he wrote : " You indeed seek peace and pursue it, but in the wrong way, for you seek it such as the world, and not such as Christ gives. Or do you not know that God, therefore, is so wonderful among His people, that He has placed His peace precisely there where there is no peace, namely, among trials ? as it is said : God rules in the midst of His enemies. He, therefore, has no peace, whom no one molests, for this is the peace of the world ; but he has peace whom all men and all things molest, and who yet quietly and joyfully bears it all. You say with Israel : peace, peace ! whilst yet

there is no peace. Rather say with Christ: cross, cross! and yet there is no cross. For the cross immediately ceases to be a cross, as soon as a person joyfully says: O, thou most blessed cross!" As the discord continued, Luther had to dismiss the prior from his office, but comforted and told him, that it was done only for the sake of peace, and he exhorted his brethren to pray to God without ceasing, that he would guide them in their new choice; "For I testify to you," he wrote, "and tell you beforehand, that if you do not by prayer, obtain from God your superiors, you will have no peace or prosperity, even if St. John the Baptist were your prior. All things are in the hands of the Lord; he that does not believe this, will have vexation and trouble till he learns it by experience."

The Augustine prior, John Lange, at Erfurt, he admonished to deal gently with a fallen brother, writing to him: "Let it not vex thee that we have to bear this reproach. That one should bear the other's burthen, for this we are called, baptized, ordained; and whatever is deformed in us we must surround with so much the greater honour. One must cover the other's deformity, because Christ has thus been a covering to us, is yet, and will be to eternity, as it is written: Thou art a priest forever. Carefully beware, therefore, and be not so pure as to be unwilling to be touched by the impure, or to refuse to bear, hide and wipe away impurity. You have an office of honour, but that consists in this very thing to bear the disgrace of others. For thus it becomes us to boast of the cross and of dishonour.

The provost at Leitzkau, on the other hand, he advises, notwithstanding the deep sense of his own sinfulness, to execute the fixed punishment against an offender, and says: "In your heart, therefore, preserve humility and mildness towards him, but your hand and authority must show rigour; for the power is not yours, but God's; humility, however, not God's but yours. Who knows but for this very purpose it has been permitted the offender to make his shocking sin manifest, because in secret he could not be reformed, which now will be best accomplished by this open disgrace. God is wonderful in His dealings with the children of men. Many He cures of sin by sin, as poison is expelled by poison. Therefore let nothing deter you It is God that works all this; Him praise and love, and pray for that poor man and for me so much the more earnestly."

During the winter session of 1516, Luther lectured on the

Epistle to the Galatians, and afterwards diligently applied himself to the translation and exposition of the Seven Penitential Psalms, which appeared in 1517, and of which he says: "That I am so bold as to explain the Psalms, especially in German, I freely leave to every one to judge as he deems fit; for not to me but to God alone be praise and honour without end. Amen."[2]

In the month of October, 1516, the pestilence raged at Wittenberg, and John Lange had advised Luther to flee. He replied: "Whither shall I flee? *I trust the world will not crumble to pieces if brother Martin fall.* If the pestilence rages more violently, I shall indeed send the brethren away in various directions, but I have been placed here, and duty forbids me to flee. This I do not speak as if I did not fear death, (for I am not the Apostle Paul, but only his commentator,) I trust, however, God will deliver me from all my fears."

Finally, in the year 1517, Luther was likewise yet in Dresden,[3] where on the day of St. James the Elder, (25 July,) he preached in the castle, in presence of Duke George, on the Gospel: "You know not what to pray for;" and in his discourse spoke against the foolish petitions of men, and showed what a Christian ought to pray for. He said that no man ought to cast away the hope of salvation, because those who with attentive hearts heard the Word of God, were Christ's true disciples, and were elected and destined for eternal life. He enlarged on this point, and showed that the doctrine of predestination, if only, in considering it, we begin with Christ, has a peculiar power to chase away those fears, on account of which men, in the consciousness of their unworthiness, tremblingly flee from God, in whom even above all they should seek refuge. At table, the duke questioned Barbara von Sala, lady of honour at the court, as to how the sermon had pleased her, and she replied: "If she could hear one more such sermon, she would die with redoubled resignation." At this the duke became angry, and said, he would give no small sum of money if he had not heard such a sermon which made people secure. But von Sala had her wish, inasmuch, as in the course of a month she was taken ill, and joyfully departed out of this world. Luther did not again come to Dresden after that time.

Authorities.—Mathes. 1 Pred. Luther's Letters, No. 33, 15, 18, 20, 26, 23, 52.—Vorr. zu den 7 Busspsalmen.—Fabricii, Orig. Sax. l. vii., p. 859, (in Seckend. p. 23).

NOTES.—1.) It was printed, but is no longer extant. The other writings which he composed before the Reformation, published and before unpublished, being mostly sermons, are found most complete in Löscher's Reformationsacten, vol. i.

2.) These "consecrated firstlings" of his translation and explanation of the Bible, undoubtedly a fruit of his own mental conflicts, were revised by Luther in the year 1525. Both editions are contained in the Leipzig ed. of his Works, vol. v. There likewise appeared, already in the year 1517, an Explanation of the Ten Commandments, consisting of sermons delivered in 1516 and 1517, perhaps from the beginning, (compare Letter No. 37,) written in both Latin and German, and containing a large amount of knowledge. Latin in Löscher, vol. i., p. 577, seq. German in Leipzig ed., vol. 4, p. 1, seq. The explanation of the Lord's Prayer, too, consisted of sermons preached during Lent of 1517, but first published by John Schneider (Agricola) in 1518, vol. ix., p. 327, sq.

3.) Fabricius relates that Duke George had requested Staupitz to send him a pious and learned preacher, and that the latter upon this had immediately sent Luther with the best recommendations. Whether the sermon, the chief contents of which Fabricius gives, as quoted above, and that of which Luther, by way of supplement, makes mention in a letter, (No. 52,) be one and the same, remains uncertain; it has meanwhile, however, been so received.

CHAPTER VIII.

LUTHER IS GRIEVED AT THE SHAMEFUL PROCEEDINGS OF THE VENDERS OF INDULGENCES.

WHILST Luther was thus engaged, the Dominican monk, Tetzel, was offering indulgences for sale in the region of country around. All the wicked and blasphemous things which this shameless monk ventured to pretend, speak, and preach, can hardly be believed. He gave the people letters and seals, assuring them that even those sins which they might yet intend to commit, should be forgiven! He declared that the pope had more power than all the apostles, angels and saints, and even the Virgin Mary herself, for that all these were still less than Christ, but that the pope was equal to Christ. Yea, that after his ascension, Christ was no longer concerned in the government of the church, and would not be till the judgment day, but had committed all this to the pope as his vicegerent!

"At that time," so Luther himself relates, "I was preacher in the cloister here, and a young doctor, but lately from the mint, ardent and joyful in the Holy Scriptures. Perceiving

that many people were then running after indulgences to Jüterbock, Zerbst, &c., and not knowing (as truly as my Lord Christ has redeemed me,) what indulgences were, I, with all reserve began to preach that one might probably do something better, of which there was more certainty that it was right, than to buy indulgences. In this way, I had before, too, here in the castle, preached against indulgences, and gained but little favour by it with Duke Frederick, for he likewise greatly loved his bishopric."[1]

But there were some, too, who came to Luther, confessing to him, and confiding in the grace promised by the letters of indulgences which they had purchased. And as they spoke audaciously, and intimated that they would not abstain from adultery, fornication, avarice, unjust gain and the like, the doctor refused to absolve them, because they showed no signs of true repentance, and did not promise to lead a better life. Then the penitents appealed to the pope's letters and Tetzel's forgiveness and indulgence. But Luther would not listen to this, and appealed to the passage: "If ye do not repent, ye shall all likewise perish!" Luke xiii. 3. And because he would not absolve them, they again went to Tetzel, and complained to him, that this Augustine monk would not respect their letters. Tetzel was at Jüterbock, and became quite wroth at this news, raved, denounced and uttered fearful imprecations from the pulpit, and threatened with the interference of the grand inquisitors, who at that time were Dominicans. And in order to excite terror, he caused a fire to be kindled in the market-place several times in the week, signifying in this way, that he had authority from the pope, to burn at the stake all heretics who opposed themselves to his serene holiness, the pope, and his most holy indulgences.

Luther, in the meantime, was informed, how Tetzel had preached shocking and frightful doctrines, as for instance:

That he had such grace and power from the pope, that though one had deflowered the holy Virgin Mary, the mother of God, he could forgive it, provided the person placed the requisite amount of money in the box.

Again: That the red indulgence-cross, erected in the churches, with the pope's armorial bearing on it, was just as efficacious as the cross of Christ.

Again: That if St. Peter were here now, he would not have greater grace or power than he had!

Again: That he would not in heaven exchange with St. Peter, for that he had saved more souls with his indulgences than St. Peter by his preaching!

Again: That if any one cast money into the box for a soul in purgatory, the soul would fly up to heaven as soon as the coin tingled at the bottom!

Again: That the grace of indulgences is the very grace through which man is reconciled to God!

Again: That it was not necessary to feel sorrow and grief on account of sin, or to repent, if one purchased the indulgences or letters of indulgence!

Thus, then, did this indulgence-monger, by his audacious speeches and shocking obscenities, cause Dr. Luther to buckle on his spiritual armour, so that he, taking for his protection the sling of David and the sword of the Spirit, which are fervent prayer and the pure Word of God, in reliance on his doctorate and oath, in the name of God, attacked Tetzel and his Roman indulgences, confidently teaching that such indulgences are dangerous fraud.

But at that time, Luther did not yet know whose this indulgence money was. Soon, however, a book was published, splendidly adorned with the armorial bearing of the Bishop of Magdeburg,[2] and in this the quæstors were directed to preach several of these points. Thus then it appeared that Bishop Albrecht had hired this Tetzel. Luther now wrote a letter containing the 95 theses, which he afterwards published, and sent it to the Bishop of Magdeburg, begging him to check Tetzel and to put a stop to his preaching such absurdities and errors, else there might grow out of it no little disturbance; that he as archbishop, was in duty bound to interfere thus. But he received no answer. He likewise wrote to the Bishop of Brandenburg, to whose diocese he belonged, and in whom he had a very gracious bishop. The latter replied: That Luther was attacking the power of the Church, and would involve himself in trouble; that he would advise him to abstain.[3]

Authorities.—Melanchthon, p. 15.– Myconius, Reformationsgeschichte, p. 19, seq. Luther's Works, vol. 21, p. 393, seq. Mathes. 2 Pred.

Notes.—1.) Elector Albrecht, archbishop of Mentz and Magdeburg, and bishop of Halle, is meant, who expected from the sale of indulgences to obtain a large sum of money, with which he intended to purchase the

archiepiscopal pall at Rome. A part of the proceeds, however, was to be sent directly to Rome, to aid in the building of St. Peter's Church.

2.) The writing referred to is the Summaria Instructio Jo. Tezelii pro Sacerdotibus, of which a fragment is found in Haardt Hist. Lit. Reformat. IV., p. 14, seq.,—in Löscher, vol. 1, p. 415.

3.) The point about the two letters is somewhat uncertain; otherwise the account is the same in all. They are no longer extant, but there is another letter to the archbishop, written after the theses were published, (Vid. Book 3, ch. 1); it cannot be the same, for Luther says too distinctly, that he had written before (Compare, too, Hall. ed., vol. 15, p. 791); yet Luther does not, in this latter letter, mention the earlier one.

PART III.

THE TIME OF THE FIRST TESTIMONY.

FROM THE APPEARANCE OF THE 95 THESES TO HIS IMPRISONMENT IN THE WARTBURG.

From 31st October, 1517, to the 4th of May, 1521.

CONTENTS OF PART III.

Scarcely had Luther published his 95 theses against indulgences, ere a fire from the Lord was kindled by means of them, which he had not anticipated and which no one could extinguish. Against the clamour of the papal school-theologians and the inquisitors he defends himself good-humouredly; in his audience before Cajetan he undauntedly abides in his confession of Scripture truth. He is brought into narrow straits, but he does not despair. He appeals to a general council, but does not yet wholly reject the authority of the Pope; on the contrary being persuaded by Miltitz, he does his utmost to promote a reconciliation. At Leipzig he maintains a learned discussion against the ablest of his opponents; new foes rise against him on every side; but in Melanchthon and others, God too raises up for him faithful friends, who subsequently proved able fellow-combatants. As yet, however, he stands alone, his pious courage nevertheless increases during the contest as his knowledge increases. His sharp polemical writings pierce to the heart of Popery; his delightful didactic and consolatory writings awaken a taste for the sweetness of the Gospel. At length, too, the decisive step is taken, the Pope is declared to be anti-christ and his bull is committed to the flames. Soon after arrives the citation to appear before the Diet. With his Lord Christ, the timid monk, with heroic boldness, proceeds to Worms, appearing before the emperor and the realm; and as before the spiritual court at Augsburg, so here before the temporal court, it is given to him to speak what is befitting. The ban of the empire is already impending over his head, when, through the intervention of friends, he is taken prisoner to Wartburg and graciously concealed.

CHRONOLOGICAL SYNOPSIS.

1517.	Oct. 31.	Luther posts up the 95 theses, - - - -	Chap. 1
1518.	April 26.	—— disputes at Heidelberg, - - - -	" 3
1518.	During the Summer.	Luther publishes his Explanations, &c.,	" 4
1518.	Oct. 7–20.	Luther at Augsburg and before Cajetan, - -	" 5
1518.	Nov. 28.	—— appeals to a general council, and intends to leave Wittenberg, - - - -	" 6
1519.	March 9.	Luther's humble letter to the Pope, inconsequence of the negotiations with Miltitz, - - -	" 7
1519.	June 27—July 16.	Luther's Leipzig discussion, - - -	" 8
1519.	Dec.	Luther's Sermon on the Lord's Supper, - -	" 9
1520.	During Summer.	Luther's Address to the Christian nobility of the German nation, - - - -	" 9
1520.	Oct. 6.	Luther's Writing on the Babylonian captivity, - -	" 11
1520.	Dec. 10.	Luther commits to the flames the papal bull, - -	" 12
1521.	April 17, 18.	Luther appears before the Diet, - - -	" 14
1521.	May 4.	Luther taken prisoner and brought to the Wartburg, -	" 15

CHAPTER I.

THE 95 THESES.

Dr. Luther, perceiving that the bishops, too, were unwilling to do anything towards putting a stop to the proceedings of John Tetzel, felt himself bound by his oath and doctorate, to set forth against him and all connected with him, certain propositions and arguments, and to post them up on the castle church at Wittenberg, on the anniversary of its dedication,[1] as well as to publish them in print, which was done on the last day of October in the year 1517.

The introduction to the 95 theses and the articles read as follows:

"From a love and desire to bring to light the truth, there will be held a disputation concerning the following theses, under the presidence of the honourable father, Martin Luther, Augustine, master of the liberal arts and of the Holy Scriptures, and professor ordinarius. He therefore prays all that cannot be present to converse with him on the subject, to communicate their views to him by writing. In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen. In the year 1517."

1. When our Lord and Master Jesus Christ said: Repent, &c., he meant that the whole earthly life of his believers should be a (continual) repentance.

2. And this word neither can nor may be understood of the sacrament of penance, that is, of confession and satisfaction, which are exercised through the priestly office.

3. Yet he does not mean only inward repentance, for inward repentance is useless and no repentance, if it does not outwardly cause all kinds of mortification of the flesh.

4. Therefore pain continues as long as one is not pleased with himself, i. e., as long as he truly, inwardly repents, and this must be the case till he enters into heaven.

5. The Pope neither wishes to remit nor can remit any other punishments, but those which he, either according to his own pleasure, or in accordance with the canons of the Church, has imposed.

6. The Pope can forgive no sin, further than to declare and confirm what is forgiven of God, unless it be in such cases

which he has reserved to himself; and if this were despised, sin would remain wholly unpardoned.

7. God forgives no one his sin, whom He does not, (having first thoroughly humbled him,) at the same time, subject to the priest, His vicegerent.

8. Canones pœnitentiales (that is, rules for confessing and doing penance) have been imposed only upon the living, and according to the same canons are not to be imposed upon the dying.

9. Therefore, it is an influence of the Holy Ghost in the Pope for our good, that the latter, in his decretals, (or commands,) always excepts the article of death and of extreme need.

10. Those priests act foolishly and wickedly, who, in case of persons dying, defer pœnitentias canonicas, (penances imposed by church regulations,) to purgatory.

11. This need of changing the punishment of the church into the punishment of purgatory, seems to have sprung up whilst the bishops were asleep.

12. In former times, the church imposed punishments not before but after absolution, in order to see whether repentance and sorrow were sincere or not.

13. The dying discharge all debts by their death; and now being dead, to all proper canons, they are justly freed from them.

20. The Pope does not, by the complete remission of all punishment, mean that all punishment whatever is remitted, but only that which he himself has imposed.

21. Therefore the preachers of indulgences err when they say, that through the indulgence of the Pope, a man is freed from all punishment and will be saved.

24. Therefore, the great mass of the people must necessarily be deceived by means of the pompous promise concerning the paid-for punishment, since no difference whatever is stated.

25. The same power which the Pope exercises over purgatory in general, is exercised in particular by each bishop and pastor in his diocese and parish.

26. It is very well in the Pope, that he does not, from the power of the keys, which he has not, but by way of intercession forgive souls (in purgatory) their sins.

27. Those preach the vain fancies of men, who pretend, that as soon as the coin tingles in the box, so soon the soul is delivered (from purgatory).

28. This is certain, that as soon as the coin tingles in the box, gain and avarice increase; but the help (or intercession) of the Church is in the pleasure of God.

30. No one is certain whether he has sufficiently experienced true repentance and sorrow, much less can he be certain that he has obtained perfect forgiveness of sin.

31. Just as seldom as there is one that experiences true repentance and sorrow, so seldom too is there any one that obtains true indulgence, that is to say, there is very seldom one to be found.

32. Those, as well as their teachers, will be given over to Satan, who because of their letters of indulgence, consider themselves certain of their salvation.

33. We are carefully to beware and be on our guard against those, who say: That the indulgence of the Pope is the greatest and most precious divine grace or gift, by which man is reconciled to God.

34. For the grace granted by indulgences, refers only to the punishment of satisfaction, which is required by men.

35. It is unchristian to pretend, that those who wish to deliver souls from purgatory or to purchase certificates of confession, need no repentance or sorrow.

36. Every Christian, who truly repents of his sins and is sorry on account of them, has complete forgiveness of punishment and debt, and ought to have it too without a letter of indulgence.

37. Every true Christian, whether living or dead, is partaker of all the blessings of Christ and of the Church, through the gift of God, and that too without a letter of indulgence.

38. Yet the forgiveness or dispensation of the Pope is by no means to be despised, for, as I have said, his forgiveness is a declaration of the Divine forgiveness.

39. It is beyond measure difficult, even for the most learned theologians, to commend to the people, both the riches of indulgences and likewise true repentance and sorrow.

40. True repentance seeks and loves punishment, but indulgences in their abundance deliver from it, and cause men to hate it, at least, on occasion.

41. In preaching of papal indulgences, caution must be used, that the common people may not falsely suppose, that indulgences are to be preferred to other good works of love.

42. Christians are to be taught that the Pope's intention is

not to have the purchasing of indulgences in any way considered equal to works of mercy.

43. Christians are to be taught that he, who relieves the poor or the needy, does more good than he who purchases indulgences.

44. For by works of love, love is increased and man becomes more pious; by indulgences, however, he becomes no better, but only more free from punishment.

45. Christians are to be taught that he who sees his neighbour in need, and instead of relieving him purchases indulgences, does not obtain the indulgence of the Pope, but brings upon himself God's displeasure.

46. Christians are to be taught that it is their duty, to retain as much of their possessions as is necessary for the support of their families, and not, unless they are abundantly able, to expend anything for indulgences.

47. Christians are to be taught that the purchasing of indulgences is an optional matter and not made obligatory.

48. Christians are to be taught that as the Pope needs sincere prayer more, so he likewise desires it more than money, when he distributes indulgences.

49. Christians are to be taught, that the indulgences of the Pope are good, provided one does not place his confidence in them, but that, on the other hand, nothing is more injurious, than, in consequence of them, to lose the fear of God.

50. Christians are to be taught, that if the Pope knew of the flaying practised by the preachers of indulgences, he would much rather see St. Peter's Cathedral burnt to the ground, than to have it erected with the skin, flesh and bone of his sheep.

52. To trust to letters of indulgences for salvation, is trusting to vanity and falsehood, even though the commissary or the Pope himself should give his soul in pledge for it.

53. Those are enemies of Christ and of the Pope, who, to favour the preaching of indulgences, wholly forbid the preaching of God's Word in other churches.

56. The treasures of the church, from which the Pope dispenses indulgences, are neither distinctly enough stated, nor sufficiently known to the Church of Christ.

57. That they are not temporal things is evident, because many preachers do not so readily give these away, but much rather amass them.

58. Neither are they the merits of Christ or of the saints, for

these, without the additions of the Pope, always produce grace for the inner man, and the cross, death and hell, for the outward man.

60. We say, without presumption, that these treasures consist in the keys of the Church, granted for the sake of the merits of Christ.

61. For it is evident, that, for the remission of punishment in reserved cases, the Pope's power suffices.

62. *The real and true treasure of the Church is the most Holy Gospel of the majesty and grace of God.*

63. But this treasure is naturally the most hated, for it makes the first to be the last.

64. The treasure of indulgences, on the other hand, is naturally the most acceptable, because it makes the last to be the first.

65. Therefore the treasures of the Gospel are nets, with which in times past the people of mammon were caught.

66. But the treasures of indulgences are nets, with which, at the present time, the mammon of the people is caught.

67. The indulgences, which the preachers represent as a great blessing, are truly to be considered a great blessing, in so far as they are productive of great profit.

68. And yet they are of the smallest account compared with the grace of God and the piety of the cross.

69. The bishops and pastors are bound to show all due respect and to grant admission to the commissaries of the Apostolical indulgences.

70. But much more are they bound with eyes and ears to be on their guard, that these commissaries do not, instead of the Papal command, preach their own fancies.

71. Let him that speaks against the truth of the Apostolical indulgences, be anathema and accursed.

72. But let him that is concerned because of the mischievous and impudent language of the indulgence-preachers, be blessed.

73. As the Pope justly visits with his displeasure and excommunication those who by any dishonest acts injure the sale of indulgences;

74. So much more is he meant to visit with his displeasure and excommunication, those, who, under the pretence of indulgences, do injury to the cause of holy love and truth.

75. To esteem the indulgences of the Pope so high, as to say, that he could absolve a man, even though the latter had—to

mention an impossibility—deflowered the mother of God, is madness.

76. We, in opposition, say, that the Pope's indulgences are not able to take away the very smallest daily sin, as far as its guilt is concerned.

77. Their saying that St. Peter, if he were Pope now, could not bestow greater blessing, is blasphemy against St. Peter and the Pope.

78. We, in opposition, say, that even the present and every Pope, has greater blessings, namely, the Gospel, powers and gifts to heal, &c., as 1 Cor. 12.

79. To say that the cross erected with the Pope's armorial bearing splendidly adorning it, can accomplish as much as the cross of Christ, is blasphemy against God.

80. The bishops, pastors and theologians, who permit such speeches to be made to the people, will have to render an account for it.

81. Such impudent preaching concerning indulgences, makes it difficult even for the learned, to defend the honour and dignity of the Pope against the slanders or at least the pointed questions of the common people.

82. As for instance: Why does not the Pope, for the sake of most holy love, and because of the extreme need of the souls, which forms the most urgent reason, at once deliver all souls from purgatory, whilst yet, for the sake of pitiable money, in order to erect St. Peter's Church, which forms a most insignificant reason, he delivers innumerable souls?

87. Again: What does the Pope forgive or what does he distribute to those, who, through true repentance, are already entitled to forgiveness and indulgences?

90. To silence these very pointed inquiries of laymen by a resort to mere force, instead of solving them by giving evident reasons and cause, is to make the Church and the Pope a laughing-stock to their enemies, and to render Christians wretched.

91. Therefore, if indulgences were preached according to the wish and the intention of the Pope, these objections could easily be answered, and indeed would never have been raised.

92. Therefore, may all those prophets perish, who say to the Church of Christ: Peace, peace, whilst there is no peace.

93. But may it be well with those prophets who say to the Church of Christ: Cross, cross, and yet it is no cross.

94. Christians must be exhorted to follow after Christ their head, through affliction, death and hell.

95. And therefore must expect to enter into heaven more through tribulation than false peace.

The following protestation forms the conclusion:

"I, Dr. Martin Luther, Augustine at Wittenberg, hereby publicly acknowledge, that I have published several theses against the so-called Papal indulgences. And though, thus far, neither this, our highly-renowned university, nor any spiritual or temporal authority has condemned me; there yet, as I understand, are some forward and conceited persons, who, as if they were perfectly acquainted with the matter, venture to publish me as a heretic. Therefore, I now again, as I have often done before, beg one and all, for the sake of the Christian faith, either to show me a better way, if, perhaps, such has been revealed to them from above, or, at least, to subject their opinion to the judgment of God, and of the Church. For I am not so mad as to prefer my own views to all others, but not so foolish either, as to prefer the fables, which human reason has invented, to the Word of God."

On the very same evening, Luther wrote a letter to the archbishop of Mentz, complaining to him of the errors which the common people were imbibing from the sermons on indulgences, the latter being sold in the country around under the name and the title of the bishop. "Alas! good God!" he says, "in this way, the souls which are committed to the care of your reverence, are led to perdition; and the account which your reverence has to render for all these, daily becomes greater and more severe. Therefore, I could no longer keep silence in reference to these things, for the office of a bishop does not make a man sure of his salvation, since even the grace of God infused into him does not make him sure; wherefore, too, the apostle exhorts us, at all times, to work out our salvation with fear and trembling; and Peter says: The righteous scarcely are saved. Yea, so narrow is the way that leads to life, that the Lord, through the prophets Amos and Zechariah, calls those that are saved a brand plucked out of the fire. And the Lord himself, too, everywhere declares it to be difficult to obtain salvation. What danger and terror must, therefore, await a bishop who permits indulgences with great pomp to be published among the people; but suffers everything else, the Gospel too, to be neglected, thus showing that he is much more

concerned about indulgences than about the Gospel! Will not Christ say to such: You that strain out a gnat and swallow a camel! To this, most reverend father in God, must be added, that in the instruction published for the commissaries under the name of your reverence, it is said, (doubtless, most reverend father, without your knowledge and consent,) that the invaluable gift of God, (indulgences, namely,) is one of the principal means of grace, whereby man is reconciled to God, and all punishments of purgatory are extinguished; as likewise, that those have no need of repentance, who purchase soul and shrove-tickets. But, reverend bishop and most serene elector, what else shall I do than pray your reverence through our Lord Jesus Christ, that your electoral grace would with parental care consider this matter, and entirely abolish this instruction, command the indulgence-preachers to publish indulgences in a different way, lest, perhaps, finally some one arise and in a public writing refute both the indulgence-preachers and the instruction, to the great dishonour of your most serene highness; the thought of which disturbs me exceedingly, and yet, I fear it will so happen, if the matter is not quickly attended to. This my faithful and humble service I beg your most serene grace to accept with princely and episcopal, that is, with exceeding kindness, as it proceeds from an entirely faithful heart, which is wholly devoted to your reverence, especially because I too am a sheep of your flock." In a postscript, he adds: "If your lordship please, you might examine and read these statements concerning indulgences, that you may know how the fancy about indulgences is altogether an uncertain thing, though the indulgence-preachers publish them as something which may be perfectly relied upon."

At the same time with the theses, Luther published a sermon on "indulgences and grace."[2] In this he says: That some new teachers divided repentance into three parts, namely: contrition, confession, and satisfaction, indulgences being designed to take away the third part or satisfaction, which is imposed upon men because of sin, and many even had the idea that indulgences would take away something more than such imposed good works, that they namely likewise took away the punishment which Divine Justice demands for sin.

In opposition to this Luther says: *It cannot be proved from the Scriptures, that Divine Justice desires or demands of the sinner, any suffering or satisfaction, excepting only heartfelt and*

true contrition and conversion, with the resolution, in future to bear the cross of Christ, and to practise the above-named works, even though not imposed by any one. For thus He says through Ezekiel: If the sinner turn from his way and do that which is right, I will not remember his sin any more. Thus He has likewise himself absolved all the following: Mary Magdalene, the paralytic, the adulteress, &c. And I would like to know, who can prove the contrary of this, notwithstanding that some doctors have fancied the contrary."

He said, it was true, that God, in His justice, did punish some thus, by suffering, urging them to repent, as the 89th Psalm says: "If his children sin, then will I visit their transgression with the rod, nevertheless, My loving kindness will I not utterly take from them." But that no one had the power to remit this punishment, except God alone; and that God would not remit it, but declared he would inflict it. That some new preachers had indeed invented two kinds of punishment, one for satisfaction, the other for reformation; but that this was mere babbling, since all punishment, and everything imposed by God is good and profitable for Christians. That it was idle, too, to say, there were too many punishments and works, so that men, because of the shortness of life, could not fulfil all, and that on this account indulgences were needed; for God and the holy Church did not impose more upon men than they are able to bear, as Paul also said, that God did not permit any one to be tempted above what he can bear. That it was greatly dishonouring Christianity to accuse it of imposing more upon us than we can bear.

In the last half of the sermon are the following remarks:

"In the twelfth place: we are told indeed, that the sinner should be directed to purgatory, or indulgences, for expiating the remaining punishment; but there are more such things asserted without reason or proof.

"In the thirteenth place: it is a great error in any one, to think that he is able to render satisfaction for his sins, since God always freely, out of unbounded mercy, pardons them, desiring nothing else for this, but a pious life afterwards. The Church, indeed, demands something, therefore it may and ought likewise to remit this, and not impose what is severe or insupportable.

"In the fourteenth place: indulgences are permitted on account of imperfect and indolent Christians, who are indisposed

with energy to exercise themselves in good works, or are impatient of suffering. For indulgences do not make any one better, but they tolerate and endure the imperfections of men. Therefore, we are not to speak against indulgences, but are not either to dispose any one in favour of them.

"In the fifteenth place: it would be much safer and better, purely for God's sake to contribute to the erection of St. Peter's Church or anything else of the kind, than to take indulgences for it. For there is danger that such an offering is made for the sake of the indulgences and not for God's sake.

"In the sixteenth place: the favour shown a needy person, is a better work than the contribution towards the erection of a building, much better too than the indulgence obtained for such contribution. For, (as already observed,) it is better to do one good work than to remit many. But indulgence is a remission of many good works or else it remits nothing. Yea, that I may rightly instruct you, know that you are above all things, (regardless of St. Peter's Church or indulgences,) to give to your poor neighbour, if you wish to give anything. But if it should be that there is no longer any one in your city who needs help, (which, God grant may always be,) then if you wish to contribute anything, you are to give to the churches, altars, decorations, communion-service, of your town. And when here too there is no longer any need, then, and only then, you may, if so disposed, give towards St. Peter's Church or something else. But yet you are not to do this in order to obtain indulgences. For St. Paul says: He, that does not do good to those of his own house, is no Christian, but is worse than a heathen. And be you perfectly sure of this; he, that teaches you differently, deceives you or seeks for your soul in your purse, and if he finds money in it, it will please him more than all souls together. You reply: Then I shall never purchase indulgences. I answer: I have above already declared it as my wish, desire, prayer and advice, that no one purchase indulgences. Let indolent and sleepy Christians purchase indulgences, but do you pursue the course that is right.

"In the seventeenth place: indulgences are neither commanded nor recommended, but are numbered among things which are permitted and allowed. Therefore they are not a work of obedience, nor do they merit anything, but are a remission of obedience. Therefore though we cannot prevent any one from purchasing them, yet we ought to draw all Christians away

from them, exciting and strengthening them to perform the works and penances, which indulgences remit.

"In the eighteenth place: whether souls are delivered from purgatory by means of indulgences; I do not know, and do not yet believe it either, although some new doctors say so, but it is impossible for them to substantiate it, neither has the Church yet declared it. Therefore, to have certainty on your side, it is better that you yourself pray and labour for them, for this is more substantiated and is sure.

"In the nineteenth place: in reference to these points, I have no doubt, and they are sufficiently grounded in the Scriptures. For the same reason, you are to have no doubt, but are to suffer scholastic doctors to be scholastics; they are, all put together, with their opinions, not sufficient to confirm one sermon.

"In the twentieth place: though some now do, indeed, denounce me as a heretic, because these truths operate very injuriously upon their money-boxes, yet I pay but little attention to their bawlings, inasmuch as none do this but men of beclouded brains, who have never had a scent of the Bible, have never read the Christian doctrines, never understood their own teachers, and will very soon moulder away amidst their decaying and tattered opinions. For if they had understood these, they would know, that they ought not to condemn any one unheard and unvanquished. But may God grant both them and us the right mind. Amen."

This was the beginning of the controversy, and at that time Luther did not yet dream of a future change in the ceremonies of the Church, did not even altogether reject indulgences, but insisted only upon restricting the abuse. What he himself afterwards thought of this first step, is seen from his preface to the new edition of the Theses, published a number of years after. In this he says:

"I consent to the publication of the disputations and propositions, which, in the beginning of my cause, I held and advanced against indulgences; and this, especially for the purpose, that the greatness and happy progress of this cause, which in time has followed from it being granted me by God, may not lift me up and make me vain. For these propositions publicly point out my disgrace, that is, my great weakness and ignorance, which in the beginning caused me to begin this business with great fear and trembling. I had become involved in this dispute alone, and from inconsiderateness, and because I could not

recede, I not only in many and important points yielded much to the Pope, but willingly, too, worshipped him with real sincerity. For who was I, a poor, despised brother, who, at that time, more resembled a corpse than a living being, to oppose myself to the majesty of the Pope, of whom not only the kings of the earth and the whole world, but likewise heaven and hell (so to speak) stood in awe, being obliged to follow exclusively his bidding. How, and in what manner, my heart suffered and endured that same first and second year, and in what humility, which was not false and feigned, but real; or I should rather say, in what despair I then constantly lived, of that, alas! those secure souls know little, who afterwards, with great self-conceit and audacity, assailed the majesty of the Pope. But I, who stood alone involved in the danger, was not so joyous, confident and sure of the cause. For then I did not know much, which, thank God, I know now. And because the dead and mute teachers, that is, the books of the theologians and jurists, could not sufficiently inform me, I was desirous to obtain advice of the living, and to hear the Church of God itself. There were indeed many pious men, who were greatly pleased with my propositions, thinking much of them; but it was impossible for me to regard and consider them members of the Church, gifted with the Holy Ghost, for I looked alone to the Pope, the cardinals, bishops, theologians, jurists, monks and priests. From thence I looked for the spirit, for I had so greedily received their doctrines, that I had in consequence become quite stupid, and was not sensible, whether I was asleep or awake. And having with the Scriptures overcome all the arguments that opposed my progress, I finally, with great anxiety, trouble and labour, through the grace of Christ, scarcely overcame this, namely, that we must hear the Church. For I regarded the Church of the Pope as the true Church, with much greater earnestness and genuine reverence, (proceeding from the heart,) than these base blasphemous perverters, who so highly praise the Church of the Pope in opposition to me."

Authorities.—Myconius and Mathesius (as before).—The Theses in the Latin original, (in Löscher, vol. 1, p. 438,) and in the German translation of Justus Jonas, in all the editions, (Leipz. vol. 17, p. 1.)—The sermon in Löscher, p. 469. Luther's Works, vol. 17, p. 119.—Letter No. 42, Melanchth., p. 16, sq.—Luther's Works, vol. 22, app. p. 154.

NOTES.—1.) The anniversary of the dedication of the castle-church or cathedral at Wittenberg, as a Church of All Saints, occurred on the first of November, on which day many people flocked in from all parts. The theses, according to academical custom, were posted up the day previous, (Vigiliis Omnium Sanctorum,) and (according to Curæus in his Schles. Chronikon, I. 241), precisely at twelve o'clock at noon. The account of the remarkable dream, which the elector is said to have had during this night, is based upon the report of the trustworthy superintendent, Antonius Musa, who says he heard the matter from Spalatin. Vid. Löscher, vol. 1, ch. 21.

2.) This sermon had perhaps already been delivered before the publication of the theses, (Vid. above, B. 2, ch. 8,) but judging from Luther's words: "Simul et Germanicum, concionem de indulgentüs edidi," it must have appeared in print at the same time with the theses, though no edition of the year 1517 is extant now.

CHAPTER II.

THE RECEPTION OF THE 95 THESES.

IT was neither the design nor the wish of Luther to give an extensive circulation to his Theses; he wished only to discuss them with the few that resided near him, in order, if by a decision of the majority they were rejected, to destroy them, or, if approved, to publish them. *But, before two weeks were elapsed, they had spread through the whole of Germany, and, in four weeks, nearly through the whole of Christendom;* as if the angels themselves had been the carriers, and conveyed the message to the ears of all. It is almost incredible what a sensation they produced. They were soon translated into German, and every body was pleased with the matter, excepting only the Dominicans, the Bishop at Halle, and a few others, who derived their daily support from the Pope, valiantly profiting by the earthly treasures which he had collected.

The pious among the monks, who hoped by a monastic life to obtain salvation, and who, with suspicion, still continually bore in mind the affair of Constance, joyfully received this short writing; as we are told of the pious monk, Dr. Fleck, who assisted in dedicating the University of Wittenberg, delivering a sermon on the occasion, and prophesying that all the world would come and obtain wisdom at this Weissenberg. This monk, on beholding the propositions posted up in the saloon of his cloister at Steinlausig, and having read some little therein, joyfully exclaimed: "Ho! ho! This is the man that will ac-

complish it: he, for whom we have long been waiting, is coming!" In accordance with which he, too, wrote a very comforting letter to Dr. Luther, on this subject, and exhorted him fearlessly to proceed, as being in the right way; God, and the prayers of all the captives in the Roman Babylon, would be with him.

The renowned Dr. *Albert Kranz*, of Hamburg, was not confident of success; who, while lying on a bed of disease, a few days previous to his death received the Theses of Luther, exclaimed: "Thou hadst better betake thyself to thy cell, thou good brother, and pray: Lord, have mercy on me!" by which he wished to intimate that so great an undertaking of an insignificant monk against the Pope, whose power and authority were dreaded by the greatest sovereigns, must necessarily end in disgrace. An aged clergyman of Hexter, in Westphalia, expressed himself to the same effect: "My dear brother Martin, if you can storm and hurl away purgatory and the papal indulgence-trade, you are truly a great man!" Luther's prior and sub-prior, likewise, at that time, when all the world was astonished, thinking things were carried too far, came to him, in great alarm at the cry of opposition, and begged him not to bring reproach upon the order, inasmuch as the other orders, especially the Dominicans, were already leaping for joy, that they were not alone in disgrace, but that the Augustines, too, would now have to burn and bear reproach. But Luther answered and said: "Beloved fathers, if this business has not been begun in the name of God, it will soon come to an end, but if it has been begun in his name, then let Him direct it." At this they were silent, as Luther himself afterwards related, and matters still progress to this moment, and shall, with the help of God, continue much better to the end, Amen. So, likewise, he wrote to John Lange, and defended himself against the reproaches of the Erfurt theologians: "This humility, (I should say hypocrisy,) they ought not to expect of me; that, before I publish anything, I first obtain their advice and command. Whatever I do, shall be done, not because of men, but because of the advice and command of God. For, if the work is of God, who will hinder it? But if it is not of God, who will sustain it? Not my, not their, not our, but Thy will be done, holy Father, who art in heaven. Amen."

Yet it did not at all please Luther to see his Theses printed so often and circulated so extensively, wherefore, too, he re-

pented of this work, not as though he objected to the truth becoming known and spreading among the people, for this was precisely what he designed; but he did not consider this the proper way and manner to instruct the people. For, on some points, he himself was yet undecided, and many things he would have maintained quite differently and much more distinctly, or have left them away entirely, if he had anticipated such a result. But now he was obliged to think of the further exposition or substantiation of his Theses; could not, however, publish it, as he had first to await the decision of the Bishop of Brandenburg, Hieronymus Scultetus, who was favourably disposed towards him. The latter had (in November, 1517,) sent to him the abbot of the cloister of Lenin, with a letter. and informed him of his wish and prayer that Luther would, for a short time longer, delay the publication of his substantiation, as well as of other works which he might have in hand. He further expressed himself very much dissatisfied with the publication of the German sermon on indulgences, and wished earnestly that it might not be further printed and circulated. Luther, feeling ashamed and surprised that such a bishop should, so condescendingly and wholly because of this business, send so respectable an abbot to him, said: "I willingly comply, I will rather obey than work miracles, even if I could do so," &c. Yet the Bishop did not accuse Luther of any error, but declared everything to be orthodox, and did himself condemn the unbecoming commendations of indulgences. He was of opinion, however, that, in order not to give offence, Luther ought, for a time, to keep silence and wait.

But the cry of unmannerly men made it daily more necessary for Luther to publish his substantiation; as in all their sermons they denounced him as a heretic, and went so far in their rage, as, on his account, to disparage even the University of Wittenberg, and to fasten upon it the charge of heresy. He, indeed, considered it a disgrace to contend with them, so utterly destitute of all divine and human knowledge were they, and he would rather altogether have despised them, if he had not feared to sin against Christ by doing so. Only one thing greatly disturbed him, that those blasphemers, namely, and with them many others, said that the whole business proceeded from the Elector, and that envy against the Archbishop of Mentz had induced him to employ Luther for this purpose. The latter had, indeed, apprehended this, and therefore had

been unwilling to have the Theses come into the hands either of the Elector or any of his courtiers, until they had first been read by those who might, perhaps, feel themselves aggrieved by them. On the 15th of February, 1518, he accordingly wrote to Spalatin: "I pray you, advise me what to do, ought the matter to be made known to the Elector? It vexes me exceedingly that the Elector is involved in suspicion on my account, and it causes me fear and dread to think that I am to be made the cause of a difference between these distinguished princes."

But the Elector, so concerned for the common peace, and far from being litigious, had neither employed Luther nor applauded him; he much rather often expressed his fears, that greater disturbances might be the result. But as a wise prince, he gave heed not only to the temporal consideration, which would have all innovations crushed in their birth, but he likewise sought direction from God's word, which commands us to hear the Gospel, and not to resist the acknowledged truth, calling such obstinate resistance blasphemy, which God will most severely punish. He accordingly did what other pious and wise men also have done, he yielded to God, carefully read what was written, and did not wish to aid in suppressing what he had found to be the truth. The Emperor Maximilian, too, having read Luther's Theses, whilst at the diet of Augsburg, in 1518, said to the electoral counsellor Degenhard Pfeffinger: "How do things fare with your monk? Truly, his Theses are not to be despised. He will begin a sharp game with the priests." He likewise sent word to the Elector: "To take good care of the monk, it might happen that he would be needed."

Authorities.—Luth. Let., No. 56, 44, 53, 54, 47.—Myconius, ch. 4.—Mathes., 2 Pred.—Davidis Chytræi Chronikon Saxoniæ, etc., Rostoch, 1590, P. I., p. 578.—F. S. Keil, Dr. Martin Luther's merkwürdige Lebensumstände, 1764, p. 37, from the Chronico Huxariensi, p. 150.—L. W., vol. 6, p. 118.—Melanchth., p. 17.—Seckendorf. comm., p. 42, add. iii.

CHAPTER III.

JOURNEY TO HEIDELBERG.

In the year 1518 the order of the Augustines had issued a proclamation for a convention to be held at Heidelberg. Luther was dissuaded on all sides from attending it, lest his enemies

might, perhaps, by treachery, accomplish against him what they could not obtain by main force; for the indulgence-preachers fulminated their anathemas against him at a fearful rate, threatening that not more than from two to four weeks would elapse before he would certainly be burnt alive. But he did what obedience to his order required, and (somewhere about the Sunday Quasimodogeniti) set out on his journey, on foot, being accompanied by a messenger named Urbanus. In Weissenfels he was kindly received and hospitably entertained by the pastor there, a Wittenberg Magister, with whom he had been personally unacquainted. At Judenbach he met the electoral counsellor Pfeffinger, who paid the expenses at the inn for him and his fellow-travellers. Very much fatigued—there being no conveyance to be had—he, on the 15th of April, arrived at Coburg, and on the 18th at Würzburg, where he, on the same evening, delivered to the Bishop, *Laurentius von Bibra*[1], a letter of recommendation from the elector. The Bishop admitted him into his presence, conversed with him, and offered to send a messenger with him to Heidelberg; but Luther, who here had met several brethren of his order, among others the prior of Erfurt, John Lange, and wished, as he was greatly fatigued by walking, to proceed with them in their conveyance, thanked him, and, requesting only a safe-conduct, took his departure on the 19th. At Heidelberg he lodged in the cloister of the Augustines, but was very splendidly received by the Count Palatine Wolfgang; for the latter invited him, Staupitz and Lange to his table, and showed them through the whole of the princely castle, pointing out all that there was valuable in it. But Magister Jacob Simmler, at the court of the Count Palatine, could not sufficiently admire the electoral letter of recommendation, saying in his Neckarian dialect: "*Ihr habt by Gott einen kystlichen Credenz.*" (Truly you have most excellent credentials.)

Whilst Luther was thus, on business of his order, remaining at Heidelberg, arrangements were made for holding a disputation in the saloon of the Augustines. For this purpose Luther had prepared twenty-eight theses on theological, and twelve on philosophical points. In them he treated of free-will after the fall, of grace, of faith, of justification and of good works, at the same time combatting Aristotle.[2] This disputation attracted a great concourse of people, not only of students, but also of citizens and courtiers; and not only learned

monks took part in the discussion, but likewise the theological professors, who, at that time, taught at Heidelberg. And although to these Luther's theology seemed strange, they yet disputed against it with much modesty, acuteness and ability, with the exception of the fifth, a young doctor, who excited the whole audience to laughter by saying: "If the farmers heard that, they would stone you to death." Among the audience there were likewise *Martin Bucer, John Brenz, Erhard Schnepf, Theobald Billicanus,* and other afterwards renowned theologians who admired Luther's acuteness, ability and meekness, introduced themselves to him after the discussion, seeking further instruction on some points which they had not fully understood.[3] This was especially the case with Martin Bucer, who at that time was no longer among the number of the students, but upon the recommendation of Francis von Sickingen, had been appointed chaplain to the Count Palatine, Frederick. Being very expert in writing, he had noted down most of what Luther had said. He now treated more at large on these matters with Luther, and made inquiries concerning many things; in return he received candid and satisfactory answers, which he likewise noted down. Concerning these matters he then wrote to his countryman, the learned Beatus Rhenanus, of Schlettstadt: "During a convention of his order held at our place, Luther presided at a learned discussion, and maintained theses which not only took higher ground than all had anticipated, but seemed mostly, too, to be heretical. He possesses an admirable suavity in replying, and great patience in listening; in solving objections one discovers in him more the acuteness of Paul than that of Scotus; for by his short answers, drawn from the treasure of the Holy Scriptures, he has filled all with admiration. With Erasmus he has everything in common, but excels him in this, that he teaches openly what the former only hiddenly intimates."

The Count Palatine in his reply to the Elector testified of Luther: "He has so skilfully disputed here, that it has gained for your beloved university no little honour; many learned men too have praised him very highly."

Luther's superiors insisted on his returning with the Nuremberg brethren of his order, in their conveyance, as far as Würzburg, thence to Erfurt with the Erfurters, and thence again with his Eisleben brethren, who, at their expense, had him conveyed to Wittenberg, where he safely arrived on the 13th

of May, seeming to many to have become healthier and stronger.

AUTHORITIES.—Luther's Let., No. 58, 62, 63, 65.—Henrici Altingii Narrat. de eccl. Palatt. in Seckend., com. I., § XIII., add. 1; likewise Abr. Sculteti Annales Evang., p. 22.—Tenzel, vol. 1, p. 331.

NOTES.—1.) This Bishop was an exceedingly upright and sensible man. He was on very intimate terms with the Elector, and shortly before his death (1519) wrote to the latter: "I pray your love, by no means to permit that pious man, Dr. Martin, to depart; for they do him injustice."

2.) The Theses, together with the substantiation (probationes resolutiones) which, according to the custom of the time, was written afterwards, are to be found in Löscher. vol. 2, ch. 4.

3.) This disputation is of such importance in Luther's history on this very account, that through it those young men, who afterwards became active co-labourers in the work of the Reformation, and in part intimate friends of Luther, received their first impulse.

CHAPTER IV.

DEFENCE OF THE 95 THESES.

SOON after his return from Heidelberg, that is, on the 22d May, Luther transmitted to the Bishop of Brandenburg, and on the 30th May, through Staupitz, to Pope Leo X., the further exposition (called Resolutiones or Probationes) of his Theses, (ch. 2[1]). He repeatedly explained how he came to publish his Theses, and that it neither had been nor was then his intention positively to affirm anything, but only to investigate. He besought the Bishop to strike out whatever he saw fit, and added, as far as he was concerned, he might even burn the whole, for that he well knew Christ did not need his assistance. To the Pope he writes more particularly: that he had published this exposition in his name, that all might see how sincerely he respected the power of the Church and the authority of the keys, and how unjustly and falsely his opponents were abusing him, and then concluded: "Therefore, most holy father, I cast myself at thy feet with all that I have and am. Whether now thou makest alive or killest, decidest for or against me, approvest or rejectest, as it seemeth good to thee, I shall acknowledge thy voice as the voice of Christ, whose vicegerent thou art, and who speaks through thee. If I have deserved death I refuse not to die; for the earth is the

Lord's and the fulness thereof. To him be praise forever. Amen." In his letter to Staupitz, to whom he wrote, that of him he had first learned what repentance was; he likewise said, that he looked for the decision of Christ in the decision of the Roman See, but added: "As to the rest, I have nothing to oppose to the threats of my enemies but that saying of Reuchlin's: 'He that is poor has nothing to fear and nothing to lose.' Property I have none, honour and renown, if ever I have had them, he continually loses who has once begun to lose them. One thing yet remains to me, this weak body, worn down by incessant affliction. If they either by violence or treachery take this from me, thinking by that to do God service, they make me the poorer perhaps for one or two hours of my life. *I have enough in my dear Redeemer and Mediator, my Lord Jesus Christ.* I will sing praise to Him as long as I live. But if any one will not sing along with me, what does that concern me? Let him then howl by himself."

In this exposition Luther says of some of his Theses that he will maintain and substantiate them, but of others that he wishes only to discuss them in order to obtain instruction. The first Thesis (see above) he proved firstly, from the Greek word μετανοεῖτε, repent ye, which, strictly speaking, can be translated transmentamini, i. e. be changed in your disposition and understanding, be again wise, turn away from your former dispositions and spirit, and be transformed in respect to them, by henceforth being heavenly-minded whilst before you were earthly-minded, which the apostle, Rom. 12, expresses thus: "Be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind," which again becoming wise takes place so, that the sinner enters into himself and hates his sins. But there can be no doubt that this again becoming wise or hating of one's self is to continue through the whole of our life, according to the passage: "He that hates his life in this world, preserves it to eternal life." And again: "He that does not take his cross and follow after me is not worthy of me." And in the same place: "I am not come to send peace, but the sword." And Matt. 5: "Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted."—"In the second place I support this Thesis too, with an argument from reason. Because Christ is a teacher of the spirit and not of the letter, and because his words are spirit and life, he of necessity must teach such a repentance, which takes place in spirit and in truth, and not such a one, which even the

proudest hypocrites can outwardly perform, by contorting their countenances during their fasts, by praying at the corners of the streets, and having trumpets sounded before them, when they give alms. Christ, I say must teach such a repentance which can take place in all conditions of life, which the king can exercise in his purple, the priest in his attire, the prince in his dignity, no less than the monk or beggar in his ceremonies and poverty, just as Daniel and his associates did in the midst of Babylon. For Christ's doctrines must suit all men, that is, men of all stations. Thirdly: We pray and must pray as long as we live: Forgive us our sins; consequently we, as long as we live, repent, and are displeased with ourselves, unless any one could be so foolish as to suppose that he must ask forgiveness merely for appearance' sake; for the sins, the forgiveness of which we are commanded to pray for, are real and not trifling sins. And although they are venial, yet we cannot be saved unless they are forgiven."

In opposition to "the troublesome and unprofitable art of confessing, or rather the art to bring souls to despair and hurl them to destruction, in accordance with which we have thus far been taught to count sand, that is, carefully to investigate, collect, and weigh each and every sin, in order, in this way, to produce repentance," he teaches, (in the 26th Conclus.,) "that the beginning of true repentance must be made with the goodness and blessings of God, especially with the wounds of Christ, in order that men may, from a consideration of God's goodness, be first brought to a knowledge of their ingratitude, and from this to a hatred of themselves and to a love of God's goodness. Then they will shed tears and sincerely hate themselves, yet without despairing; they will hate sin, not on account of the punishment, but from a consideration of God's goodness. In this way it will come to pass, that if they truly repent of one sin, they will at the same time repent of all. Thus it is said in the Epistle to the Romans, 2 ch.: 'Knowest thou not that the goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance?' O, thou holy Paul, how many do not know this, even of such who teach others!"

In reference to the 37th Thesis, he says: "*It is impossible for any one to be a Christian, without having Christ. If he has Christ, he likewise has everything that belongs to Christ,*" for the holy apostle, Rom. 13, says: "Put on the Lord Jesus Christ!" and Rom. 8: "How should he with him not give us

all things?" and 1 Cor. 3: "All things are yours, whether Cephas or Paul, life or death;" and 1 Cor. 12: "You are not your own, but members one of another." And in other passages, where he shows that we are altogether one body in Christ, one bread, and members of one another. And in the Song of Solomon: "My friend is mine, and I am his, because through faith in Christ a Christian is made one spirit and one with Christ;" for: "the two shall be one flesh, which is a great mystery between Christ and the Church." Since, therefore, the spirit of Christ is in Christians, by which they become brethren, joint-heirs, one body and citizens with Christ, how should there not, in this case, be a communion of all the blessings of Christ? for Christ, too, has all that he has, from this very same spirit. Thus it comes to pass, that a Christian, through the unspeakable richness of the mercy of God the Father, can boast, and with confidence, call everything his own in Christ, and say: that the righteousness of Christ, his power, patience, humility, as well as everything that Christ has earned, is all his own, in virtue of the union of the spirit produced by faith in him. On the other hand, all his sins are now no longer his, but Christ's; for, in virtue of this same union, they are all swallowed up in Him. And from this springs the joyful confidence of Christians and the joyfulness of our conscience, that, through faith, our sins no longer remain ours, but are Christ's, upon whom God has cast all our sins, and who has borne our sins. He is the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world. Again, all the righteousness of Christ becomes ours. For he lays his hand upon us, and it is well with us, and he spreads his mantle over us and covers us, as our exalted Redeemer, forever. Amen."

Concerning the 58th Thesis, he explicitly says: "*Saints have no merits which can be of avail to any of us that are indolent and idle;*" and adds: "And that I may, for once, be bold, I declare, that of what I have now spoken, I have no doubt, and am prepared, for the sake of it, to endure fire and death, and I will assert, that all those are heretics, who hold the contrary doctrine."

On the other hand, he still firmly maintained the doctrine of purgatory, and in connexion with the 15th Thesis, said: "With me it is a matter of certainty, *that there is a purgatory*, and I do not pay much regard to what the heretics babble against it."

Of the then reigning Pope he had a good opinion, as appears from what he said in connexion with the 25th Thesis: "We have, moreover, at present, a very good Pope, of whose unblamable life and acquirements all well-disposed persons speak with joy." He immediately adds, however: "But what can this amiable man accomplish alone? Truly, he deserves to have become Pope in better times, or else that the times of his pontificate were better. Good Popes are now-a-days despised by Rome herself. Yea, by Rome most of all; for in what part of Christendom do they practise more intrigues, even with the Popes, than at Rome, *which is the veritable Babylon.*"

In the 69th Thesis he, indeed, declares, that we ought respectfully to yield to the papal authority in all points, inasmuch as every one resisting the authorities resists the ordinance of God; and the Lord himself says: "He that despises you, despises me!" And even if the Pope decides unjustly, we should still respect his decisions; but, in order not to confuse the consciences of any, this is not to be understood as meaning that, therefore, these unjust decisions must likewise be called just by those that have to submit to them. "For the Pope himself causes some to be put under the ban of the Church, *who still are not on that account under the ban of God*, and though the Pope forces them to submit to the ban, it does them no injury. Therefore, we must submit to unjust decisions and burdens, not because of the word: "Whatsoever ye shall bind," &c., but because of that universal command: "Agree with thine adversary quickly, whilst thou art in the way with him;" and: "If any one smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also," and Rom. 12: "Revenge not yourselves."

In connexion with the 26th Thesis, however, he says: "*I concern myself little about it, whether anything does or does not please the Pope, he is a man like other men.* There have been many popes, who have taken pleasure not only in errors and vices, but likewise in the most unaccountable things. I obey the Pope as Pope, that is, if he speaks what the canons dictate, and if he acts in accordance with their prescriptions, or in connexion with a council pronounces a decision; but not, if he speaks only what seems good to himself merely. For else I would, with some that understand nothing of Christ, likewise be compelled to say, that Julius II., notwithstanding his atrocious murders and shedding of Christian blood, still acted as a good shepherd, and faithfully tended the flock of Christ." . . .

"*The Pope alone cannot make new articles of faith, but can only according to those which are made, judge and decide questions of faith.* But this would be a new article of faith; and, therefore, would also require to be adopted by a general council, and far more so than the question concerning the immaculate conception of the holy Virgin Mary, because by the latter the salvation of souls is not endangered; but by the former, it is very much, since the Pope, being only as one man, who is liable to err in faith as well as in life, the faith of the whole Church would be in continual danger, if everything, that seems good to him, would necessarily have to be believed."

In his remarks on the 25th Thesis, he expressed the sorrow and grief of his soul, which he experienced, when he heard that such things were preached in the Church of Christ, of which nothing had heretofore been written or established. The holy Fathers, he says, had likewise, in their day, considered nothing more dangerous than the teaching of other things besides the Word of God. "This I do not say from impudence or pride, or because I consider myself worthy to be numbered among the learned men of the holy Church, much less among those to whom it belongs to determine or to reject such things, (I desire only to become the humblest member of the Church;) all I mean to say is simply this: That though there are both learned and holy men in the Church, yet the present times are so troublous, that even such great men can afford no help to the Church. For what learning and pious zeal are able to accomplish at the present day, has been abundantly shown by the unfortunate issue of the attempts of those highly-learned and pious men, who, under Julius II., laboured to reform the Church, by a resort to a most necessary expedient, the holding of a council. And there have also, at times, been other learned and pious popes, of whom I know, but because the examples of such are few, the great majority have been compelled to keep silence. 'The times are very evil,' says Amos, 'therefore the wise have to keep silence at such times.' Since the Church, in addition to innumerable private persons, has likewise, in its highest stations, men of the greatest learning, I, too, ought, in imitation of their example, to have kept silence, if I wished to be considered wise. But it is better that the truth be spoken by fools, by children, by inebriates, than that it be wholly suppressed; if, possibly, the learned and wise may become more bold in their courage, when they hear that we, un-

learned common people finally begin to sound the alarm, because things are carried altogether too far, so that we can no longer look on with indifference, as Christ says: 'If these are silent, the stones will cry out.'"

But thereupon, he (in the 80th Thesis) censures the "Piccards his neighbours, the heretics, those unhappy people, who rejoice in the disgrace of the Roman See, as the pharisee over the publican, but have no compassion."—" We well appreciate our degradation," he continues, " and are sorry because of it; *but we do not flee like the heretics*, and do not pass by the half-dead man, (that is, the abused Church,) as if we feared we might become defiled by the sins of others—the more distressing the condition of the Church is, so much more faithfully should we stand by it, with weeping, prayer, exhortation and entreaty. For thus love requires of us to bear one another's burden."

And in the 81st Thesis he declares: " Although my friends have, for some time past, proclaimed me a heretic, an ungodly man and a blasphemer, saying, that I do not receive the Church of Christ and the Holy Scriptures in the catholic sense; yet I, relying upon my good conscience, believe that they are deceived here, *for I love the Church of Christ and its honour.* But it is the Lord that judges me, though I am not conscious of anything."

Finally, in the 89th Thesis he declared his opinion "briefly and confidently," to this effect: " *The Church needs a reformation,* but this is not the work of one single man, as of the Pope, nor yet of many Cardinals, as is evident from the last council, but of the whole world; or much rather of God alone. *But the time of this reformation He alone knows, who has created the times.*"

Tetzel had, already, in the year 1517, in order to obtain the degree of Doctor, opposed other Theses to those of Luther and defended them at the university of Frankfort on the Oder; or rather *Dr. Conrad Wimpina* had drawn them up and given them to Tetzel for defence. From these it, at first sight, might clearly be seen " who was to be taken for a heretic, schismatic, an obstinate, obdurate, erring rebel, babbler, and inconsiderate blasphemer." A messenger despatched by Tetzel, had come from Halle and brought these Theses to Wittenberg. When the students, who were disgusted with the former sophistic method of teaching and much attached to the study

of the Bible as well as to Luther, whose Theses Tetzel had before burnt, heard of this, they went to the man, intimidated him, and asked how he could venture to come and bring such things to Wittenberg. Some of them bought a few copies, but the others took them away by force and burnt all the rest (some eight hundred in number), after having first given an invitation to all who wished to be present at the burning of Tetzel's Theses, to make their appearance at the market-place by two o'clock; and all this they did without any one's knowing the least thing of it. Luther was displeased with the business; he was guiltless, but feared immediately that the whole matter would be laid to his charge.

In the year 1518 (somewhere about the end of May), there appeared the "Proposition of Brother John Tetzel, grand inquisitor of the Dominican Order, against a presumptuous sermon of twenty erroneous articles in reference to papal indulgences and grace, as a necessary instruction for all Christian and believing people." To this Luther opposed his "Freedom of the sermon," in which he in the first place, acknowledges the sermon as his own, refutes the principal arguments of Tetzel, and thus replies to the abusive language of the latter: "At last, after he becomes weary of torturing the discourse, or perhaps has said all he knew, the storm bursts over my head, and now I am an arch-heretic, a heretic, an apostate, an errorist, an ungodly man, a slanderer, &c. To this I reply: God grant me and thee his grace. Amen." And because Tetzel had appealed "to the judgment and decision of his papal holiness, of the holy Roman Church, of all unsuspected Christian universities and doctors, obligating himself to suffer everything that might be imposed upon him, whether incarceration, the stocks, water or fire," and had called upon Luther to do the same; the latter replied to the grand inquisitor: "That he gave him the faithful advice, rather to offer himself for the water of the vine, and the fire which smokes from roasted geese, inasmuch as he was accustomed to these." Ought it not to displease a Christian, that they first of all, childishly and mockingly attempt to terrify men with temporal fire and death, whilst it is a fearful and serious matter (as in the 49th Psalm), to err in explaining the Scriptures and to lead men astray, so much so that such falsifiers of the Scriptures must expect the fire of hell and eternal death? Therefore those, who have such hard sconces, that they are not themselves terrified at such fearful and insup-

portable threatenings of God, might well keep silence, and not terrify others with human threats in unnecessary matters. But although this subject does not regard faith, salvation, necessity or command, and they yet are so morbidly pious and lovesick, as even for such things which are unnecessary and not heretical, to burn heretics, do thou, my gracious God and Father, pardon me, if, to the derision of all honour which is not thine, I too, for once, defy my Baalites. Here then, I, Doctor Martin Luther, am at Wittenberg, and if perchance there is any grand inquisitor, who thinks himself able to devour iron and to rend rocks into pieces, him I inform, that he can have safe conduct, open gates, free lodging and board here, through the gracious assurance of our praiseworthy and Christian prince, Duke Frederick, Elector of Saxony, &c.; from which too, these blasphemous perverters of the Scriptures may learn, that the same Christian prince is not, as they, in their last bewildered position, would like falsely and slanderously to assert, disposed to the injury of Christian truth, to protect either me or any one else in heretical undertakings, and not even in these things in which there never can be heresy."[2] Tetzel's urging him to submit his sermon "to the judgment of his papal holiness, &c.," he meets thus: "I need no hellebore, am not so blind either as not to see through that. Yet it shall not be long, before I will submit my matter, much more perhaps than they may like. For the present let this suffice, that it is not necessary to burden his papal holiness and the Roman See with needless sermons, unless some wooden chair were unoccupied, much less with plain texts of Scripture, concordantly preached and understood throughout all Christendom." And concludes: "May God alone help the truth and no one else. Amen. I am not so vain as to think that I can fly over the lofty pines, do not despair either but that I may creep over the dry grass."

Among the first of those who wrote against Luther, was likewise *Sylvester Prierias*, Dominican, and Magister S. Palatii (highest censor of books) at Rome. He called his writing a dialogue, because he makes Luther to repeat his own Theses, and then he replies to them. He, by way of premiso, assumes four fundamental positions, in the first of which he says: "The universal Church is essentially (or in its nature) the calling to the service of God of all who believe in Christ; but virtually (in its reality or outward manifestation) the universal Church

is the Roman Church, as the head of all churches. The Roman Church representatively is the college of cardinals, but virtually the Pope as being the head of the Church, though in a different sense from Christ." From this he then concludes, (secondly) that, as the universal Church and a church council cannot err in matters of faith and duty, so neither the Roman Church nor the Pope; and (thirdly) that every one who does not abide in the doctrine of the Roman Church and the Pope as in an infallible rule of faith, from which even the Holy Scriptures receive their power and authority, is a heretic. Finally he maintains (fourthly) that the Roman Church can, as well by deeds as by words, establish things in reference to faith and duty, and that in such matters custom obtains the power of law. He then argues that just as he who entertains error in opposition to Scripture truth, is a heretic, so likewise is he who, in opposition to the doctrines and practices of the Church, entertains error with regard to matters of faith and duty. And from this he concludes: "Whoever, in reference to indulgences, declares that the Roman Church cannot do what she actually does, is a heretic."

In accordance with these principles, Sylvester then refutes Luther's Theses, calls him an arch-heretic, &c., and threatens him that he will be forced to renounce all heresy. He ascribes to the Pope the highest power in temporal as well as spiritual affairs; says, that he, being the greatest king, can, instead of receiving voluntary gifts, impose taxes upon the world; and he even defends the excesses of the indulgence trade, which Luther had rebuked in the 27th and 75th Theses.

Luther had, by way of Nuremberg, received Sylvester's writing, already in the beginning of January, (1518). He had agreed with his friends not to reply to it, for they thought that there was a masked Sylvester in the game, and that one of the authors of the 'Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum' had, in mockery of the man, published this nonsense under his name, in order to excite Luther against him; but subsequently, when Sylvester had, by the Pope, been appointed as Luther's judge, the latter, notwithstanding, wrote against him; but only hastily, as the thoughts came into his mind, during two days; because he did not consider it worth his while to trouble himself further on the subject.

To the fundamental positions of Sylvester, he opposes others; firstly, from the Scriptures, the word of Paul, (1 Thess. 5.):

"Prove all things, and hold fast that which is good!" and, (Galat. 1.): "And if an angel from heaven should preach a different gospel to you than that which you have received, let him be accursed." In the second place, from the Fathers of the Church, the words of Augustine to Jerome: "I have learned to honour only the canonical books of Scripture, with the belief that no one of their authors has erred. With regard to all others, no matter how learned and holy they may be, I never believe that anything is true, simply because they have thought so." Thirdly, from the canons of the Church, the command that the preachers of indulgences are not to teach the people anything but what is contained in their letters. He then replies in detail, and, for instance, rejects the distinction, in reference to the Church, between *essentialis, representativa* and *virtualis*, as empty words, without Scripture and without proof. He says, *that he knows of no Church virtually, except in Christ, or representatively, except in a council.* If everything that the Pope does had to be considered as a deed of the Church, what misdeeds would not then have to be taken for good works? To Sylvester's charge: "That if Luther had obtained a good bishopric, and complete indulgence for the restoration of his Church, he would perhaps have made many agreeable speeches, and highly lauded indulgences which he now so much rejects," Luther replies: That if his object had been a bishopric, he certainly would not speak as he did. That they should not at all suppose, that he was ignorant in what way bishoprics and prelacies were obtained at Rome, since even the boys were accustomed to sing in all the streets: 'Denique nunc, facta est rerum fœdissima Roma,' (Rome has now become the most abominable of cities.)[3]

The Dominican and inquisitor, Jacob von Hogstraten, Prof. at Cologne, notorious because of his dispute with Reuchlin, had likewise risen up against Luther, and in another publication,[4] had designated some of Luther's Theses as heretical, and called upon the Pope to proceed against him only with fire and sword. Luther replied to him only in a fugitive sheet, dated July the 13th, 1518,[5] briefly and sharply concluding thus: "Go, thou unhappy and bloody murderer, who thirstest only for the blood of brethren; go, and exercise thy inquisitorial office against the horse-beetles in their filth, till thou hast learned what sin, error, heresy, and everything else, necessary to an understanding of these things, is; for I have never yet met

with a greater dunce, especially for one who boasts of having studied logic for so many years. What marvel is it, if thou condemnest as heretical the best articles of the best men, since thou hast never yet learned what is against the Scriptures, and therefore condemnable and heretical? It affords me real joy to have been condemned by thee, a man of such beclouded brains, and I pray thee, never call me a Christian and a Catholic, lest people might think thou hadst spoken this falsely in thy blindness, but I pray thee, always denounce me as a heretic, for then men will say to my favour: 'the blind man has once again judged of colour.' This much I say to thee, thou bloody man and enemy of the truth."

It also grieved Luther more, that the Prochancellor of the University of Ingolstadt, and canon of the bishopric of Eichstädt, Dr. John Eck, likewise wrote against him, not so much because Eck was considered a very learned man, but principally, because he had but lately (through the mediation of the patrician Scheurl, of Nuremberg) entered into a friendly relation with him; and yet Eck now, without first giving him warning, of a sudden assailed him so maliciously, and in a publication of his, called '*Obelisks*,' (marginal notes,)[6] denounced him as a malicious man, a heretic, rebel and madman, accused him of despising the Pope, and in reference to the 37th Thesis, said, that this was pouring out Bohemian poison. At first Luther was unwilling to answer, but his friends insisted on his doing so, and he, accordingly, in a writing dated on the 10th August, and addressd to his friend Weneslaus Link, opposed to Eck's publication other notes, called '*Asterisks*,' in which he rejects the objections of Eck as scholastic trash, and consoles himself, in view of the latter's insidious attack, with the declaration of the Scriptures: "All men are liars!" adding: "We are men, and will remain men." To the charge of heresy he replies: That he was living at a respectable University, in an approved order, in the renowned duchy of Saxony, in a great bishopric, in which everybody was Catholic; that, besides, he had not asserted anything, but only disputed. That only an obstinate continuance in error, in matters of faith, made one a heretic, but in the present case there was, at the worst, nothing further than error. That he was not wanting in respect for the Pope, but that sycophants were bent upon dishonouring the Pope's majesty by their falsehoods. "*The Pope is a man and may be deceived*, especially by

such crafty and hypocritical men; *but God is the truth and cannot be deceived.* I, therefore, pray my enemies, in future, not to attempt to terrify me by flattering the Pope, or by means of their renowned Magisters, but, if they are so exceedingly anxious to obtain the victory, to instruct and overcome me with clear declarations of the Scriptures and of the Pope."

Authorities.—Let. No. 66–68, 58, 51, 52, 59.—The Resolutiones, lat. in Löscher, II., ch. 6.; Germ. W. of L., vol. 17, p. 28.—Tetzel's Anti-Theses, in Löscher, I., ch. 26.—Refutation of Tetzel and Luther's defence of his sermon, in Löscher, I., ch. 25 and 27; in the W., vol. 17, p. 121 and 132.—The Dialogus Sylvestri Prieratis, etc., in presumptuosas Martini Lutheri conclusiones de potestate papæ, in Löscher, II., ch. 3.—Responsio Lutheri ad S. P. dialogum, in Löscher, II., ch. 10.—Scheda contra Hogstratanum, lat. ib. ch. 8, and Germ. W., vol. 17, p. 140.—The Asterisci with the Obeliscis printed together, in Löscher, II., ch. 8.

Notes.—1.) Undoubtedly in manuscript, for on the 10th (15th) of July they were printed no further than to the 18th Conclusio, (comp. let. No. 73,) and not till the 21st of August does he send them to Spalatin, when he at the same time complains about the typographical errors, Let. No. 75, 79.

2.) In his Theses, (47 and 48, in Löscher, I., p. 522,) Tetzel had covertly assailed the Elector as if the latter favoured Luther's heresy.

3.) This writing of Luther's had already in September to be printed anew, for the Dominicans bought up all the copies in order to suppress them, (Let. No. 80).—As all the particulars of the controversy cannot be pursued in detail, we shall here immediately, by way of remark, state, that (in 1519) Sylvester wrote a Replica ad M. Luth., (Löscher, III., ch. 13,) which Luther did not answer; so likewise in 1520, a writing entitled De Juridica et irrefragabili veritate Romanæ ecclesiæ, etc., brevissimum Epitoma, which Luther caused to be reprinted with the addition of some remarks, Tom. Jen. I., 61. Sylvester conducted the controversy in such a way, that, as Erasmus relates, (comp. Seckend., p. 40,) the Pope himself was constrained to bid him observe silence. Upon Luther and his work Sylvester's writing exerted a great influence, inasmuch as by the extravagant assertions contained in it in reference to the papal power, the controversy now took a different direction, and Luther was led to further investigation and decided opposition.

4.) Probably in the Apologia adv. Reuchlinum.

5.) If not after all, perhaps first in 1519, for the Theses, concerning which Luther afterwards disputed with Eck, at Leipzig, would have become known already in 1518, (possibly from some other cause,) since Hogstraten's anger was directed against these, especially the 13.

6.) At first they were not printed, but, as Eck afterwards declared by way of excuse, written only for the Bishop of Eichstädt; they were, however, carried about so much the more in manuscript and transmitted to Luther by W. Link, Seckend., p. 31.

CHAPTER V.

CITATION TO ROME, AND HEARING BEFORE CAJETAN.

Pope Leo X. had already on the 3d February, 1518, in a writing to Gabriel Venetus, General of the Augustine Order, commissioned him to use the influence which his office gave him, and by means of letters, as well as through learned and upright negotiators, to cause Luther to cease from his design, and thus forthwith to extinguish the fire kindled by him, since nothing seemed to be more dangerous than delay, as the evil was growing mightier and stronger every day. Subsequently the Pope appointed as judges in this case the Bishop of Ascoli, Hieronymus de Genutiis, Auditor Cameræ Apostolicæ, and Sylvester Prierias, who had before already declared Luther's Theses to be heretical; and now, on the 7th of August, Luther received a citation to appear at Rome before these his judges, within sixty days.

To Spalatin, who, as court-preacher of the Elector, was with the latter at Augsburg, on occasion of the diet, Luther forthwith wrote on this subject: that he did not know how he could escape the excommunication intended for him, except with the help of the Elector; but that he would much rather continually be under excommunication, than be the cause of unfavourable reports against the Elector. That his experienced friends had advised him to apply to the Elector for a safe-conduct through his territory, and if the latter should refuse it, as he knew he would refuse, he would, in the estimation of those friends, have the most satisfactory excuse for not appearing at Rome. In a postscript he mentions, that they likewise gave him the advice, to date the letter back somewhat, and that they thought this would not be a falsehood, inasmuch as the intention and opinion of the Elector had all along been known, he having hitherto always intended refusing a safe-conduct or permission.

But Luther, not in the least daunted, wrote on the 1st of September to Staupitz, that he had not been deterred from his intended course by this citation and these threats. "Do not doubt, my honourable father," said he, "I shall, in future too, assert my liberty to investigate and maintain the Divine Word. I have, as you know, to suffer things much more severe,[1] and this causes me to look with indifference upon these temporal,

and quickly-vanishing flashes of lightning; only I would like to have respect shown to the power of the Church. If I should be excommunicated by man, I fear that you might take offence at it, as I am certain that God has given you a just and faithful judgment in these matters."

Luther at the same time transmitted to Staupitz a copy of his *sermon on the power of the ban*, which he had delivered before the congregation in July. He had intended at first to have a public discussion of the matter, but this having been noised abroad, the Bishop of Brandenburg had, through a respectable messenger, desired him to defer the disputation, which he too, especially at the advice of his friends, had done. The tyranny and ignorance of the papal commissaries had forced him to preach this sermon. All the Wittenberg jurists and theologians fully approved of it; but his adversaries endeavoured, on this account, to make a great commotion, by most maliciously putting together, in the shape of articles, what they had caught up of the discourse, and then everywhere circulating it. To counteract the influence of these venomous articles, Luther published the sermon in the Latin language.

In this sermon he

1. Determines what excommunication is, namely, nothing else but an exclusion from the communion of saints. But the communion of saints is twofold: one inward and spiritual, the other outward and bodily. The spiritual consists in *one* faith, *one* hope, *one* love to God. The bodily consists in the communion of the same sacraments, as the signs of faith, hope and love; it, however, likewise extends to the affairs of life. Therefore, as no being, but God alone, can bestow upon the soul that former spiritual communion, or when it has been excluded, again introduce it into the same, just as little can any being take from it this communion, or excommunicate it, except a man himself, by his own sins.

2. From this it follows, that excommunication is nothing more *than an exclusion from outward communion.*

3. To be excommunicated is not yet with the soul to be given over to Satan, or to be deprived of the blessings of the Church, and the united prayer of the same. This is sufficiently evident from what has been said, for, if faith, hope and love remain, true communion and participation in all the blessings of the Church likewise remain.

4. Excommunication, if just, much rather *signifies* that the

soul is given over to Satan and deprived of the spiritual communion of the Church, because it overtakes him who, by a mortal sin, has excluded himself from the communion of love and given himself over to Satan; as, on the other hand, the re-admission is a sacrament and outward sign of the inward re-union and communion. Therefore it is true, that excommunication does not cause death, but presupposes a person to be in death and sin, that is, spiritually and truly excommunicated.

5. Excommunication, although it is temporal and outward, has been instituted, not to prove prejudicial to inward communion, but to promote it; and the former is, if just, to restore the latter; if unjust, to augment it.

6. Care must alone and above all things be taken of this, that excommunication, this excellent auxiliary, do not become despised, or be borne unwillingly, for it is to be valued, not merely because of the power of the Church, which of itself is to be feared, but also because of the good effect of this power and of the furtherance of one's own salvation. Therefore, my brethren in the Lord, let the servants of this power be good or bad, as they may, let it be used rightly or abused, yourselves it never will injure, but always benefit, if only you bear it in the proper spirit, or, in humility, seek to avoid it and to be absolved from it. Only do you look upon the Church as your mother: what does it concern you if she scourges you by the hand of one that is unworthy? It is, notwithstanding, the wholesome discipline of your dear mother.

7. *Be much rather attentive to this, that you either perform or leave off from that on account of which you have to suffer excommunication and the rod, instead of seeking to escape from the rod itself.*

8. Excommunication is to be borne not only for perverse error, but for every disgraceful misdemeanor.

9. Above all things and in all cases is it to be remembered, that because it is the power of Christ, we are most highly to fear and to honour the power of the Church, even though on account of our sins it is committed to a Pilate, Herod, Annas, Caiaphas, or other and worse tyrants, according to the example of Christ, who likewise thus honoured Annas, Caiaphas and Pilate.

10. To be unjustly excommunicated is the very highest honour, therefore we are quietly to bear it, if we cannot, by a modest excuse, accomplish anything.

11. In case of an unjust excommunication, we must be most guardedly careful not to forsake, neglect, do or say that which the excommunication would require, if, namely, it would be sinful to comply. *For righteousness and truth, as they belong to the inward communion of the Church, dare never be given up because of the exclusion from outward communion, if excommunication even should continue till death.* For even though a person, justly excommunicated, should die, he would not on that account be damned, if he did not die impenitently, contemning the excommunication. Repentance and humiliation of one's self absolve and make good all, though a person were dug up or cast into the water. But happy and blessed is he who dies under unjust excommunication, for because he has not forsaken righteousness, though on account of it he was visited with such punishment, he will instead be crowned with eternal honour.

12. But the Popes and their servants are to be reminded, that they are to impose punishments with reluctance and as seldom as possible; for because punishment is in a certain sense a law, but every law a power and occasion of sin, and because the law cannot be fulfilled without the grace of God, and they themselves cannot either give the grace of God, which is the fulfilment of the law; they do nothing else, when they multiply laws and punishments, but to multiply the causes and effective occasions of sin and transgression against God. For though it is our duty to observe their prescriptions, yet should they much rather come to the support of our weakness."

In the meantime there had been held some negotiations with regard to Luther's affair. The Emperor had, on the 5th of August, written to the Pope concerning Luther, from Augsburg, and expressed his displeasure that the latter was so obstinately bent on continuing in his doctrines, and that he had obtained many patrons and defenders of his errors, among whom there even were men of power and great influence; he therefore called upon the Pope to silence and crush him as the author of wicked, foolish and useless questions, adding the promise: "For what your holiness shall determine in this matter to the praise and honour of God Almighty, and for the good of Christian believers, we shall earnestly support, and see that it be observed by all of our realm."[2]

The Elector, however, after the reception of the citation, interceded with the Emperor and the papal legate, Cardinal *Cajetan de Vio*, at Augsburg, to have Luther's cause investi-

gated in Germany. The university of Wittenberg, for the same purpose, on the 25th of September, issued two writings, one to the Pope himself, the other to his private chamberlain, the apostolical nuncio Carl von Miltitz. In these documents the university calls Luther its noblest member, and declares its conviction, that he will do everything becoming a Christian theologian, and not undertake anything which can be objected to by a reasonable judge.

But the best course was, undoubtedly, that of Staupitz, who on the 7th September, thus wrote to Spalatin: "As regards the business concerning Doctor Luther, of which you have written to me, the Lord will not deceive us, in that he has promised to be the third where there are two united in godliness, &c. It is impossible that unanimous prayer should not be heard. It is right enough to seek counsel and aid in obtaining justice, as well as to call upon holy and pious people for their intercession, yet more for the sake of the truth than in order to preserve our lives. If then no one will help, we must leave the matter to Him who rules as King over all the earth, but we must be ready to suffer and be willing to die for the sake of the truth; as indeed we are, too, to love the truth more than ourselves. Therefore do thou, dear fellow-disciple of the Lord Christ and adherent of evangelical truth, pray and entreat with me, that our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the light of the world, the truth, and the life of believers, may himself be our light, and grant us grace, in all humility, to seek him, to think modestly of ourselves, and now that we have found him, constantly and fearlessly to praise and to confess him. Then I pray you too, to admonish your and my most serene prince and gracious Lord, not to become disheartened in consequence of the deceitful intrigues of those who, with their venomous serpent-tongues, venture to subvert the truth; that he, moreover, do not become terrified either at the roaring of the lion, (Pope Leo). For of him who takes divine truth as his shield, it is written: '*He has commanded his angels concerning thee to bear thee on their hands, that thou do not dash thy foot against a stone. Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder, the young lion and dragon shalt thou trample under thy feet,*'" &c. Further he writes: "That the Elector should not have respect either to him or to Luther, or to the whole order of the Augustines, but only be concerned about having the truth brought to light and darkness dispelled, and making provision, if possible, for some

secure place, where Luther might, without fear, which at times may overtake even the stout-hearted, boldly declare the truth. "For I know," says he, "how the Babylonian, I had almost said Roman pestilence, raves against all who oppose the shameful abuses of those who sell Christ and his grace for money." But to Luther, Staupitz, eight days later, wrote thus: "It seems to me as if the whole world were in arms against the truth. Such hatred as this would even have nailed Christ to the cross, and I do not see either, what else remains for you now but the cross. If I am not mistaken, we have soon to expect a decretal, forbidding all to search the Scriptures as Christ has commanded, without obtaining leave from the Pope. Thou hast but few patrons, and these, alas, from fear of the enemies, are only secret ones. My opinion is, that you had better leave Wittenberg for a time and come to me, that we may live and die together, and to this also the Elector consents. Herewith I close. *It cannot be otherwise but that we be forsaken, and thus follow Christ, who also was forsaken.* Farewell, and may you safely arrive here."

A papal breve, dated the 25th of August, was, in the meantime, issued to *Cardinal Cajetan*, to this purport: "That Luther had been cited to Rome to answer for himself, had too received a letter of admonition from the Bishop of Ascoli. But that because he was abusing the kindness of the Pope, growing daily more audacious and persisting in his heresy, Cajetan should, after receiving this document, as the matter was notorious and admitted of no excuse, (Luther, too, having already been declared a heretic by the above-named Bishop,) without further delay, force Luther to appear before him. To accomplish this he should call upon the Emperor as well as all spiritual and temporal princes for aid, and having once brought him to a place of safe-keeping, he should guard him till further orders, so as to be able to place him before the apostolical See. In case Luther appeared of his own accord, begging forgiveness for his audacity, and evincing true penitence, the Cardinal should have power given to receive him into the communion of holy mother church. But if he remained obstinate, despising the temporal power, and his person could not be secured, he and all his adherents were publicly to be proclaimed and set forth as heretics, outlaws, accursed and execrable people; all spiritual and temporal power (with the exception of the Emperor) were, under threat of excommunication, to be called

upon, to seize and to deliver up him and his adherents; but in case they secretly or openly afforded him assistance, their towns or lands should, as long as Luther remained there, be placed under the interdict of the Church; the clergy should be deprived of all their churches, cloisters and other spiritual property and incomes, as well as be dispossessed of their fiefs; the seculars were to be degraded, deprived of Christian burial as well as all their fiefs, and no exception or privilege whatever should be of any avail against these measures. Unto those who showed themselves obedient, the Cardinal might grant full indulgence, as well as any other favour or compensation."[3]

The Pope, at the same time, wrote thus to the Elector: "That child of evil, Martin Luther, boasts himself as if, under the protection of the Elector, he had no man's power or punishment to fear. Now, although this is known to be false, yet is the Elector admonished to keep himself free, not only from guilt, not chargeable upon him, but also from the appearance of guilt. And as Luther is now cited to answer for himself before the legate, to whom the business has been committed, the Elector is requested to have care and to see that Martin Luther be delivered up to the power and judgment of the holy See, as the above-named legate will demand of him."

John Lange had, through Count Albrecht, of Mansfeld, warned Luther not to go without the precincts of Wittenberg, as several noblemen were lying in wait for him, for the purpose of either strangling or drowning him; Luther, however, said that he was not conscious of teaching anything but pure theology, and that he had known, long since, that his preaching would be a stumbling-block to the hypocritical Jews, and to the wise Greeks, foolishness. He accordingly, in September, proceeded to Augsburg on foot, and on the 28th arrived at Weimar; he remained there in the cloister one night, and on the following day, it being Michaelmas, preached in the castle church, treating especially upon the words: "He that will be greatest in the kingdom of heaven," &c., among other things reflecting upon the Bishops, who ought to go about in the form of servants, but instead of that, seated themselves in the temple of God like Antichrist, using, for their own advantage, the power they had received, and considering it as their spoils. The Provisor of the monks there, John Kestner, sympathizingly said: "Oh! dear Doctor, the Italians are very learned men. I fear you will not be able to maintain your cause against them;

they will certainly burn you alive on account of it!" Luther replied: "With nettles it might be endured, but with fire it would be too hot. My dear friend, pray our Lord God in heaven, in a pater noster, for me and His dear child Jesus, whose my cause is, that He may be gracious to Him. If only He maintains the cause for Him, it then is maintained for me: but if *He* will not maintain it for Him, then I shall not maintain it for Him either; then *He* must bear the reproach." Being despatched from Weimar by the Elector with many gracious letters of recommendation, and means to defray his expenses, Luther travelled the whole distance on foot to within three (German) miles of Augsburg, where being seized with severe pain in the stomach, he seated himself on a wagon, and thus, in a borrowed cowl belonging to Dr. Wenzel Link, on the 7th of October, arrived at the cloister of the Augustines at Augsburg. He immediately, on the first day, sent Link and another person to the Legate to inform him of his arrival. On this information the Cardinal sent his orator and two servants, inviting Luther to come to him, and promising him every favour. The latter replied that he would come. But the counsellors (Auerbach, Langenmantel, Peutinger,) said, that he should not go to him, as he had no safe-conduct, and the Italians were not to be trusted. For the Elector had recommended Luther to the Council, requesting them to take good care that nothing might befall him. This they accordingly faithfully did, and Langenmantel in particular, said: "Because the Elector had written to them he should now obey them, do as they directed, and not so precipitately go to the Cardinal. For they knew that in his heart he was quite exasperated against him, whatever outward appearance he might assume." They, therefore, endeavoured to obtain for him a safe-conduct from the Emperor; but it was some three days before this could be effected, as the Emperor was not in Augsburg, but had gone on a hunting excursion; his counsellors alone remaining behind. In the meantime, the Cardinal's servants came every day and said: "The Cardinal offers you every favour, why are you afraid? He is a very kind father." But another one whispered to him: "Do not believe it, he is not a man of his word."

On the 9th, Urbanus, the Orator of the Margrave of Montferrat, sent to Luther, requesting him not to go to the Legate till he had before spoken with him. He then accordingly, being, as all supposed, employed by the Legate himself, came

to Luther and urged him with many words, and, as he said, with the most wholesome advice, simply and entirely to yield to the Legate, return to the Church and retract his errors. He further, too, counselled Luther very much against defending himself, and said: "Do you, then, wish to have a race?" Luther: "If it can be shown me that I have said anything in opposition to what the true Catholic Church believes, I will immediately condemn myself and retract." "Yes, yes," repeated he, "you want to have a race." Hereupon he made the most nonsensical assertions, and acknowledged openly, that false doctrines might be preached if they only yielded profit and filled the chest. So, likewise, that there ought to be no disputing concerning the power of the Pope, but that this ought to be placed sufficiently high to allow him to abolish everything, even in matters of faith, by his mere command. On the third day he again came to Luther and reproached him that he did not come to the Cardinal, who was all the while so graciously expecting him. Luther replied: "That he had to follow the advice of those upright men to whom he had been recommended by the Elector, who all, however, were of the opinion, that he ought not to go without a safe-conduct from the Emperor; but that as soon as this was received he would immediately come." At this Urbanus flew into a passion and said: "Do you think, then, that the Elector will, for your sake, risk the loss of his dominions?" Luther: "That I do not at all desire." Urbanus: "Where will you abide then?" Luther: "Under heaven." Urbanus: "If you had the Pope and the Cardinals in your power, what would you do with them?" Luther: "I would pay them every respect and honour." Upon this Urbanus, after the Italian manner, bit his finger and said: "Hem, hah! hah!" went away and came no more. At that time too, they represented to Luther, that the dispute might be settled by six letters of the alphabet, REVOCA, (retract!) an easy matter: but he thought that they were important letters, and that it would not have come to *revoca*, but to OCCIDE, (kill!).

Luther accordingly waited for the safe-conduct from the Emperor, which was delivered to him on Monday, the 11th. Hereupon he, on Tuesday, went to the Legate, taking with him his host, the prior of St. Anna's,[4] at Augsburg, with two of whose brethren, besides Dr. Wenceslaus Link, and one other brother more of his order. Having come to the Legate, he there found with him the apostolical Nuncio and Urbanus.

But they had before carefully instructed him as to the manner in which he should deport himself. He accordingly fell down on his face before the Legate. The latter directed him again to rise. Then the Italians pressed and crowded around Dr. Martin, all wishing to see him, and many of them for that purpose coming into the apartment. Luther having now risen again, and neither the Cardinal nor any one else speaking, he thought such silence was to intimate that he ought to speak, and therefore he said nearly as follows: "Reverend father, cited by his papal holiness and required by my most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony, I have, as an obedient and submissive son of the holy Christian Church, appeared, and I herewith acknowledge, that such and such Theses have been published by me for disputation. I offer, too, obediently and willingly, to hear of what I may be accused, and if I should have erred, to adopt other views." Upon this, the Legate very kindly and graciously addressed him, immediately, according to the injunction of the Pope, as he said, (for the request to give Luther a copy of the breve, he refused,) demanding of him three things: 1. To ponder with himself and to retract his errors; 2. To promise that he would, in future, desist from them; and 3. To refrain from everything else which might create confusion in the Church. "And above all," said he, "you are to retract the following two articles: Firstly, your saying or maintaining, *that the treasure of indulgences is not the merit or suffering of our Lord Jesus Christ.* Secondly, your maintaining, *that a person who wishes to receive the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper, must himself have faith.*"

The former of these articles the Legate attempted to refute with a single *Extravagans in Clementinis,* (a division of the papal decretals,) pretending that the suffering of our dear Lord Jesus Christ and indulgences, were the same thing. Luther, in his reply showed, that there were properly two extravagances, one of Pope Clement IV., the other of Sixtus IV., both of the same import; that he knew them well, and had read them both. For the Legate had asked how he could be so bold, and, without having read such *Extravagans,* venture to write differently from what it contained. Afterwards the discussion proceeded so far, that Luther said: "He did not consider either of those *Extravagances* as sufficient proof in matters of such importance, inasmuch as they perverted the holy Scriptures, and

did not quote them rightly." Then the Legate said: "That the Pope had power and authority over all things." Luther answered: "*Salva scriptura*; that is, yes, it is true, but only so far, that the holy Scriptures be not torn in pieces by the Pope." This the Legate ridiculed and said: "*Salva scriptura!* The Pope, dost thou not know it, (is) above Councils too, for lately he censured and condemned the Council of Basle?" Luther: "But the university of Paris has appealed from it." The Legate: "Those of Paris will also receive their punishment for it."

Concerning the other article: "That a person, who partakes of the holy sacrament, must believe, in order to obtain the grace offered to him in the sacrament," the Legate said: "That this doctrine was opposed to the holy Scriptures, and to the true doctrine of the Roman Christian Church." Luther replied: "That in this article he neither would nor could yield." The Legate: "Whether you will or will not, you must either retract it to-day, or I will, on account of this single article, reject and condemn all your doctrines." And on Luther's quoting several passages from the holy Scriptures, the Legate ridiculed him and said: "Loquitur de fide generali," (that is, he speaks of faith in general,) which Luther, however, denied.

Thus much they accomplished the first day, for Luther begged one day's time to consider, and so departed, "Because," as he subsequently wrote to the Elector, "I saw, that by words I could not maintain my cause, inasmuch as he represented the Pope, and desired that I should approve and assent to everything he said; whereas, what I advanced in opposition, was received with hisses, rustling, tumult, laughter and contempt, even though I quoted the holy Scriptures. In short, the paternal kindness which he repeatedly promised your Electoral grace to observe towards me, consisted in this, that I was required either to suffer violence or to recant, for he said. that he would not discuss the matter with me. It therefore seemed best to reply in writing, which expedient leaves to the oppressed at least this consolation, that others too are enabled to form a judgment and decision on the subject, and that he who otherwise by clamour keeps the field, may perhaps thus have his conscience aroused and alarmed."

Luther having returned from this first interview to his lodgings, he there found the vicar, Dr. Staupitz, who in the mean-

time had come to Augsburg,[5] and the latter deemed it expedient to obtain from the Legate permission for Luther to present to him his answer in writing.

The next day, (Wednesday, the 13th October,) Luther again went to the Legate and with him Dr. Staupitz, three imperial counsellors, and the electoral-saxon knight von Feilitzsch, and in presence of a notary, whom he had brought with him, protested as follows: "That he was not conscious of having said anything that was opposed to the holy Scriptures, the fathers of the Church, the papal decretals or sound reason; that, however, being human, he could err, and therefore had submitted and did yet submit himself to the judgment and lawful decision of the Church, and of all who knew better. That he, moreover, for himself offered, here or elsewhere, publicly to render an account for what he had said. And that if this did not satisfy the Legate, he was prepared, in writing, to reply to any objections of his which he might choose to advance against him, and to submit the matter for decision to the universities of Basle, Freiburg, Louvaine and Paris."

But the Legate said, that there was no need of the protestation, and again began to admonish Luther to repent and to acknowledge the truth; that he, the Cardinal, would again reconcile him to the Church and the Pope. Luther now declaring his intention of answering in writing and not by word of mouth, and representing that there had been enough disputation the day before; the Legate answered and said laughing: "My son, I did not dispute with you, but wished to admonish you, and out of respect for the most serene prince Frederick, kindly and graciously to hear you." Luther keeping silence upon this, Staupitz arose and begged to have him heard in writing, which at length was, with difficulty, obtained.

On the third day Luther again appeared before the Legate, and in presence of the knight Philip von Feilitzsch and Dr. John Rühel, who were present by command of the Elector, delivered to him his written answer to the two objected points.

In this answer he says, in reference to the first point: "That the decretals often erred and were opposed to the holy Scriptures and Christian love. That St. Peter, on occasion of his not walking uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel, had been reproved by St. Paul, Gal. 2. That it was therefore not to be wondered at, if his successor should likewise err in

any case. That many earlier decretals, too, had been corrected by later ones, and Panormitanus said: 'That in matters of faith, not only a general council, but every believer was above the Pope, in case he had better authority and reason on his side.' That he himself would not be so indiscreet as to give up so many important and perfectly clear testimonies of the holy Scriptures for a single obscure and ambiguous decretal of the Pope, who was a fallible man; that he would still attempt to make his Theses and the Extravagans agree, so that both might, in truth, be maintained. Having now done this, in seven arguments, he concluded that the Extravagans was on his side, and against the opinion of the very reverend Cardinal, and that his 58th Thesis, therefore, declaring the merits of Christ not to be the treasure of indulgences, but something acquired thereby, still stands unshaken. That it, however, was not his business to interpret the papal canons; much rather, if he heard of the Pope's entertaining a different opinion, he would submit to it."

In reference to the second objection, Luther proves, from many passages of Holy Writ, as well in general, that man becomes righteous only by faith in God, as in particular, that we are prepared only by faith in the words of Christ, to receive the sacrament, and concludes: "I therefore humbly pray, most reverend father in Christ, to have compassion with my conscience, and to show me how I may understand this differently, but not to compel me to retract anything which my conscience constrains me to approve. As long as the passages, which have been adduced as proof, yet stand unshaken, I cannot act otherwise, for I know that we must obey God, rather than men."

But the Legate threw this document aside, without noticing it, and calling anew upon Luther to recant, he made a long speech, based on the opinions of Thomas (of Aquino), and thought by this to have overcome and silenced Luther. The latter made some ten different attempts to speak, but the Cardinal just as often thundered on anew. At last Luther exclaimed: "If it can be proved that the Extravagans asserts the merits of Christ to be the treasure of indulgences, I will recant!" At this the Legate broke out into a burst of laughter, and quickly seizing the book, he read hastily and breathlessly till he came to where it says: "That Christ had, by his suffering, *purchased* the treasure," &c. Here Luther interrupted him and said: "Behold, now, most reverend father, and consider well this word '*purchased*.' If Christ, by his merits,

has purchased the treasure, then it is not the merits that are the treasure, but that which the merits have earned, namely, the keys of the Church. The Thesis, therefore, is right." At this the Cardinal became suddenly confounded, and still not wishing to appear so, he abruptly passed over to something else, wisely endeavouring to make this forgotten; but Luther, setting aside respect, vehemently exclaimed: "Only do not imagine, that we Germans are ignorant of grammar. It is one thing to be a treasure, another thing to purchase a treasure." The Legate, upon this, arose and said: "Begone, and do not again come into my presence, except to recant." So Luther left the Cardinal and went his way.

In the afternoon, the latter sent for Staupitz, and treated with him about his inducing Luther to recant. Staupitz said that he was not able to do so, Luther being far too conversant with the holy Scriptures for him. Finally, however, he did so,[6] but on Luther's requesting him to explain the adduced Scripture passages differently, he said he could not. He at that time, too, himself said to Luther: "*Remember, dear brother, that you have begun this in the name of Jesus.*"

The Cardinal had, at last, agreed with Staupitz, to propose articles to Luther, pointing out what he was to retract and what not. But when the latter received neither the articles nor any other information, he sent Dr. Link to the Cardinal with the request: "Graciously, as a father, once more to take the case into consideration." The latter again, in a friendly way, declared himself willing, and said among other things: "That he no longer considered Dr. Martin a heretic, and would not either this time excommunicate him, unless further directions should come to him from Rome, as he had, by a special post, sent the answer of Dr. Martin to the Pope. Further, that if Dr. Martin would retract only the article in regard to indulgences, the whole matter could be easily arranged, as the other article concerning faith in the sacraments, was susceptible of a different interpretation." Dr. Staupitz hearing this, said: "That it would be worth something, if Dr. Wenceslaus had been attended by a notary or witness, when this hazardous declaration concerning faith was uttered, as it clearly appeared from it, that Rome was more concerned for money than the holy faith and salvation."

Many men of rank and intelligence, in the meantime, gave it as their advice and opinion, that it would be better for Dr.

Staupitz and Dr. Link again to leave the city, and not, in any way, to trust the Italians. Both, accordingly, on the same day, took their departure for Nuremberg, each by a different route.

Luther waited all day on Saturday, without receiving any answer; so likewise the following Sunday. On the latter day, he sent, by the prior of Pomesau, to the Cardinal a very submissive letter, in which he acknowledged, that though extremely provoked, he had yet been unduly bold, severe and disrespectful towards the Pope; that he ought to have used more discretion in treating upon this matter, and not have answered fools according to their folly; that he would in future, too, demean himself and speak differently, and would indeed suffer this matter of indulgences wholly to rest, if those who had provoked him were likewise required to keep silence. As to the rest, he would willingly retract everything if his conscience would, in any way, permit him; for that he durst not, at the command or advice of any one or to please any one, speak or act in any way against his conscience. Only one way remained, which was to convince him of his errors; that there was nothing he desired more than to hear and follow the Church.

Not receiving an answer to this letter, Luther, on Monday, the 18th of October, wrote once more: "That he was not conscious of having neglected to do anything which became an obedient son of the Church, but that now he would not, and could not fruitlessly waste his time; that he could not afford the expenses, and had besides already burdened the Carmelites too much; that the Cardinal had, moreover, by word of mouth, told him not again to appear before him, if he would not retract; he would therefore have to leave. That he had, indeed, been advised to appeal from the Cardinal, or much rather a sanctissimo Domino nostro Leone X., male informato ad melius informandum, (that is, from the badly-informed, to the better-to-be-informed Pope,) but that if it had depended upon him he would not have appealed, since he had already submitted the whole matter to the judgment of the Church, and was awaiting its decision. That he had not deserved, and therefore did not fear, ecclesiastical punishment; that it had also, through the grace of God, come so far with him, *that he was less afraid of punishments than of errors and erroneous opinions in matters of faith*, since he knew that punishment did no injury, but only good, provided he had faith and truth on his

side. The Cardinal he besought to interpret this his departure and appeal favourably with the Pope, as in these things he had yielded to necessity and the advice of his friends. For that he had not been able to oppose anything to the argument which they had advanced, saying: "What then will you retract? Do you then mean by your retraction to impose upon us a law of faith? Let the Church first condemn, if there is anything to condemn, then you may follow its decision, but it may not follow yours." That thus he had been overcome.

Luther still remained over Monday and Tuesday; but then both he and all his friends became apprehensive with regard to this silence. Therefore, fearing violence, he left behind him his appeal, and (on the 20th October) departed from Augsburg. Staupitz had provided a horse for him, the Council sent along with him an experienced out-rider, who knew the roads, and Langemantel aided him by night to get out of the city by a small gate. Thus, without small-clothes, boots, spurs or sword, he, on the first day, rode eight (German) miles, and on arriving at the inn in the evening, he was so much fatigued, that on alighting in the stable he was unable to stand, and fell down upon the straw. In Gräfenthal, Count Albrecht, of Mansfeld, unexpectedly meeting him, amused himself at his equipment, and obliged him to become his guest.

Two days after Luther's departure, his appeal was posted up on a door of the dome at Augsburg, in presence of the notary, Gall Künigender, of Herbrachtingen, and of several witnesses.[7]

Authorities.—Petri Bembi, epp. lib. XVI., n. 18.; in Luther's Works, Hall. ed., vol. 15, p. 523. Seckend., p. 41. L. Let., No. 74, 75, 78, 73, 80, 81, 95, 84, 282, 86, 87. Sermo de virtute excommunicationis, in Löscher, II., ch. 9. Luther's Works, vol. 17, p. 169, 171, 172. Letter of Staupitz to Spalatin, German, in Spangenberg's Adelspiegel, vol. II., p. 89. His letter to Luther, in Löscher, II., ch. 11. The papal breve, &c., ib.; and Luther's Works, vol. 17, p. 173, 74. Myconius, p. 30, 31. Spalatin, Amales., p. 5. The writings in reference to the Acta Augustana, in Löscher, II., ch. 11. Luther's Works, vol. 17, div. III., where also most of the above-mentioned letters are found printed.

Notes.—1.) Luther evidently means his spiritual trials, which no one knew so well as Staupitz.

2.) This, to Luther, unfavourable letter, as proceeding from a politician, can easily be reconciled with the above-cited declaration (p. 64), to Pfeffinger.

3.) This severe papal breve, in which Luther was condemned before the time had expired during which he was to appear at Rome and

answer for himself, was first communicated to him at Nuremberg on his journey back from Augsburg. He afterwards had it published himself with severe annotations. Works, vol. 17, p. 176.

4.) John Frosch, who soon afterwards was made Doctor at Wittenberg, was Prior of the Carmelite-cloister, to which Luther soon after his arrival had gone from the Augustine-cloister.

5.) Staupitz had promised to be present at the audience, and Luther had, immediately upon his arrival, sent a messenger for him to Salzburg.

6.) In order not to be obliged to force Luther to anything, on the plea of obedience to his order, Staupitz had taken the precaution, even before this, to absolve Luther from all obedience to the order. Seckend., p. 47.

7.) The transactions at Augsburg which have in this chapter, as the author hopes, been synoptically and plainly arranged from the different reperts, are, in these reports, related unanimously indeed as to essentials, yet in minor points, naturally too, with some difference; and it cannot always with certainty be stated on what occasion this or that thing was uttered. The author could not, for instance, well find a suitable place for the often-quoted, and by Myconius, p. 73, reported declaration of Cajetan: "Ego nolo amplius cum hac bestia loqui; habet enim profundos occulos et mirabiles speculationes in capite suo." (I do not wish to have any further conversation with this beast; for he has deep eyes and wonderful thoughts in his head.)

CHAPTER VI.

DIFFICULTIES AND PROGRESS IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE AUGSBURG TRANSACTIONS.

On the 31st October Luther had again, in good health, arrived at Wittenberg, without knowing, however, how long he would be able to remain there. But he was full of peace and joy, and wondered how so many and great men could consider these his trials as something extraordinary. The apostolical, (or, as he called it, diabolical) breve, (see p. 85.) had been communicated to him at Nuremberg; he considered it impossible, however, that it should have emanated from the Pope, and thought that some knave had, under the Pope's name, attempted to terrify him by such decretal. He resolved, in connexion with the proceedings at Augsburg,[1] to publish a theological comment on this breve, (See ch. 5, note 3,) and he already thought of appealing to a general council.

Cardinal Cajetan had, in the meantime, under date of the 25th October, written to the Elector, related the proceedings with Luther, severely complained of him as well as his adherents, and in conclusion had said: "As regards this subject, I

will assert three things as certain. Firstly, what brother Martin says in his Theses, he says by way of disputation, but in the sermons written by him, it is maintained and stated as true. But this is partly against the doctrines of the apostolical See, partly deserving of condemnation. And your highness can believe me, for I speak what is true from accurate knowledge, and not from mere opinion. In the second place, I pray and exhort your highness to have regard to your honour and conscience, and either to send brother Martin to Rome, or to expel him from your dominions, as kind treatment will not induce him to admit his errors or to agree with the Church universal. Lastly, your highness may know that this important and pernicious business cannot long continue in this state, for at Rome they will follow it up when I have washed my hands." And in the postscript written by himself: "Again I pray, that your highness may not suffer yourself to be deceived by those who say: 'Brother Martin's Theses contain nothing bad;' and that you may not, in any way, for the sake of a miserable monk, bring any reproach upon your and your ancestor's worthy name."

This letter the Elector did not receive till the 19th November. He caused it to be placed before Luther, and the latter replied, giving to the Elector a detailed statement of things, as he considered this the best opportunity to present the whole matter. He likewise related all the proceedings, step by step, following the document of the Cardinal, and defending himself against it. Towards the close he said: "But this I cannot endure, that he endeavours to make a Pilate of a most wise and acute prince. For when the Jews had placed Christ before Pilate, and he asked them what accusation they had to bring against him, or what evil this man had done, they said; 'If this man were not a malefactor we would not have delivered him to thee.'" Thus, here too, the right reverend Legate, having, with many hateful words, accused brother Martin to the prince, and the prince being supposed to ask: "What then has the poor brother done?" he answers: "Your highness can believe me, for I speak what is true, from accurate knowledge, and not from mere opinion." I will, in the Prince's stead, reply to it: "Well then, let me know this accurate knowledge of thine, put it down in writing, do not dread publicity and the light. As soon as you comply, I shall send brother Martin to Rome, I will even myself have him seized and put to death. Thus I

shall have regard to my honour and conscience and bring no reproach upon my worthy name. But as that accurate knowledge of yours shuns the light, and makes itself known only by the sound of the voice, I shall not confide in darkness, since the light itself is not sufficiently safe. Thus would I reply, most serene Prince, but your wisdom does not stand in need of an instructor or adviser." He then requested the Elector to judge for himself, what more he could have done, since he had appeared and made every reasonable offer. That he was not conscious of having omitted anything excepting the six letters, REVOCO. He then continued: "As to the rest, let them condemn, teach, interpret, either the right reverend Legate or the highest bishop himself, but only let them not say: 'Thou hast erred, thou speakest wickedly;' but let them, in writing, point out the error, prove what is not well spoken, give their reasons for what they assert, refute the Scripture passages adduced by me; let them teach, as they boast to have done, by word of mouth; let them instruct me, who desire, pray, wish and wait to be instructed, what a Turk even would not refuse me. If I see that anything is to be understood differently from what I have understood it, and still do not retract and condemn myself, then, most serene Prince, may your highness be the first to persecute and banish me, may the members of our university denounce me, yes, I call even upon heaven and earth to oppose me, and may my Lord Jesus Christ himself destroy me. I, too, speak from certain knowledge and not from mere opinion. I do not wish my Lord and Master himself, or any creature of God, to show me mercy, if, being better instructed, I do not submit." And further: "I pray your highness to have regard to your honour and conscience, and not to send me to Rome, since it is impossible for me to be safe there. That would be nothing more or less than to enjoin your highness to shed Christian blood, and to become a murderer, since the highest bishop himself is not safe there. They have paper, and pens, and ink, at Rome, besides innumerable notaries; it will be easy to state on paper what my errors are, and why they are errors. It will be less expensive by letter to instruct me absent, than treacherously to murder me when present. One thing," he said, "most deeply grieved him, that the Legate, namely, in his communication, maliciously assailed the Elector, as if Luther, in his undertaking, depended upon the former's protection; and he shows that the Elector did not know any-

thing whatever of his disputation before." Finally, he says: "Therefore, lest any evil should befall your highness on my account, what I least of all desire, behold I leave your territory, to go whithersoever a merciful God directs, and to His divine guidance I commit myself, happen what may. For there is nothing I desire less, than that any human being, least of all your highness, should on my account suffer reproach or incur danger. Therefore, most serene prince, I reverently greet your highness, and herewith simply say, adieu, ever grateful for all the benefits conferred upon me. For wherever I shall be, I shall still, at all times, remember your highness, and sincerely and thankfully pray that all may fare well with you and yours."

Forwarding this letter to Spalatin, he requested the latter to ascertain whether the Elector would, perhaps, write to the Pope concerning him, in order to have his cause tried in Germany by commissaries. Not as though he were much concerned for himself, as he did not deem himself worthy to suffer anything extraordinary for the sake of the truth, but that he felt concerned about the university, and the many excellent young men who were inflamed with a wonderful zeal for the study of the Holy Scriptures. That in case he were to be crushed by main force, the door would be open against Dr. Karlstadt and the whole course of theological studies.

The university of Wittenberg likewise wrote to the Elector on behalf of Luther, that he might intercede for him with the Cardinal or the Pope, to have his particular errors specified in writing, with the reasons or authorities stated, so as to enable him to perceive wherein he had erred.

Luther was, in the meantime, daily expecting the sentence of excommunication from Rome, and he accordingly made every preparation, "in order that," as he writes to Spalatin, "when it should arrive, to be prepared and girded like Abraham to go forth, without knowing whither, or rather well knowing whither, since God is everywhere." To the congregation he said, from the pulpit: "I am now, as you have experienced, a very uncertain preacher, having often left without taking leave of you. If this, perhaps, should happen again, I wish you to consider me, in case I return no more, as having herewith bid you adieu." He at the same time admonished them, not to be terrified at the papal punishments which were madly meditated against him, and not to lay these things to

the charge either of the Pope or any other man, wishing him evil on that account, but to commit the matter to God, and the like.

On the 1st of December, Luther was already preparing to depart, when a letter from Spalatin arrived and detained him, but he was still prepared as much for leaving as for remaining. It was especially on account of the suspicion, as if the Elector favoured him, that he believed it his duty to withdraw; he thought, too, that if he remained he would not be able to speak and write so freely, but that, if he left, he could pour forth all his thoughts, without restraint, and sacrifice his life for Christ. The Elector was, indeed, concerned for Luther,[2] but would still have been pleased if the latter had had a place of refuge elsewhere. In reference to this matter, he caused Spalatin to hold a long consultation with him at Lichtenberg, and on Luther's declaring that if the sentence of excommunication arrived, he would not remain, he advised him, not too hastily to direct his steps to France.

From Nuremberg, Luther was informed by letter, that Charles von Miltitz was on his way, being provided with papal breves, in order to seize and to deliver him to the Pope. Not knowing whether he might be unexpectedly put to death, or be surprised by the sentence of excommunication, he kept all things in readiness, and awaited the will of God; he likewise caused *an appeal to a future council to be printed*, in order that if he should be withdrawn, to be able to circulate it. But the printer, contrary to the agreement entered into by him, not to dispose of any copies, had sold nearly all before ever Luther obtained one of them.[3] The latter was the more grieved at this, as he had just then read the noble letter of the Elector to Cardinal Cajetan.

This letter was dated on the 8th December, and Luther's reply to the letter from the Cardinal was enclosed. The Elector writes: "That he had hoped, the Cardinal would graciously, as a father, have dismissed Luther, who at his request had been sent to Augsburg, and would not, without examining the case and sufficiently inquiring into it, have, as Luther said, insisted only upon a recantation. That, though the opinion of many learned men in his own and other dominions had been obtained, he had not at all been able to ascertain that the doctrines of Martin were wicked, unchristian and heretical, excepting only in the estimation of several, to whom his learning

was objectionable, because of their own private advantage and pecuniary gain. That these had opposed Luther, but had, by no means, as yet, sufficiently sustained their objections. For," continues he then, "if from sure ground and cause we should perceive, that Luther's doctrines are wicked and untenable, we would, ourselves, know what to do, without needing to be exhorted or reminded in reference to it. For it is altogether our wish and intention, to discharge the duties of a Christian prince, and with the help of God, to preserve both our honour and our conscience inviolate. We did, accordingly, under such circumstances, by all means expect, not to be obliged to listen to such threats, (that the Roman See, namely, would follow up this case, and that your reverence had washed your hands,) much less to the demand, to send Martin Luther to Rome, or to expel him from our dominions, for no other reason than that he has not yet been convicted of the crime of heresy. For if he were expelled, it would be greatly to the injury of our university, which to this day has been known to be a Christian one, and has both many good teachers as well as students." In conclusion he says: "That as Luther had subjected himself to the decision of several universities, and, moreover, offered himself ready for a discussion at some secure place, and wished, at least, to have his errors specified in writing; he, the Elector, likewise prayed to have this done, that he might know why Luther was to be considered a heretic, as he would not, without proof, wish to consider him such, but would not like himself either to be drawn into error, or to be found undutiful to the apostolical See."

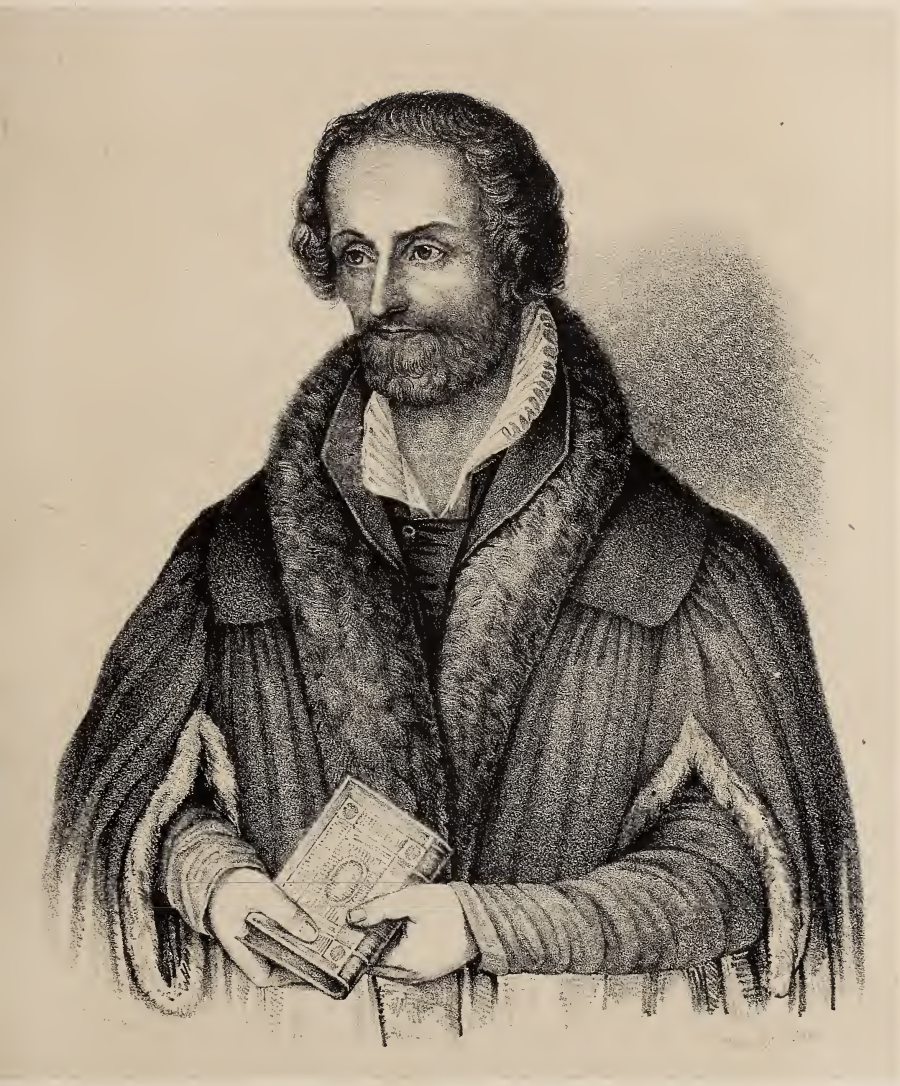
Luther was much rejoiced at this letter, which was couched in language so firm and yet so becoming, and he found himself continually impelled to read it anew. But before this, he was, through the grace of God, of good courage, and the more his enemies raved and had recourse to measures of violence, the less did he suffer himself to be terrified; and, on sending to Link the Augsburg *Acta*, he even wrote: "Far greater things now engage my pen. *I do not know whence these thoughts come to me.* In my estimation, this business has not even begun, notwithstanding, that their highnesses at Rome should be able to think it already at an end. I shall send you my trifles, that you may see whether I justly entertain the opinion, *that the very Antichrist of whom Paul speaks rules at the Roman court;*

that the latter is, at present, worse than the Turk, I believe I am able to show."

Especially did the flourishing condition of the university and of the study of theology rejoice him, as he then, in the letter above-mentioned, wrote to Link: "With us everything proceeds as zealously as with the ants." Much of this state of things was owing, in an especial manner, to *Philip Melanchthon*, who had, on the 25th August, 1518, arrived at Wittenberg, and had, four days afterwards, entered upon his professorship, by delivering a discourse on the improvement of the studies of youth. In reference to this, Luther, on the 31st August, wrote to Spalatin: "Philip Melanchthon has delivered an exceedingly learned and able discourse, to the delight and admiration of every one, so that you need no longer be at a loss how to recommend him to us. We very soon forgot his outward person and appearance,[4] deeming ourselves happy, and admiring that which we have obtained in him. Only see, for what department you may best recommend him to the prince. If he is professor of the Greek language, I have not the least wish for any other." And two days later: "Let me most cordially commend Philip to your good wishes; he is a thorough Greek scholar, deeply learned, and a most amiable man. His auditory is thronged with hearers; especially do all our theologians, from the first to the last, through him, acquire a taste for the Greek language." Therefore, Luther, too, from Augsburg, wrote to Melanchthon: "Quit yourself like a man, as you likewise do, and instruct the young men as you ought; but I will suffer myself to be offered up for them and for you, if so it please God. For I shall sooner perish, or, what above all, is most difficult for me, be deprived of your agreeable society, than retract what has been fitly spoken, and thus become the occasion of subverting the best studies."

Authorities.—Lett., No. 88, 94–97, 99–101, 103, 76, 72, 89. The writings of the Cardinal, the university and the Elector, in Löscher, II., ch. 13 and 15; Germ. Works of L., vol. 17, p. 203, 215, 216.

Notes.—1.) They appeared in the early part of December, under the title: "Lutheri Brevis commemoratio rerum, quæ Augustæ, A. 1518, peractis jam Comitiis cum D. Martino Luthero, etc., de Indulgentiis Pontificalibus sunt gestæ," and are to be found in Luther's Latin Works. The contents of this writing and the separate proceedings to which it refers, are known to the reader from ch. 5, and it is necessary



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here only to remark, that Luther accompanied the narration with a very independent and cutting preface, as well as postscript.

2.) L. never was able rightly to ascertain the disposition of the Elector, for the latter was very reserved on this point, and had, too, as late even as the 6th August, written to Cardinal Raphael: "That he had thus far never attempted to defend Luther's writings or sermons." Those in confidential intercourse with him, however, could nevertheless perceive, that he was favourably disposed towards Luther. Comp. Seck., p. 53. In his letter to Cajetan, of the 8th December, he, for the first time, in some degree, took Luther's part, against Roman assumption and violence.

3.) In this appeal, which had been discussed and drawn up, on the 28th November, in the chapel of Corpus Christi, still standing alongside of the parochial church at Wittenberg, Luther, in a very discursory manner reviews the proceedings thus far related, and justifies the step he had taken by showing, how all his prayers for audience and instruction had been in vain. If the Elector had already been dissatisfied with the publication of the *Acta*, he was even more so with that of the Appeal. It deserves yet to be mentioned, that the appeal was not drawn up with regard to the papal bull of the 9th November, 1518, (in which, without mentioning Luther, yet with obvious reference to the point in dispute, the doctrine of indulgences, against which Luther contended, was confirmed,) inasmuch as this bull was not at all known at that time. Lastly, it may in this place be stated, that among the influential writings of Luther, from the year 1518, there must likewise be numbered the German sermon "on the sacrament of Penance," (Löscher, II., ch. 14.)

4.) Melanchthon's exterior was not calculated to excite respect, besides which, he, at that time, had an almost boyish appearance. Comp. Let., No. 80.

CHAPTER VII.

BEGINNING OF THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH MILTITZ.

In October, 1518, the papal chamberlain, Charles von Miltitz, a Saxon nobleman, had been despatched by the Pope as nuncio, for the purpose of conveying to the Elector, Frederick, the consecrated golden rose, which it was customary annually to send to some especially distinguished prince; he was, however, not to deliver it till he had first spoken with Cardinal Cajetan. He, at the same time, had with him a breve from the Pope to the Elector, stating that Miltitz had received commission with regard to the prosecution of the war with the Turks, as well as with regard to Luther, "this child of Satan, and son of perdition," in order to investigate his cause, and to proceed against him and his adherents; and as the conscience of the Elector might be not a little misled by the foolhardy project of

Luther, and his own glory as well as that of his ancestors be darkened, he was herewith exhorted in the Lord, and affectionately requested, well to consider this business, and having just been honoured with so valuable a present, now, too, with his authority to aid the commissary in the execution of his commission. He likewise had breves to a number of private persons, for example, to the electoral counsellor, Pfeffinger, to Spalatin, as secretary of the elector, and to the Naumburg prebendary, Donatus Grasse, in which they were admonished, through their influence with the prince, to assist in crushing Luther's shocking foolhardiness, as well as in rooting up the weeds of his erroneous doctrines; further, to the captain and the mayors of Wittenberg, that they should aid Miltitz, without hinderance, to execute his commission.

On the 27th December, Miltitz arrived at Altenburg. He had ordered Tetzel to meet him there; but the latter excused himself, saying, that he durst not venture out of Leipzig, Luther having so excited against him all the men of power, that he was nowhere secure. Luther, on the other hand, had a meeting with Miltitz, at Altenburg, in the beginning of January, 1519. The latter, with many words, urged him, in honour of the Roman Church, to retract what he had said. Luther, in reply, requested only to have a form of recantation prescribed to him, and cause shown why he was to be considered in error, though in such a way that it might appear evident to the mass of the people as well as to the learned, lest a recantation, having an evil appearance, might excite only still greater hatred against Rome.

On the next day Luther notified the Elector of this, and informed him what he intended to do: "In the first place," said he, "I would promise, in future, to let this subject rest, and to permit the business to bleed itself to death, provided my opponents likewise keep silence. In the second place, I would write to his papal holiness, most humbly submitting myself and acknowledging how I had been too hasty and too severe, though not with the intention of derogating from the authority of the holy Roman Church, but from the motive, as a faithful child of the Church, to resist the blasphemous preaching which has caused the Roman Church to be derided, evil spoken of and dishonoured, as well as the people to be filled with suspicion against it. In the third place, I would publish a short address, exhorting every one to follow, obey, and reverence the Roman

Church, not to interpret my writings as meaning to dishonour, but to honour the holy Roman Church; I would further acknowledge myself to have brought the truth to light with too much ardour, and perhaps at the improper time. That, in the fourth place, Spalatin had, at the instance of Fabian von Feilitzsch, proposed to submit the matter to the bishop of Salzburg, whose decision Luther should either follow or return to his appeal. But that he apprehended the Pope would not be willing to accept a judge. That Miltitz, with whom he had conversed on these points, had supposed it was not enough yet, though he had not demanded a recantation, and thus they had separated, further to consider the matter. In case the Elector knew of anything else that could be done, he was requested to make it known. That he would willingly do everything, suffer everything; but that there would be nothing like a recantation."

At last, Miltitz and Luther agreed upon two articles, which Luther thus stated to the Elector: "There is, in the first place, a general prohibition to be given to both parties, against preaching, writing, or treating upon this subject. His honour, Charles, will, in the second place, briefly write to the holy father, the Pope, the condition of all matters as he has found them, and endeavour to obtain from his papal holiness an injunction, say, to some learned bishop, to investigate the cause, and to point out the articles which are erroneous, and which I am to retract. And then, having been shown my error, I will willingly retract the same, and not derogate from the honour and power of the holy Roman Church."

Luther himself relates of these negotiations, that Miltitz had been furnished with more than seventy apostolical breves, in order to take him alive and bring him prisoner to Rome, but that, on his way, he had been smitten of God, that is, had been awed into forbearance by the great number of those that favoured Luther. That, on this account, he had exchanged his violent intentions for a very crafty and hypocritical benevolence. "But," says Luther, further, "he himself, in my presence, betrayed what he had intended and determined in his heart, in that he said: 'O! dear Martin, I thought you were already an aged, worn-out theologian, sitting behind the stove and thus disputing with yourself; but I perceive that you are yet an active, young, and strong man. And even if I had with me an army of twenty-five thousand men, I would not trust to bring you out of Germany. For on my journey I have made

repeated inquiries, as to how the people were disposed, and what they thought of you, when I found thus much: that where there is one on the Pope's side, there are at least three others on your side against the Pope.' Miltitz further said: 'That for a hundred years no case had given that idle race of men, the Cardinals and Romanists so much trouble, and that they would sooner expend ten thousand ducats upon this business than have it go any further.' "

Thus, then, they parted in the most friendly manner, Miltitz inviting Luther, in the evening, to sup with him, besides exhorting him with tears, and dismissing him with a kiss; but Luther considered this kiss the kiss of a Judas, and said that he, on his part, likewise acted as though he did not understand these Italian tricks and crocodile tears. Luther, soon afterwards, at the desire of Miltitz, proposed the archbishops of Treves and of Salzburg and the bishop of Naumburg, as persons fit to be chosen as umpires in his business.

But Miltitz, when at Leipzig, took Tetzel severely to task, and proved, by the agent of the Fuggers, at Leipzig, who had taken in the indulgence moneys, "That Tetzel had received one hundred and thirty florins a month for his trouble, had his expenses free, with a carriage and three horsemen as attendants, besides ten florins each month for his servant, not to mention what he had stolen and misapplied."

Many other things, likewise, came to light, for instance: "That he had two children," &c. When Luther heard this, he said: "I am sorry for Tetzel that he has come into these straits, and that his deportment has been made so public. I would rather, if it could be, that he might be sustained with honour, as soon as he has, in any way, reformed. By his disgrace I profit nothing, as by his praise I lose nothing."

According to his promise to von Miltitz, Luther, under date of the 3d March, addressed a very *humble letter to the Pope*, in which he expressed his regret, that what he had undertaken with a view to rescue the honour of the Roman Church, had, with the highest authority itself, caused him to be suspected of disrespect towards that Church. That now, however, he did not know what he should do. The recantation which was demanded, he would willingly publish, if that would only do any good. That his writings were spread further than he had ever imagined, and had struck too deep root in men's minds to be recalled. Through such a recantation, the Roman Church

would only be more and more dishonoured and impeached before all men. That those, whom he had opposed, who, in connection with their insipid preaching, had, under the Pope's name, practised the most detestable avarice, were the men who had brought the Roman Church into such disrepute in Germany, but who now, as if they had not done mischief enough, were accusing him as the author of what, by their folly, they themselves had caused. "But now," he continued, "most holy father, I declare before God and all his creatures, I have never wished, nor do I this day wish, in any way, to derogate from the authority of the Roman Church or of thy holiness, or secretly to plot against it. I much rather confess, that the power of this Church is above all things, and that nothing in heaven or on earth is to be exalted above it, excepting alone Jesus Christ the Lord of all; and I earnestly pray thy holiness not to yield a listening ear to those who slanderously speak differently of Luther. And the only thing, which, to my knowledge, I can do in this case, I cheerfully promise thy holiness: I shall, namely, in future, suffer this matter of indulgences to rest, and shall keep entirely silent with regard to it, (if my opponents will likewise desist from their empty boastings). I shall further cause a writing to be circulated among the people, from which every one shall perceive, that the Roman Church is to be sincerely honoured, and that the foolish attempts of these men are not to be laid to its charge; that, moreover, none ought to imitate the severe style of writing against the Roman Church, which I have employed, yea, employed quite too much, and in which, whilst writing against those declaimers, I proceeded too far."

The writing here promised appeared at the same time, under the title: "*Instruction by Dr. Martin Luther, concerning several points, which have been charged upon and ascribed to him by his opponents.*" In it he treated of the intercession of the beloved saints, of purgatory, of indulgences, of the commands of the holy Church, of good works, and of the Roman Church, as follows:

"That he firmly maintained, with all Christendom, that we ought to honour the beloved saints and pray to them, for that God, even at the present day, visibly works miracles near their bodies and their graves through their name. But it was true that he had said, that it was unchristian that men did not seek of the saints spiritual blessings oftener and more diligently

than temporal goods. That it was foolish, too, to think, the saints had any ability or power to grant such things, as they can only intercede, as everything is done alone through God.

"Concerning purgatory we are firmly to believe, that the poor souls suffer distressing pain, and that it is our duty to aid them with praying, fasting, alms, and whatever we can; but of what nature the pain is, and whether it serves only for rendering satisfaction, or also for producing a reformation, neither he nor any one else knew with sufficient certainty. Neither did he know how to maintain, 'That we may, by means of indulgences, rush into purgatory, and thus, by main force, prevent God's mysterious judgments;' let others believe it, he would not believe it unless it were better established.

"As to indulgences, it is sufficient for the generality of men to know, that they are a deliverance from rendering satisfaction for sin, yet so, as to be much inferior to good works, which are commanded and which we are in duty bound to perform; that indulgences are left free and optional, no one sins who purchases them, and no one merits anything either by purchasing them. What it is further necessary to know concerning them may be left to the learned men of the schools.

"That God's command ought to be esteemed above the command of the Church, as gold and gems above wood and straw, according to 1 Cor. 3. That he had not spoken against good works, but had preferred the right kind of good works to the inferior kinds. 'For,' says he, 'even if there were no command of the Church, we could still very well be pious through God's command. But if God's command is slighted, the command of the Church is nothing else but a pernicious cloak for sin, causing outwardly a glossy appearance, whilst there is nothing good within. Therefore, too, my advice is, to have a part of the commands of the Church abolished in a council, so that God's commands may likewise be permitted again to shine, and to give light; for by the lights of many commands, the daylight of the divine command has been almost entirely obscured.'

"As to good works, he had said and still said, that no one can be pious and do right if God's grace did not first make him pious; that no one becomes pious through good works, but that good works are performed only by him who is pious, just as the fruit does not produce the tree, but the tree produces the fruit. God desires that we despair of ourselves, our actions

and good works, and see, that, with all our best works, we cannot stand before Him, but must place our confidence alone in his unbounded grace and mercy, and thus walk in fear. That the works and the life proceeding from a heart filled with such godly fear and humility, are good, and not those which outwardly appear good.

"That the Roman Church was honoured of God above all others, and though the state of things at Rome was then a bad one, yet that was no cause for separation from this Church; yea, the worse matters stood there, the closer we ought to cling to her, for by tearing loose from and despising her, things were not in the least improved. But as to how far the power and authority of the Roman See should extend, that the learned should be left to decide; the salvation of the soul being not at all bound to it. Let the power be as it may, great or small, as God distributes it, we ought to be content; but union ought to be preserved, and papal commands should, by no means, be resisted.

"Behold," says he, in conclusion, "now I hope it is manifest, that I do not wish to deprive the Roman Church of anything, as my dear friends have accused me. But that I do not approve the course of several hypocrites, in this, it seems to me I do right, and I am not to let bubbles frighten me to death; the holy Roman See is to be followed in all things, yet no hypocrite is ever to be believed."

Luther, undoubtedly, had much cause for this last protestation, for even in Wittenberg, but few agreed with him, as far as the power of the Pope was concerned.[1] And Spalatin, likewise, had twice reminded him to make mention, in his German defence, not only of faith and works, but likewise of obedience to the Roman Church. But he in return answered the latter, also, that it had never entered into his mind, to separate himself from the apostolical Roman See. If the Roman decretals would only leave the Gospel untouched, as far as he was concerned, they might take away everything else.

In the meantime, the emperor, Maximilian, had died, (January the 17th, 1519,) and the *Elector of Saxony* had become regent of the realm. This, now, exerted a great influence upon Luther's cause, as he himself afterwards related: "After the death of Maximilian, and under the regency of the Elector, Frederick, the gust gradually diminished, and excommunications or papal fulminations, began, by degrees, to be despised.

Under the protection of this prince the Gospel flourished, and spread far and wide. His authority determined very many, for, as he was a very judicious and wise prince, none but the envious could suspect him of wishing to support and to protect heresy and heretics. This greatly injured the papacy."

Under these circumstances, it now happened, too, that the *Bishop of Brandenburg*, on the occasion of a meeting with Luther, at Wittenberg, (in February,) did, indeed, greatly object to his undertaking such things, yet withal in a friendly way, for, Luther thought that the bishops now at length perceived, that it was their duty to do what they saw him do, and began to be somewhat ashamed on account of this.

After many negotiations had been had with the Elector on Luther's account,[2] Miltitz, at length, demanded of the latter to come to *Coblentz*, and in presence of Cardinal Cajetan, to have a hearing before the *Archbishop, Richard of Treves.* For which purpose the latter likewise wrote to the Elector, who, however, before granting it, wished first himself to speak with the archbishop. But Luther, reminding Miltitz of what they had arranged together, at Altenburg, answered, that he could not possibly come now, since, as Miltitz himself wrote, no command had been received from Rome, neither had the archbishop any commission thence. That he could not thus blindly rush into danger, did not know either whence to obtain means to defray his expenses, as he had already proved so burdensome to his patrons, not to mention, that during the Interregnum no safe conduct could be given. That, besides all this, the disputation to which John Eck had challenged him was at hand, and he could not, under existing circumstances, withdraw himself from it, without preparing for himself, his friends, his elector, his order and the university, the greatest disgrace. That he would not have this matter investigated before Cardinal Cajetan, he having, whilst at Augsburg, endeavoured to draw him off from the Christian faith, wherefore he could not at all consider him a true Catholic Christian. That, finally, too, he was waylaid on all sides; there having, but a short time previous, been a man at Wittenberg, who had been suspected of designs upon his life, and had been obliged to betake himself to flight, to save himself from being cast into the Elbe. That suspicion had almost been entertained of Miltitz's having been concerned in the matter. That he should, therefore, be pleased to excuse him. But if, as he wrote, he would be

obliged, after the reception of the apostolical breves, to come himself; then he prayed God to grant him a safe journey and arrival.

Authorities.—The instruction to Miltitz and the papal breves, in Löscher, II., ch. 16. Tetzel's letter in Cyprian's Urkunden, in Tenzel's hist. Bericht, &c., vol. I., p. 376. Let. 115, 108, 109, 123, 112, 120, 124, 125, 140. Præf. Lutheri in Tomm. Latt. Titebb. Cyprian's Urk. I., 380. Luther's Instruction concerning several points, &c., in Löscher, III., ch. 6, and W., vol. 17, p. 224.

Notes. 1.) Compare the letter of the Wittenberg jurist, Otto Beckmann, in Lösch., III., ch. 4.

2.) To pursue these transactions into their details might lead too far. The correspondence in reference to them, is to be found pretty complete in Löscher and Cyprian.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE DISCUSSION AT LEIPZIG.

Dr. John Eck had, already, in the year 1516, become involved in a controversy with Karlstadt, who, as well as Luther, defended the doctrine of Augustine and Ambrosius, in reference to free-will; he had, besides, afterwards, in his Obelisks, clandestinely and maliciously assailed Luther, as well as his Theses on indulgences. (See ch. 4.) Karlstadt defended Luther, and likewise replied to Eck's challenge for a public disputation with him, saying that he would meet him, provided the expenses for that purpose were defrayed, safe-conduct given, and the arguments of each disputant dictated to faithful notaries for record.

Whilst Luther was at Augsburg, he had agreed with Eck to have this disputation take place either at Leipzig or Erfurt, and, under date of the 15th November, 1518, he informed him, that Karlstadt left the choice of place and time to him. Eck, thereupon, (previously to the year 1519,) published a fugitive sheet, in which he stated, that, after Easter, he would dispute with Karlstadt, at Leipzig, but in the Theses advanced, he almost entirely passed by his controversy with Karlstadt, and directed his principal attack against Luther himself, because, (as he afterwards excused himself,) Karlstadt only supplied the latter's place, but Luther was the real originator of these false and erroneous doctrines, having disseminated the same all

over Germany. Therefore he would have to come himself and defend his cause.

Luther did indeed complain of the craftiness with which Eck endeavoured to draw him into the dispute, but wrote to his friends: "It will yet come to pass, that I shall, if Christ grant me grace, do what I have long since intended, namely, for once, in an unsparing discourse, to fall upon the Roman dragons in real earnest. Thus far I have, only in play and jest, assailed the cause of Rome, albeit they complain of it most bitterly, as if it had been insufferable earnest." But to his elector he wrote: "God knows I was perfectly in earnest, and was rejoiced to see the game thus have an end, which it would have had if it had depended upon me, for I have so strictly observed that agreement (with Miltitz, see ch. 6,) as not even to notice Sylvester Prierat's reply, (see ch. 4,) notwithstanding the great provocation therein given me; and in addition to all, have disregarded the insolent raillery of many of my opponents, maintaining silence even against the advice of my friends. But now, that Dr. Eck unexpectedly assails me in such a way as to show that he, having, in the estimation of many worthy men, been bribed for the purpose, endeavours to overwhelm with disgrace and dishonour, not me, but your electoral grace's whole university at Wittenberg: it has not seemed proper for me to despise these fickle and crafty manœuvres, or to leave the truth to struggle for itself amidst such raillery. I am, nevertheless, still sincerely disposed, obediently, to follow your grace's faithful advice, and to observe silence in all cases, provided they likewise do so; for truly I have other matters to engage me, and I do not seek any gratification in these things. But if not, I most humbly pray your grace not to interpret the matter unfavourably to me, for I do not know how to satisfy my conscience and yet forsake the truth."

The Elector replied, that he would permit the disputation to Luther, if Eck really wished to dispute with him and not with Karlstadt alone. The Leipzig theologians, on the other hand, and with them the bishop of Merseburg, did all in their power to prevent the discussion from taking place, but *Duke George* at last wrote with energy: "That it was certainly useful and necessary, duly to consider the question lately raised, to hear the arguments of both sides, and to ascertain, whether, in truth, the souls of the dead were, as soon as the money paid

for indulgences tinkled in the box, delivered from purgatory and carried up to heaven, by which deception the foolish and simple populace were deprived of their money. That all Christendom was concerned in having the matter made known to every one, if any doctrine had been corrupted in consequence of the errors and the ignorance of teachers. But that, if the theologians could not assert and defend their office and title of honour, there would be less expense and more profit in supporting old women or young children, who, in time, would become more serviceable to the commonwealth, and much more obedient to the government than such theologians," &c. This proved effective; the university gave its consent; but Tetzel, on hearing that the disputation would certainly take place, is reported to have said: "May the devil reward them."

Eck had opposed thirteen Theses to Luther, the last of which ran thus: "We deny that the Roman Church was not, before the times of Sylvester, the head over all the other churches, but we have always acknowledged him that sat upon the chair of St. Peter, and had his faith, as the successor of St. Peter, and vicegerent of Christ."

To this Luther opposed: "*That the Roman Church is the head over all other churches, is proved from the most absurd decretals of the Roman Popes, which have come into existence only within the last four hundred years: opposed to these, are the authentic accounts of eleven hundred years, the text of the holy Scriptures, and the decree of the most reverend Council of Nice.*"[1]

He well knew that this Thesis had been wrung from him by Eck, and with how sly an opponent he had to deal; he well knew, too, that the latter aimed at nothing else but to draw upon him the fulminations of the Pope; he, nevertheless, very powerfully comforted his anxious friend, Spalatin, and among other things wrote to him: "Only do you permit my friends to consider me beside myself. This business (if it be of God) will not be brought to an end, till, just as the disciples and friends of Christ forsook him, so likewise, all my friends forsake me, and truth be left to remain alone: she will maintain herself with her own right hand, not with thine, not with mine, nor with that of any other man. In short, if I perish, the world will not perish with me. The Wittenbergers have, by the grace of God, already come so far, as not to need me. What do you want? I, poor man, am afraid only that I am not worthy to suffer and to die in such a cause: this happiness, I

fear, is reserved for better men than for so hateful a sinner. I have told you, that I am at all times ready to leave this place, if my stay should involve our most serene prince in any danger."

Dr. Eck had fixed the beginning of the discussion on the 27th June. About this time Duke George came to Leipzig himself, granted his castle of Pleissenburg, too, for the purpose, causing its largest saloon to be cleared and arranged as a lecture room, by having it most handsomely adorned with desks, of which there were two, one opposite to the other, besides seats as well as tables for the notaries, the seats and desks being all of them decked with beautiful tapestry. That of the Wittenbergers was ornamented with the portrait of St. Martin, that of Dr. Eck with the portrait of St. George. He gave command to the Council to have proper lodgings prepared for the guests, and in order to prevent all tumult, the city militia was to be under arms.

Dr. Eck came to Leipzig quite early, even previously to the feast called Corpus Christi, and on the day of the feast walked along in the procession, which was held there, and which was exceedingly gorgeous and splendid; being clothed in his chasuble, (gown,) and in company with the theologians, he made himself quite conspicuous previously to the disputation, as if he entertained no fear of the Wittenbergers. Friday after Corpus Christi, (the 24th June.) those of Wittenberg made their entry. Now these were Dr. Karlstadt, Dr. Luther, and with them Dr. John Lang, vicar of the Augustines, Philip Melanchthon, two Licentiates of theology, of whom Nicolaus Amsdorf was one, three Doctors of law, as likewise many Magisters and students. They entered by the Grimma gate, their students running along-side of their vehicles, with spears and halberds, thus accompanying their professors. Dr. Karlstadt preceded, then followed Dr. Martin and Philip, likewise in a travelling car, none of them having a covered carriage. And as they thus entered by the Grimma gate and were opposite the entrance to the church-yard of St. Paul's church, Karlstadt's carriage all at once broke down, so that he, the Doctor, was precipitated into the mud. But Dr. Martin and Philip Melanchthon drove past, so that the people, who witnessed this, said: "This one will prevail, but the other will fail." They had scarcely alighted from their carriages, when an order of the bishop of Merseburg was posted up on the doors

of the churches, in which the disputation was forbidden. But this prohibition was disregarded, and the man that had posted it up was imprisoned by order of the Council, because he had done so without permission from the latter.

In the lodgings, the Wittenberg students disputed very violently with those of Leipzig. Thus, for instance, there was, at the house of Herbipolis, the printer, a master of arts at table, who lived in the house, and whose name was Baumgärtner; he was a Dominican monk, and had, for a long time, travelled about with Tetzel, assisting him, by his preaching, in vending the Pope's indulgences; the same became so enraged against the Wittenbergers, that the host was obliged to station a man near with a halberd, in order to preserve peace at table, whilst the Wittenbergers were sitting there eating.

On Sunday, the 26th June, it was arranged and determined at the castle that Karlstadt should begin the disputation with Eck, that the proceedings should be recorded by notaries, the records of the disputation, however, not to be printed till a decision had first been obtained in reference to them.[2] On Monday, all the strangers from Wittenberg and Ingolstadt proceeded to the great hall of assembly, where Dr. Simon Pistor, on the part of the university, received the guests, in a Latin speech; hereupon all went to the church of St. Thomas, and the Leipzig Magisters brought the Wittenbergers with them.

There a mass *de sancta spiritu* was chanted, a mass with twelve parts, which had never been heard before.[3] After mass they returned to the castle, where one-fourth of the citizens were stationed in their armour, with their best weapons and their standards, being required, in order to preserve peace, to be in the castle twice each day, as long as the disputation continued, from seven to nine o'clock in the forenoon, and from two to five in the afternoon; for there was collected a great crowd of people, who came to see how the affair would end—men of all ranks, abbots, counts, knights, the learned and unlearned. Duke Barnim, of Pomerania, who, at that time, was Rector at Wittenberg, had accompanied the rest to Leipzig, to the disputation, and did not neglect one of the meetings, listening much more attentively than any of the Leipzig theologians and collegiates, who always sat beside Dr. Eck, soundly asleep; so attentively did they listen, and so interesting was the disputation to them, that it commonly became necessary to awaken them at the close of each disputation, that they might

not miss their meals. Duke George was not himself present at the beginning of the disputation: he, however, afterwards frequently attended and listened with attention. All being now seated, *Petrus Mosellanus*, professor of eloquence at Leipzig, arose and delivered a Latin discourse on the proper mode of disputing; and when he had concluded, there were musicians appointed by him, who performed the *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, (Come, Holy Spirit,) during which all present reverently knelt down. Upon this, they proceeded to dinner, and the discussion did not begin till two o'clock in the afternoon, when it was opened between Eck and Karlstadt.

But Peter Mosellanus thus portrays the disputants: "Martin is of the middle size, of a spare frame, and so worn down by cares and study, that if you behold him near, you can number almost all the bones of his body. He is in the prime of manhood, and has a clear and penetrating voice. His learning and knowledge of the Scriptures are so admirable that he is at home in almost everything. Of the Greek and the Hebrew he has learned so much as to be able to judge of the explanations. He is at no loss as to matter for discourse, for he has an extraordinary stock of things and words at his command. In the common intercourse of life he is polite and friendly, having nothing gloomy or haughty about him, and knowing how to adapt himself to circumstances. In society he is agreeable, lively, and at all times of a good courage and a serene countenance, no matter what evil designs his enemies may have against him, all which constrains one to believe that he does not undertake such important things without the assistance of God. Men, pretty generally, however, find fault with him for being more unsparing and sarcastic in reproving others, than one who advances anything new in theology should venture to be, or than is becoming a theologian.

"All these things nearly are found in Karlstadt, in an inferior degree. Only he is of smaller stature, his complexion is dark and swarthy, his voice hollow and unpleasant, he is of a weaker memory, and more easily excited to anger.

"Eck, on the contrary, is tall, strongly-built and square, has a full and altogether German voice, coming forth from a pair of powerful lungs, so that he would not only make an actor, but even a town-crier; it is, however, more coarse than clear. His countenance, eyes, and all his features are of that kind which sooner leads one to take him for a butcher or a soldier,

than for a theologian. His memory is excellent, and if his understanding were equally so, one would have to regard him as a finished specimen of nature's workmanship: but he is deficient in quickness of comprehension and acuteness of judgment. Hence it comes, that in disputing, he, without any reflection whatever, heaps up, one upon the other, so many arguments, quotations from the Scriptures, and assertions from authors, not at all perceiving how weak these arguments mostly are, how the quotations, properly explained from the context, prove nothing at all on the point in dispute, and how unwarranted and sophistical those assertions are; for he is intent only upon heaping up a chaos of matter, in order to mislead the audience, who are the most part unlearned, and to gain for himself the appearance of superiority. To this must also be added his incredible boldness, for as soon as he perceives that he has been drawn into the net which his opponent has set for him, he has the adroitness, gradually to give the discussion quite a different direction."

Eck, at the commencement, disputed with Karlstadt, (on the 27th and 28th June, and 1st and 3d July,) concerning *the freedom of the will*, whether a co-operation could be ascribed to it in the performance of good works, which Karlstadt had denied in his Theses.

On the 29th June, it being the day of Peter-and-Paul, Luther was called upon by the Rector of the university of Wittenberg, Duke Barnim, of Pomerania, to preach before him in the castle chapel. When this was noised abroad in the city, there flocked in to hear him so large a number of people, of both sexes, that he was under the necessity of preaching in the disputation saloon. He showed, that in the Gospel for that festival, Matt. 16, 13–19, all the subjects of the whole disputation were comprised. *In the first place*, on the grace of God and the freedom of our will. The Lord here teaches, that flesh and blood, or what it can do, is vain, since no one is able, by the revelation of flesh and blood, to know Christ, much less, therefore, to follow him; but the Father in heaven must reveal it to him, as happened to St. Peter. *In the second place*, on the power of St. Peter. It is not necessary, however, that common people should dispute much concerning St. Peter's or the Pope's power: it is more important for them to know how to use that power for their salvation. It is true, the keys are given to St. Peter, but not to him as to his person, but as representing the

Christian Church, and they are just as much given to every one of us, for the comfort of our consciences. When any one feels himself wavering and doubting in his heart, as to whether he have the favour of God or not, then it is high time that he should go to the altar or to the priest, and ask absolution for his sins, thus seeking the power and comfort of the keys. Therefore the power of the keys does not help the priest as priest, but only sinful and trembling consciences, which receive grace through faith.

Luther, as he himself said, gained little favour with the inhabitants of Leipzig by this sermon. Eck was appointed and preached four times in different churches, assailing everything Luther had said, and, according to his own confession, exciting the people against him. But Luther, although many requested it, was not permitted to preach again, and the ducal counsellor and commissary, Cesar Pflug, on hearing that Luther had preached, said: "I wish Dr. Martin had deferred his sermon till his return to Wittenberg."

The discussion between Luther and Eck, on the *primacy of the Pope*, began on the fourth of July.[4] Luther protested, from the very beginning, that he would willingly, from reverence for the papal See and Roman Church, have passed by this needless and exceedingly odious subject, if the proposition of Dr. Eck had not compelled him to take it up. Eck rejoined, that former assertions of Luther had induced him to advance it, and he now attacked Luther's view, by assuming that the Church must have a head. Luther replied: "That this was very true, and that it had never entered into his mind to defend the opposite." Eck: "Well, then, but who shall be, or who ever has been this head, if not the Bishop of Rome, who was so regarded already by Cyprian and Jerome?" Luther in reply, said: "That he did not acknowledge any man but *Christ himself as the head of the Church militant*, and this on the authority of the Holy Scriptures. If the Pope were the head of the Church, then the Church would, at the death of a Pope, be without a head till another was elected. That the Scripture passages which had been adduced, treated of something else, or were against Eck. That Cyprian declared the Roman Bishop the head only of his congregation, considering him as his equal and therefore calling him brother. That the Oriental Church had never acknowledged the Pope, and yet was not, on that account, heretical. That Jerome ascribed to

the Bishop of Rome a human power, on account of divisions," &c.

Thus, with testimony from the Scriptures and the fathers of the Church, they disputed, till the 8th July, whether the Pope had his primacy from *divine* or only from *human authority*, the passages, Matt. 16, and John 21, being particularly examined on the occasion. Eck's principal aim was, to make Luther suspected of Bohemian heresy; but the latter repeatedly complained of the insidiousness of this attempt, and guarded himself against the charge of favouring the Bohemians. That these had done very wrong in arbitrarily separating themselves from the pale of the Church. But that he, in like manner, on the other hand, considered it improvident and overbearing to exile from the Church, and to banish from heaven, the many thousand martyrs and saints of the Greek Church, simply because of their having never been subject to the Pope. On his further saying: "That several doctrines of Huss or of the Bohemians were undoubtedly quite Christian and evangelical," Duke George, with a loud voice, which was heard over the whole auditory, exclaimed: "Heaven forbid!" shook his head, and planted both arms in his sides.

On the 8th July, (in the afternoon,) and the following day, Luther and Eck disputed concerning the doctrine of purgatory. Luther denied the existence of any ground for it in the Scriptures, and said he knew nothing further concerning it than that the souls in it were compelled to suffer and needed the aid of our works and prayers; that he opposed only the opinions of the fathers, who had set up as a fixed article of faith what they were not able to substantiate.

Then on Monday, the 11th July, Luther and Eck disputed concerning *indulgences*, on the 12th concerning *repentance*, whether it must flow from love to God, or might too, as Eck maintained, proceed from fear of punishment; on the 13th, finally, concerning *absolution* and *satisfaction*, when, with the forenoon of the 14th, the disputation between these two was closed, the discussion being continued for two more days between *Eck* and *Karlstadt*.

On the 16th, the master of arts, John Lange, delivered a valedictory address, and the chanter of St. Thomas, George Rhau, performed a Te Deum Laudamus, and thus the disputation was closed, and the Wittenbergers again returned to their homes.[5] The business would, perhaps, not yet have been at

an end, if information had not been received, that the Margrave Joachim, of Brandenburg, returning from the assembly of princes, held at Frankfort, would soon arrive, thus making it necessary to have the castle put in readiness for his reception.

Luther complained that the Leipzig theologians had neither greeted nor visited him and Karlstadt, but had, so to speak, treated them as if they were the worst enemies; whilst they had accompanied Eck, kept about his person, dined with him, given him invitations, presented him with a garment and camlet, had taken pleasure rides with him, and had, in short, done everything they could devise, in order to bring the Wittenbergers into contempt; besides all which they had likewise persuaded Cesar Pflug and the Duke to approve of such conduct. That they had shown them this one favour, according to custom, to make them a present of wine, as they could not well have omitted doing that. That those who had been favourably disposed towards the Wittenbergers, had, so to speak, been obliged to come to them clandestinely; yet Dr. Auerbach, this man of excellent judgment, and the Ordinarius, Dr. Pistor, junior, had given them invitations. That Duke George likewise had invited them along with the rest. The latter declared the dispute between Luther and Eck, concerning the primacy of the Pope, to be a useless one, saying: "Whether the Pope be Pope in virtue of divine or of human right, he is and remains Pope." Having once called Luther to him privately, he conversed much with him concerning his writings, especially his explanation of the Lord's prayer, accusing him that he was appealed to by the Bohemians. That he had, by his explanation of the Lord's prayer, so confused the consciences of many, that they declared themselves unable, in four days, to pray one pater noster, if they followed him. But Luther afterwards remarked, that he was not so simple as not to have been able to distinguish between the flute and him who performed on it; that it, however, had grieved him, that a prince so pious and so deserving of honour, should be so liable to be influenced and guided by the passions of others; inasmuch as what he had spoken of himself, had always been very worthy of such a prince.

Eck—says Mosellanus—triumphed in the estimation of all those that understood nothing of the matter, or who, from some other cause, were unfavourably disposed towards the Wittenbergers. But that the victory of Luther and Karlstadt had

been less distinguished, just in proportion as there were few men learned and competent enough to judge, as well as because they themselves were too modest to trumpet abroad their own praise.

Luther himself was of opinion, that the time consumed at the disputation had been wasted, whilst the cause of truth had not been promoted, and that if Eck and his adherents assumed praise to themselves, their consciences would tell them differently. That, as far as Eck was concerned, he had never spoken to the point, or at least, only with the most common-place arguments. That the Wittenbergers had, even two years previous, much more acutely and effectively attacked all these Theses, having borne down upon them so severely that all the bones in them might have been numbered, whilst Eck had scarcely scratched the surface of the skin.

Melanchthon, under date of the 21st July, published a letter addressed to John Œcolampadius, in which he gave a succinct account of the disputation. Eck felt himself aggrieved by this, and under date of the 25th, published a reply, in which he, throughout, calls Melanchthon a grammarian, and says of him that he indeed understood Greek and Latin, but was not the man with whom a theologian could dispute on theological subjects. Melanchthon knew how to answer him, but Luther was quite indignant at Eck, that he reproached Melanchthon with his professorship as grammarian, whilst the latter was far better versed in the Scriptures than all the Ecks together, and understood enough, too, of the wretched Eckian theology. That he, in his investigations, valued the opinion of one Philip more than that of many thousand wretched Ecks, and that, although he was master of the liberal arts, of philosophy and theology, and possessed nearly all the titles that Eck did, he was yet not ashamed, if this grammarian was of a different opinion, to depart from his own. That he had often done this, and still did it, because of the gift which God, in the richness of his grace, had poured into this frail, but by Eck despised, vessel. "I do not," says he, in conclusion, "praise Philip, he is a creature of God, and I respect in him only the work of my God; so neither do I take exception to Eck, but from my whole heart I abhor this disgraceful cunning, which attempts to excite strife and envy, and which I have never yet witnessed in such magnitude and combined with such malice, as in Eck."

Thus, Luther, in a letter of the 15th August, writes to Spalatin,[6] to whom he dedicated the *substantiation* of the Theses which he had maintained against Eck at the Leipzig discussion. In connexion with the thirteen Theses, he refers the reader to his more comprehensive treatise on it, and in conclusion declares, that he did once more, by way of repetition, acknowledge and defend the primacy of the Pope, how great soever it might be, might have been, or might yet become, only he considered it a new doctrine to attempt supporting it by divine right, as none of the ancient fathers who had conscientiously and carefully inquired into everything pertaining to faith, knew anything of such an article of faith, neither had they, in their actions and their life, conformed to it, but that they should, on this account, all be pronounced heretics, he could by no means endure. "It makes me prouder every day," says he, "to see my name more and more reproached for the truth, that is, Christ must increase, but I must decrease. I am more rejoiced at the voice of the bridegroom and of the bride, than I am terrified at the hue and cry of wanton suitors. I am convinced that the men who so oppose me are not the authors of the evil themselves, and I do not hate them on account of it; but Behemoth, the father of evil, whom I discover in his shady retreat, would, if he could, like to become a terror to me, and on this occasion expel the truth from his realm. But He that is in us, is mightier than he that is in the world; if He be our guide, the enemy shall fail of success. Amen."

In the meantime, (on the 23d July,) Eck had written to the *Elector of Saxony* concerning the disputation, preferring many charges against Luther and Karlstadt. The Elector had this letter sent to his two Wittenberg doctors, who defended themselves at large in a writing of the 18th August, which, being sent to Dr. Eck, was again answered in detail by the latter, under date of the 8th November. Against Luther's communication to Spalatin, (see above,) Eck likewise published a written defence, (Expurgatio,) which Luther in return refuted in a published letter.

Upon this Eck went to Rome, and returned with the bull of excommunication against Luther. Thus ended the Leipzig discussion.

Authorities.—Andr. Carolostadii defensio adv. I. Eccii monomachiam. Let., No. 92, 119, 116, 130, (compare Eck's letter to Luther,

in Löscher, III., ch. 8,) 126, 132, (compare Vogel's Leipz. Annalen, p. 95,) 135, 136. Sebastian Fröschel's (an eye-witness, at that time Master at Leipzig, subsequently deacon at Wittenberg) account of the Leipzig discussion, in the preface to his work on the kingdom of Christ. Petri Mosellani, Ep. ad. Jul. Pflug. Eccii relatio ad Ingolstadienses, in Seckend., p. 85. The (registered) Acta of the discussion in Löscher, ib. Let., No. 147, (and Eccii Ep. ad Hogstrat.,) 149. Melanchthon's and Eck's correspondence, Corp. Reform., T. I., Epist. Mel., lib. II., 43, 44, 48. Lutheri Resolutiones, the correspondence between Eck, the Elector, Luther and Karlstadt, as well as the other controversial writings in Löscher, III., ch. 10, (compare Let., No. 151, 152, 170.) Nearly all the writings pertaining to the Leipz. disc. are collected in Löscher, vol. 3.

Notes.—1.) At what time these Theses and anti-Theses were first drawn up, and why the Thesis which caused so great a sensation, was first called the twelfth but afterwards the thirteenth, does not appear to the author to be sufficiently elucidated as yet. Of the thirteenth Thesis Luther wrote an especial explanation, (in which he, in the first place, reviews the Scripture passages adduced in support of the primacy of the Pope, then shows that the canons or decretals cannot prove anything, and finally brings forward the most convincing arguments to sustain his position,) but which, probably, was not printed till sometime afterwards.

2.) It is said that they agreed to leave the matter for decision to the universities of Paris, Cologne, Louvaine and Erfurt. Löscher, III., p. 819.

3.) The Cantor, George Rhau, who directed this mass, subsequently was printer at Wittenberg, and printed many of Luther's works.

4.) Luther's position in reference to this, as well as in reference nearly to the whole discussion, was a very difficult one: his convictions were, as yet, all progressive and forming, many things he at that time did not yet venture to maintain, because he was not yet fully satisfied, in his own mind, with regard to them. Hence the want of assurance which he evinces, in the discussion concerning purgatory, for instance.

5.) Luther had left somewhat earlier. Löscher, III., p. 557.

6.) It seems that at that time only this letter was published by way of preface to the explanations, but that these themselves did not appear till afterwards.

CHAPTER IX.

NEW FOES AND NEW FRIENDS, NEW CONTESTS AND FRESH COURAGE.

The Leipzig discussion being over, there daily arose new enemies against Luther.

The Franciscans, of the austere order, had, already, in April, (1519,) during a convention held at Jüterbock, put together fourteen of Luther's Theses, which they had designated as

heretical, and sent to the Bishop of Brandenburg, with the complaint, that Luther had rent the seamless coat of Christ, that is, the unity of the Church. Luther had replied to them, in a communication dated the 15th March: "That it was not right for them to endeavour to blacken his character, without first fraternally admonishing him. They should make good their indiscretion, or he would have their writing printed and published, and would so refute it that it should not bring their order much honour. That their order despised learning, wherefore they should observe silence on such subjects." To this emphatic declaration, he had appended a short but severe explanation of the points assailed.

The Franciscans observed silence, but engaged Dr. Eck to continue the controversy, who, (in August,) delivered an explanation of those fourteen Theses—a fifteenth he had added himself—to the *Bishop of Brandenburg*, by whom it was extensively circulated. Luther replied in a detailed publication, and proved upon Eck and the Franciscans, from their own writings, twenty-four erroneous Theses. He, indeed, when the provincial of the Franciscans sent to him several members of his order, with the request to suppress the writing, was willing to do so, if they could induce the Leipzig printer, Lotter, who was already engaged in the printing of it, to comply; but it probably was too late.

Another opponent Luther found in Dr. Jerome Emser, professor of canon law, at Leipzig. The latter published a letter, under date of the 13th August, and addressed it to Dr. Zack, administrator of the Catholic Church, at Prague, in which he attempted to show that the Bohemian brethren could, by no means, claim Luther as their ally, since he had, while at Leipzig, defended himself against no charge of Eck's more earnestly, than when the latter had endeavoured to represent him as favouring the Bohemians, and that this had been the greatest advantage resulting from the discussion, that Luther had so unequivocally renounced them. And although he had said, that some of the articles of Huss which had been condemned, were truly Christian, it was to be answered, that heretics had this in common, that they mixed up truth with falsehood. As to Luther's assertions in reference to the primacy of the Pope, the matter was not yet decided, and even if he were in the right, it would not be of any benefit to the Bohemians, for even if the Pope were Pope in virtue only of human right, all would,

nevertheless, have to obey him. He, at the same time, briefly attacked Luther's position.

Luther, upon this, issued a writing to Emser, under the title: "Ad ægocerotem Emserianum M. Lutheri responsio," (that is, answer of Luther to the Emserian he-goat,[1]) in which he, indignant at Emser's duplicity, as who, by this pretended justification, had aimed only at rendering him odious,[2] rejects Emser's praise as the kiss of a Judas, and shows, in particular, that it was not at all a necessary consequence, that he must be favourably disposed towards the Bohemians, simply because his declarations met their approbation; for then the sacraments, the whole Bible, the holy Fathers, would all be heretical, since the Bohemians approved of them. That many other things besides these, met the approbation of the Bohemians: Christ, the saints, and all good creatures of God—must they, therefore, all be heretical? "I daily," continues he, "receive letters from learned men, residing in different parts of the world, who all wish the truth success, and are apprehensive only, lest being discouraged by the insidious attacks of yourself and others like you, I might desist from the good beginning and retract. What do you make of them? Consult the logic of Eck, and you will instantly have them all Bohemians, for they read no other books from me but those which the Bohemians read. What need I trouble myself? If the Bohemians are of my opinion, they are of the right opinion; but with that I have not yet pronounced good their separation or their errors, and I do not stand in need of your patronage in order to be freed from this suspicion; for I hope you will rejoice that the Bohemians likewise agree with you in teaching the doctrine of the trinity, of Christ, and of all other articles of faith." At the close of this very severe writing, Luther, notwithstanding, adds: "You will not believe it, with how many witticisms, ironical and satirical remarks, my old man has inspired me against you, but which have again been suppressed by my Christ, because he cannot altogether despair, but that you may yet change your malicious disposition." And finally he complains thus: "How long shall I waste my time and labour with writing about indulgences and the power of the Roman Bishop, with things which have nothing at all to do with faith in God, or with our salvation? Truly we live in sad times: in the same deplorable way John Reuchlin has already lost many years over his dispute. But wo to the turbulent authors of

such evils, who, without cause, rave against their neighbour's welfare. Only let us, too, apprehend an equally lamentable or even a worse conclusion of this tragedy. I have often wished, with all peaceful people, to observe silence; but, thanks be to Christ, against the brawling and the furious, my confidence is fresh enough yet. I will love all, fear none. Adieu."

Emser replied to this in a detailed writing,[3] which appeared in the month of November, and in which, though he greatly complained of Luther's severe style of writing, he yet answered the letter in the same strain, and, notwithstanding all his protestations of sincerity, confirmed Luther's suspicions. From that time forward Luther had an open enemy in Emser.

In the meantime the Bohemians had actually applied to Luther. On the 3d October, Luther received from the electoral court, through Spalatin, letters from two Hussite clergymen of Prague, the curate, *John Paduschka*, and the provost of the Emperor Charles' college, *Wenceslaus Rosdialovinus*, which dated back from the 16th and 17th July. In them they say that they had read his writings with joy, and they exhort him not to neglect the grace of God that was in him, and thus endanger the salvation of many, but willingly to bear the reproach of Christ. That there were very many faithful and worthy people in Bohemia, who, with their prayers, day and night supported him. The former made him a present of knives, the latter of a book of John Huss, adding: "*This one thing I know, that what John Huss once was in Bohemia, that, O, Martin, thou art in Saxony.*"

Soon after this there came a messenger of the Bohemians to Wittenberg, to whom Luther delivered copies of all his writings, and with whom a written answer was sent, which Melanchthon, in the presence and with the consent of the other friends, as likewise of the Bohemian himself, dictated in the cloister.

This approximation of the Bohemians displeased the adversaries exceedingly, and there arose the ridiculous report—the originator of which Luther suspected the Leipzig Prof. *Jerome Düngersheim*, of Ochsenfart,[4] to be—that Luther was descended from Bohemian parents. There was one circumstance, in particular, which came to the aid of this, that Luther, namely, (probably in the beginning of the month of December,) published a sermon *concerning the highly-revered sacrament of the*

holy and true body of Christ, in which this sentence occurred: "It would, in my estimation, be well for the Church in a general council, again to ordain, that *both kinds be given to all the people as well as to the priests.* Not because one kind would not be enough, but because it would be becoming and seemly to administer the sacrament, not only as a part of the form and sign, but in its entire form; just as I have said of baptism, that it would be more proper to immerse in the water than to pour it, and this for the sake of the fulness and completeness of the sign."[5]

There was a great cry raised about this. Firstly, Duke George, of Saxony, wrote to the Elector, under date of the 27th December: "That Luther's book was regarded as *savouring considerably of Prague*, and as, in fact, bearing with it much heresy and scandal." That he, the Duke, was credibly informed, "that the curate of Leitmeritz, besides two citizens of that place, had been with Luther, as well as repeatedly sent messages to him, whilst they were yet arch-heretics." So likewise, that the number of the Utraquists had been increased by more than six thousand persons since the publication of his sermon. That the Elector certainly could not desire this, and would, as being the oldest and most Christian Elector, understand this matter better than he could write upon it, and would, no doubt, make the best disposition of things to prevent scandal and injury to Christendom.

The Elector replied to this on the 29th: "That he had never attempted to defend Dr. Martin's sermons or disputations. And that, although he did not know what the book referred to pretended to be, he yet heard, that thus far this same Martin's doctrines were, by many learned and intelligent men, esteemed and considered Christian. That it would grieve him exceedingly, if in his day, erroneous doctrines should arise in his brother's the Duke's and his own dominions, or in other parts, but much more yet if they should be furthered by him, from which might God preserve him."

The letter of the Duke and the cry which was raised concerning the sermon, particularly at Leipzig, occasioned Luther to publish an *explanation of several points in his sermon concerning the highly-revered sacrament*, &c., in which he says: "That the Bohemians were not called heretics because they used both kinds, for this not even the Roman Church had ever considered heresy, it having much rather permitted it to the

Bohemians. Yes, that it was reproaching Christ, and blaspheming the holy Gospel and the sacrament, to consider the use of both kinds heresy, since Christ had instituted it under both forms, and the whole Church over the whole world had used it so for many hundred years. That it was not at all heresy with which they had to do in this case, but schism and division. That both parties, therefore, should amicably agree, or if this could not be, each permit the other, without molestation, to pursue its own course. That he heard of there being three parties in Bohemia. The first, the Pighards, he considered heretics; of the other party, the Grubenhainers, he knew nothing, could therefore pronounce them neither heretics nor Christians; of the third party, called the Utraquists, he heard, that they in no respect believed or acted differently from other Christians, excepting in using both kinds. That consequently they were not heretics, but schismatics. Therefore," continues Luther, "my request would be, that both Bohemians and Romans desist from their obstinacy, and, either by adopting one form, be it one or both kinds, or else two forms, be amicable and united. And here love on our part should be more concerned for the salvation of the Bohemians, than for augmenting our own power and authority; again, the Bohemians should more pursue a course of union, obedience, and subjection to power, than follow their own conceits of freedom. For though the Gospel gives them power and liberty to have both forms, yet they are bound more to seek union, which is represented in the sacrament. Again, though we have the power or the majority on our side, we are still more to follow the dictates of love. 'All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient,' says St. Paul; we are not to do everything which is lawful for us, but what love to our neighbour requires. I hear, however, that the greatest difficulty is occasioned by the Bohemians having, in the schism, acquired possession of spiritual estates, which are desired back again. In case this is true, it is truly sad, that division and heresy are endured, sooner than that claims upon temporal, accursed property are given up. And here I consider both parties to be in the wrong. For Romanists and Bohemians are to yield the cloak with the coat, in obedience to the gospel, and it is sinful that the great heads do not use means amicably to adjust this matter." Finally, he refers to the rumour of his being born in Bohemia, educated at Prague, instructed in Wickliff's books, &c.,

and says: "Truly it is right, that those who resist the truth, should invent and firmly and seriously believe such frivolous, ridiculous, and foolish things."

Luther was constantly making progress in his search for truth. He was certain that he is no heretic who does not believe in purgatory; he was opposed to the introduction of new ceremonies, because there were more ceremonies in the Church already than were necessary, and because nothing was more to be feared, than that the spirit would be lost in consequence of them; he would admit nothing to be a sacrament to which there was not attached a definite divine promise, to excite and keep alive faith, "for," said he, "without a word of promise, and the faith of him who receives it, we have nothing to do with God, and whatever has been said about the seven sacraments is all fabulous." He was of good courage, however, for he could say: "I have yielded up and offered myself in the name of the Lord; His will be done. Who has entreated Him to make me a doctor? But if He has made me such, He may direct all, or may again destroy me, if He repents of it. These trials do not terrify me in the least, they much rather, with might, expand the bounds of my heart. Only for this I am concerned, that the Lord would be gracious to me in those things which concern me and Him; the cause of men, we will, in believing prayer, commend to Him and be secure. For what can they do? Kill? Can they then, perhaps, raise up from the dead, in order to kill once more? Will they raise the cry of heresy? Christ truly was condemned along with malefactors, and when I contemplate His sufferings, it vexes me exceedingly to see so many distinguished men consider these trials of mine, not only as something, but as something great, whilst in reality, they are nothing. The truth is, we have become too much estranged from suffering and evil, that is to say, from a true Christian life."

The day after he had written this, (the 15th January, 1520,) he addressed, to the new Emperor, Charles V., an humble writing, in which he says: "That the earthly princes must, as images of the heavenly Prince, imitate the latter likewise in this, that they, although occupying elevated stations, yet have regard to the lowly and raise up the poor and insignificant from the dust. And I accordingly, too, come as one that is poor and insignificant, and prostrate myself at the feet of your imperial majesty as a very unworthy person, yet notwithstanding, on behalf of

a very important cause." He then presents his case, how it was now the third year already that he had been obliged, without intermission, to bear hatred and reproach. and incur danger, because of his writings, which had been extorted from him; how he had, in vain, asked for forgiveness, offered to keep silence, proposed conditions of peace, and prayed for instruction. That the only aim was to involve him and the whole Gospel in ruin. "But," continues he then, "after having in vain made every effort, it at last seemed to me not improper, in imitation of the example of St. Athanasius, to address myself to your imperial majesty, if God would, perhaps, grant me grace through the same. Therefore, casting myself at the feet of your imperial majesty, I humbly pray the same, graciously to receive into your protection, not me, but the cause of truth, for the sake of which alone the sword has been given into the hands of your imperial majesty, to be a terror to evil-doers and a praise to them that do well; in all which I pray to be protected no further and no longer, than till I have rendered an account, and either have overcome or have been overcome. I desire no protection if I am found to be an ungodly man or a heretic. Only one thing I ask, that neither truth nor falsehood be condemned unheard and unvanquished."

Soon after this,[6] he likewise very respectfully wrote to the archbishop of Mayence, and to the bishop of Merseburg, and begged them not to give ear to those who secretly brought accusations against him. "I must, of necessity," says he, "teach what I have learned and what I read in the Holy Scriptures, and I am accused for teaching, what those men either will not or cannot refute. If only my most gracious Lord were at leisure to read what I have written, I have no doubt your reverence would, with the help of God, see how far I am removed from that of which I am accused. Neither have I yet heard that my writings have been condemned by any but those that have not read them, unless it be some few, whom envy leads either not to read at all, or if they read anything, immediately to distort it, and to ascribe to me things of which I never even have thought. Jesus Christ, the judge of us all, is witness for my soul, that I am not conscious of having taught anything but what is in accordance with the doctrines of Christ and of God's Word, that I am not either so obstinate as not to permit myself to be better instructed, or as to refuse retracting obvious error."

Both the bishops did, indeed, return a friendly answer to this, saying, that they rejoiced to see him offer to receive instruction; they, nevertheless, especially the Bishop of Merseburg, expressed their displeasure at the severity of his writings, the latter concluding his letter thus: "And herewith adieu, and mayest thou walk piously in Christ, who is the author of peace, and do thou, by all means, from love to him, moderate and mitigate thy style." Luther was not displeased at this answer; he said, however, that he truly took no pleasure in being tossed about by storms, and would like to live in peace just as much as the bishop. That one in health could, no doubt, easily give good advice to the sick.

There were, likewise, immediately again new troubles and trials to be encountered. The Bishop of Meissen had, under date of the 24th January, caused a proclamation to be issued against Luther's sermon on the highly-revered sacrament, in which it was asserted, that the latter had given cause for much doubt in regard to the sacrament and its reception, and might excite great scandal, error and division in the Church of God. All were, therefore, everywhere diligently to gather up this sermon and retain it till further directions were given, but the preachers were to instruct the people, to continue firmly and inviolably in the belief, that the whole Christ and Saviour is likewise under each form, and that also to them who receive the highly-revered sacrament only under one form, the sacrament is dispensed in its entireness and completeness, and not only as to a portion or part.

As this document had been issued under the title and name of the Bishop of Meissen indeed, with the seal only of the ecclesiastical court, however, Luther said: "He considered it certain, that the right reverend father in God and lord at Meissen was much too learned and pious, knowingly and designedly to cause the publication of so unfounded and malicious a document, sealed with many manifest falsehoods and blasphemies, and on this account he entitled his reply: *Answer to the billet issued under the seal of the official at Stolpen*,[7] called the author a billet-champion and an envious soul, who, not being able to prove his doctrines to be heretical, denounced them as scandalous, rebellious, wicked and presumptuous, and said, such documents would, at Rome and by all men of sense, be considered more awkward than respectable.

This severe writing drew upon Luther much enmity. The

Bishop of Brandenburg was already, since the Leipzig disputation, excited, as he had been by Eck and the Franciscans, (see above, p. 124,) very indignant at Luther. He is reported to have said: "That he would not lay down his head to rest till he had cast Martin into the fire, just as this brand," which he, whilst thus speaking, threw into the fire. Now, also, many courtiers of rank at the electoral court, who stood related to the Bishop of Meissen, (John von Schleinitz,) began to be wroth at Luther, and were very much offended, that even the bishop, as they said, was calumniated. Spalatin, on this account, wrote to Luther in great excitement, so that the latter was under the necessity of defending himself at large against his friend: "I have written to you before," says he, "by no means to imagine that this business has been begun or conducted, in accordance with your, my, or any other man's fancy: if it is of God, it will come to an end far against, beyond, above and below your and my conception. And that you may be reminded of it once more, I would not wish to see even a single hair in this matter regulated according to your or my determination, and never have I, in this respect, feared anything more, than that I might, perhaps, some time or other, being left to myself, write in such a way as suits the taste of men, and for you there is cause to fear lest you become too wise, as for me lest I become too foolish. I know men are displeased at too great foolishness, but God is much more displeased at too great wisdom, for that which is foolish he has chosen that he may bring to nought that which is wise. I pray you most earnestly, if you have correct views of the Gospel, not to think that this business can proceed without noise, offence and tumult. You cannot convert a sword into a downy feather, or war into peace: the Word of God is sword, war, downfall, offence, destruction, poison, and, as Amos says, like a bear upon the road and a lion in the forest, so it meets the children of Ephraim. My adversaries may come forth, if they see proper, and if they should have forgotten the honour due to the person of the bishop or else of the official, doubt not but that I shall, by reference to the Scriptures, quite handsomely remind them of it. Of a jealousy, prompted by such inconsiderateness and ignorance, I can entertain no fear. God urges me on with might: He may see to it, what he'll accomplish through me, since I am conscious of not having of myself sought or prayed for any of this, but that everything has been exacted from me

by the rage of others. Be of good courage, and do not look at the things that appear. Faith is the evidence of things not seen; why do you judge according to that which is seen? That which is transpiring in this business, O, my Spalatin, is one thing, another thing is that which is seen. I seek nothing, but there is one who seeks something. Let it stand or fall, I gain and lose nothing. There you have my opinion. Yet I cannot deny that I am more severe than is becoming, but as they very well know this, they should have given no provocation. How difficult it is for a person to moderate his ardour and style, you can learn from your own experience. This, too, is the reason why it has always been so repugnant to me to appear before the public; but the more repugnant it is to me, the more I become involved in the matter against my will, and that only in consequence of the most shocking accusations, with which they rave against me and God's Word; and thus then it happens, that even if my ardour and my style did not carry me away, still, even a heart of stone would be aroused to resistance by so revolting a course, how much more I, who am ardent and have no very dull pen."

He very soon, again, had occasion for employing this his pen. The theological faculty at Cologne had, on the 29th August, and that at Louvain, on the 7th November, 1519, prohibited Luther's books[8] as heretical and condemned them to the flames; and Cardinal Hadrian, of Dertusa, had, in a communication of the 4th December, very highly commended them for it. When Luther, in March, 1520, received the "dogmatical condemnation" of these theologians, he immediately wrote a severe reply, in which he shows them, by many examples, how their decisions, for many years past, had been not only hasty, inconsiderate and precipitate, but likewise erroneous, heretical, blind and audacious, and then says: "That he was exceedingly surprised at the theologians of Louvain and Cologne, that they were always in advance of all theological faculties, on the score of impudence, and that they did not feel ashamed because of such examples." He then reviews the condemned Theses, and finally says: "That God's displeasure was to be traced in this, that he places such children and effeminate men over us, according to Isaiah, chapter 3, because our sins and our great ingratitude, which are intolerable to God himself, have deserved this."

In May, 1520, there further appeared a publication in Latin,

by the Franciscan, *Augustine von Alveld*, in which he defended the primacy of the Pope against Luther. Luther considered it too silly to waste only one hour in refuting it, and therefore committed this labour to his amanuensis, *John Lonicerus;* but, when this writing, to Luther's greatest surprise, found favour with several respectable men, and Alveld likewise published it in German, Luther, notwithstanding, wrote against him, and that in such a way as not to forget the Pope, and as not to intend doing either of them a favour by it, "for," as he wrote to Spalatin, "thus the importance of the case demands it, the secrets of Antichrist must, at last, be brought to light." He therefore entitled his writing: *Concerning the papacy at Rome in opposition to the highly-renowned Romanist at Leipzig.* In the preface he says: "I pray every Christian so to regard my words, as, although they should, perhaps, be ironical or pointed, to have proceeded from a heart which has been obliged, with great pain, to unburthen itself, and to convert seriousness into irony; for, since my Lord Christ and his holy Word, so dearly purchased with his blood, are considered subjects for ridicule and buffoonery, I must lay aside seriousness and see if I have not likewise learned to ridicule and to mock. Thou, my Lord Jesus Christ, knowest how my heart is disposed towards such, Thy arch-blasphemers; upon this I depend, and I leave all to proceed in Thy name. Amen. They shall yet permit Thee to remain a Lord. Amen." He then advances the point to be discussed: "Whether the papacy at Rome, as it is in the undisturbed possession of power over all Christendom, is (as they say) derived from divine or human authority," and says: "That it is not at all the serious opinion of the Pope and his flatterers, that his primacy is of divine authority, since everything divinely established is not valued one iota at Rome, but is much rather derided as folly." The argument of his opponent: "That every congregation on earth, if it is not to decline, must have a temporal head, under the head, Christ; the whole of Christendom, accordingly, being one congregation on earth, it likewise must have a head, and that is the Pope," he firstly derides, since, if the argument for the divine institution be taken "from the custom in temporal things," everything that is true of a temporal congregation, can yet not be applied to Christendom. He then refutes it by showing how the Scriptures speak of the Christian Church, and what other mode of speaking of it had come to be used: wherefore he, "for the

sake of plainness and brevity," distinguishes two churches: the one, the natural, substantial, real and true, he calls the spiritual, inward, Christian Church; the other, which is artificial and outward, a temporal and outward Church, "not that we wish to separate them from each other, but just as we, speaking of a man, say of him, with regard to his soul, that he is a spiritual, with regard to his body, a corporeal being." He then asserts, that the first Christian Church, which alone is the true Church, cannot have a head upon earth, and cannot be governed by any person on earth, whether Bishop or Pope; that Christ, moreover, cannot have a vicegerent in this Church. That St. Peter was one of the twelve apostles and not the lord of the eleven, and that the Pope was no higher than St. Peter. That according to divine appointment all bishops are equal, and occupy the places of the apostles; according to human regulations, however, one might be above the other in the outward Church. That the Pope ruled Christendom with outward pomp, but that this did not make men Christians, and that those were not heretics either, "who were not under those same laws and pageantries, or human regulations, for with the countries the customs differ." All this is confirmed by the article: I believe in the Holy Ghost, one holy Christian Church, a communion of saints. No one speaks thus: I believe in the Holy Ghost, one holy Roman Church, a communion of the Romans, in order to make it evident that the holy Church is not bound to Rome, but extends over the whole world, being united in one faith, spiritually, not bodily. For that which we believe, is not bodily or visible. The outward Roman Church we all see; therefore it cannot be the true Church which is believed, and which is a communion or assembly of saints in the faith: but no one can see who is holy or who believes. The signs by which we can outwardly perceive where this Church is in the world, are baptism, the sacrament, and the Gospel, and not Rome, this or that place. For where baptism and the Gospel are, there no one is to doubt but that there are saints, though they should only be children in the cradle. But Rome or papal power is not a sign by which the Church is known; for such power makes no one a Christian, as baptism and the Gospel do; therefore it does not belong either to the true Christian Church, but is a human invention.

A further argument of Alveld's was: "The Old Testament was a type of the New. As therefore the former had a visible

highpriest, so likewise must the New have such; how would the type otherwise be fulfilled?" This Luther answers thus: "type and fulfilment are to each other as bodily to spiritual, outward to inward things, so that everything which in the type we see with bodily eyes, is to be seen fulfilled only by faith, or it is not a fulfilment. All that the Old Testament has of bodily, visible things, typifies spiritual, inward things in the New Testament, which cannot be seen, but are possessed in faith." Further, though we should give the type a spiritual fulfilment, yet it would not stand the test, unless there could be adduced some manifest passage from the Scriptures, connecting the type and the spiritual fulfilment, otherwise every one might make of it just what he chose. That Aaron was a type of Christ and not of the Pope, according to Ps. 110. 4, (compare Heb. 5. 2, and Matt. 22. 44,) and Hebr. 9."

He then examines the passages usually adduced for the primacy of the Pope, and finally says, in reference to the calumniation of his person: "Only denounce, calumniate, and judge my person and my life, whoever will, it is already forgiven him. But let no one expect of me, either favour or patience, who attempts to make my Lord Christ, preached by me, and the Holy Ghost, false. For myself I care not, but the Word of Christ I shall defend with a joyful heart and with fresh courage, without any respect of men, for which purpose God has given me a joyful intrepid spirit, which they shall not quench, I trust forever.

In this time of affliction, when the Romanists were everywhere decrying Luther as a heretic, when, from all directions, writings poured forth against the one man, when, even at the electoral court they were exceedingly enraged against him, and things were now in such a position as to compel him to leave Wittenberg and to go into exile, (he having already, too, intended to conceal himself in Bohemia,) at this time,[9] God too again sent Luther comfort and courage through other pious Christians. The *Prince of Anhalt*, (in December, 1519,) invited him to Dessau; but Luther considered it questionable whether he could be safe there, and thought, moreover, the prince himself would involve himself in danger through him. *In Nuremberg*, there appeared for Luther a German apology, written by the counsellor, *Lazarus Spengler*, under the title: "Defence and Christian Answer by a friend of divine truth as contained in the Holy Scriptures, in reply to the opposition of some, together

with the evidence, why Dr. Martin Luther's doctrines are not to be wholly rejected as unchristian, but are much rather to be considered Christian." *John Œcolampadius*, likewise, published a writing against Eck, (comp. note 3,) which grieved the latter more than anything that appeared against him. *John Feldkirch*, a disciple of Melanchthon's, defended Luther against Alveld, and Melanchthon himself, who, in a letter to a friend, thus expressed himself concerning Luther: "Martin is much greater and more deserving of admiration than I can express in words. You know how Alcibiades admired his Socrates; so I admire him, only quite differently, in a Christian manner; and as often as I contemplate him, he always seems to me to surpass himself." Melanchthon himself, somewhat later,[10] took up his pen for Luther, and in opposition to the address of *Thomas Rhodinus*, "to the princes and people of Germany, against Martin Luther, the defamer of the German name," wrote for him, under the name of "Didymus Faventinus," an apology, in which, among other things, he says: "Judge yourselves, whether those really seek the welfare and good name of your native country, who bring accusations against the man that has delivered the country from Roman impositions, who, singly and alone, has ventured to root up errors that had maintained their ground for several centuries, who has again brought to light the doctrines of Christianity, which were almost entirely hidden amidst the ungodly statutes of the Popes, and the silly sophisms of the schools. For this praise not only myself, but the learned award to him." Erasmus too, at that time yet, spoke in favour of Luther. In the letter in which he dedicated to the Elector of Saxony, his book *de Vitis Cæsarum*, he says, concerning him: "Luther is too little known to me, that I should be suspected of favouring him as my friend. I have no disposition either to defend or to criticise his writings, have thus far, too, read them only hastily. At the worst, no one that knows him, finds fault with his life, for he is far removed from anything like avarice or ambition, and an irreproachable life is highly esteemed, even by the heathens. But before the common people, which have no judgment in such matters, so madly to cry down an honest man, especially when his books have not even once been read, this certainly is not compatible with theological meekness, the less so, since he wrote only by way of inquiry, and subjected himself to the decision of all to whom it belongs to decide. No one has warned

him, no one instructed him, no one refuted him; they do nothing but denounce him as a heretic, and with wild clamour demand that he be stoned." In like manner he wrote to the Archbishop of Mayence, and showed how the silly pratings and intrigues of those who now declaimed against Luther, were the cause of all his writing against indulgences, the papal power, confession, and the doctrines of the scholastics. "To you," said he, "it is, in my estimation, to be attributed, if Luther even has, at times, written somewhat without moderation."

What the Elector thought of Luther's cause, we learn from a letter of his to the Saxon nobleman, Dr. Valentine Teutleben, who had written to him from Rome: "That if his business and affairs should meet with obstacles, lag, and be neglected, it was to be attributed to the indiscretion and presumption of Dr. Martin Luther." To this the Elector replied: "That he had never yet attempted to use his influence in propagating or defending the doctrines and writings of Dr. Martin Luther; that nevertheless he heard, how this man's doctrines were, by many learned and intelligent men, looked upon and approved as godly and Christian. That he, however, would lay no stress upon this, and Luther might, as the responsible person, freely, at his own hazard, defend his doctrines, the more so, as this whole matter had been left to a just investigation, to which he had subjected himself. That although, there now, since Luther had thus submitted his affair, existed no cause why anything further of severity should be imposed upon him; he, notwithstanding, had caused the matter to be conferred upon with Luther, and had obtained of the latter, to offer himself of his own accord to depart from the electoral dominions and the university, and that he would already have betaken himself away, if the papal Legate, Charles von Miltitz, had not interfered, he having been apprehensive Luther might betake himself to places where he could write much more freely and more securely. That he had written these same things to Cardinal George; from him, (Teutleben,) however, as his subject, with him he could speak more freely, he would, because of their common country, not conceal, that many worthy men positively declared Luther not to have designedly and maliciously engaged in these contests and disputes concerning the papacy but that he had been reluctantly and with constraint drawn into them by Dr. Eck. That there were then in Germany

many worthy, able, learned, and intelligent men, skilled in all manner of languages and arts; that the laymen even were beginning to take pleasure and delight in the Holy Scriptures. That, in consequence, many were apprehensive, if Luther were, without an equitable decision, vanquished only by means of the censures of the Church and excommunication, this quarrel and dispute might become much more violent, so that it might not be possible, perhaps, afterwards, to arrest the matter. For Luther's doctrines," says he in conclusion, "have already struck too deep root in the hearts of many in Germany, for it to pass off so lightly, (as is supposed,) if, instead of refuting them with just and sound arguments and reasons, and manifest and clear testimony from the Scriptures, the terrors of ecclesiastical power alone be resorted to and put in requisition against him, to crush him; it would rather occasion great and excessive scandal in Germany, and excite fearful, dreadful, injurious and ruinous insurrections, which might not prove of any advantage or benefit, either to the most holy Father, the Pope, or to any one else."[11]

The Elector had caused the letters from Rome (from Teutleben and the Cardinal St. George,) to be communicated to Luther, and the latter accordingly, on the 9th July, wrote to Spalatin: "That he had read them in silence and with great grief at the stupidity and wickedness of men so high in office in the Church, that he was not able to advise the good prince what to say in reply, and therefore wrote to him, his friend. One thing he would say, if they would not free him from his obligation to teach, from his office in the Word, he would be free in discharging the duties of this his office. I am," says he, "burdened with sins enough, I shall not yet add this unpardonable one, that being placed in office, I forsake my office and make myself guilty of a shameful silence, to the injury of the truth and of so many thousand souls. This I do above all things desire, that our most serene prince may avoid all interference in my affair, as he has thus far done, and that he publicly deliver me up to be better informed, or confuted, but that he do not either, if he cannot instruct me, judge me or execute sentence against me, till a decision has been pronounced and been made known. What I have done and yet do, I do from necessity. I am always ready to keep silence, if they only do not bid Gospel truth be silent. They shall obtain everything

from me and obtain it freely, if they only leave open to Christians the way of salvation. This is all I ask of them in return, and nothing else, and what better request could I make? I desire no cardinal's hat, no gold, nothing of all that, which, at the present day, is esteemed at Rome. But if my request is refused, then may they take from me my office and suffer me to live and to die in seclusion."

The day after Luther had thus written to Spalatin, he received a letter from the Franconian knight *Sylvester von Shauenburg*, which greatly encouraged him. Even before this, (on the 20th January and 28th February, 1520,) *Ulrich von Hutten* had written to Melanchthon, to tell Luther in confidence: "That Francis von Sickingen tendered his aid to him, with the request, that if, in his cause anything adverse should befall him, and he could not elsewhere obtain better help, he might come to him to Naustall." Under date of the 24th June, Hutten wrote to Luther himself: "It is currently reported that you are excommunicated and placed under the ban. O! how happy you are, Luther, what a happy man you are, I say. For all pious and God-fearing people will sing of you and say: 'They arise against the soul of the just and condemn innocent blood, but the Lord will requite them their injustice, and destroy them on account of their wickedness.' The Lord our God will do this, that we confidently hope. Do you, nevertheless, be on your guard, do not trust them, but carefully observe all their movements. For bethink you, what misfortune, distress and injury would it not bring upon all Christendom, if you should now fall away. Yet as far as you are concerned, I am certain, that you are resolved much rather to die, than to pass over to them, and be united with them." Schauenburg, in his letter, (dated on the 11th June,) wrote: "I pray and exhort you, in God the Lord, that, although the Elector, princes, or other superiors should forsake you, and unjustly permit arbitrary, ecclesiastical power to be put in force against you, you would not let such swerving and falling off disturb you, much less betake yourself to the Bohemians, with whom several highly-learned men have aforetime sustained marked insults and injury, thus only making things worse. For I, and I think I may say, a hundred others of the nobility, whom, (if God permit,) I will assemble, will faithfully support you and protect you against all danger from your adversaries, till your doc-

trines have, in a general Christian council, regularly summoned, or by unbiassed and intelligent judges, been vindicated and established, or you have been better informed."

Luther rejoiced greatly at it, that the rage of Rome began, at last, to be despised by the Germans too, and that under the protection thus promised him, he would no longer be under the necessity of having reference to the Elector. "The adversaries shall know," he wrote, "that what I have as yet not done against them, is owing neither to my forbearance, nor to their tyranny or merits, but to the person and authority of the prince, and to the common cause of the Wittenberg university. As for myself, the die is cast. Rome's favour and rage are despised. I will never be reconciled to them or make common cause with them—they may condemn my books and commit them to the flames. I, in return, unless it should be that I can have no fire, will condemn and publicly burn the whole pontifical law, this many-headed serpent of heresies; and of the humiliation thus far offered and shown in vain, there shall be an end; the enemies of the Gospel shall no longer be puffed up thereby."

When Luther wrote this, he was already engaged with the writing: *To the Christian nobility of the German nation, concerning the reformation of the Christian Church.* The idea of this he conceived as he was once travelling with Laurentius Süss, (see above, p. 16, note 2.) As they were driving along, he all at once knelt down before the seat in the carriage, and for a considerable time prayed with great earnestness, and said: "Now I have charged my rifle." Laurence asked him: "Domine Pater, what do you mean by that?" Luther answered: "I have charged a rifle, which, if I succeed in discharging it well, will certainly force its way through;" and on Laurence's further inquiring how he was to understand this, the Doctor said: "I intend to write a little book to the German nobility, if I succeed by it in gaining them over to God's Word, you shall see what will be the result."

The dedication of this writing to Nicolaus von Amsdorf, Licentiate and Prebendary at Wittenberg, reads thus: "The time to keep silence is passed, and the time to speak has arrived, as *Ecclesiastes* (the preacher,) saith. As we had designed, so we have done, and collected a number of things in reference to a reformation of the Christian Church, with the view to place them before the nobility of the German nation; if, perhaps, God would help his Church through the laity, since

the clergy, to whom it more justly belongs, have become wholly inattentive. I send it all to your honour that you may pass judgment upon it, and, where necessary, correct it. I am well aware that I shall be duly reproved, as being too presumptuous, for a despised and rejected man to venture on addressing men in stations so exalted, and on matters of such great importance, just as if there were not in the world any one else besides Dr. Luther, who might espouse the cause of the Christian Church, and give advice to such highly intelligent men.

"I shall not attempt to excuse myself, reprove me for it who may. Perhaps I yet owe to my God and to the world one foolish act, this debt I have now resolved, if possible, honestly to discharge, and once, likewise, to become court-fool. If I fail, I have still one advantage, no one need buy me a cap, or present me the comb. But the thing is, who will tie the bell to the other. I must fulfil the proverb: 'No matter what the world has to do there must be a monk connected with it, even if you have to paint one for the purpose.' It has, no doubt, happened so before, that a fool has spoken wisely, and often sadly made fools of wise people, as Paul says: 'Let him that would be wise become a fool.'

"As I, moreover, am not only a fool, but likewise a sworn doctor of the Holy Scriptures, I am glad, that the opportunity presents itself to me, to satisfy my oath in this very same foolish way. I beg your honour to apologize for me with the moderately intelligent; for I do not know how to earn the favour and good-will of the excessively intelligent, and after having often sought them with great labour, I shall henceforth no longer desire or regard them. God grant us grace, that we may seek not our but alone His honour. Amen. At Wittenberg, in the cloister of the Augustines, on the eve of St. John the Baptist, in the year 1520."

In the introduction to the work, Luther addresses himself to his most serene, most mighty, imperial majesty, and to the Christian nobility of the German nation, and says in the first place: "It is not owing to mere impertinence or irreverence, that I, a single, insignificant man, have ventured to speak before your high dignities. The distress and affliction which press heavily upon all stations in Christendom, especially upon Germany, have induced not only me, but every one else, frequently to cry out and to desire help, have also now compelled

me to cry and call aloud, if God perhaps would put it into the heart of some one, to reach forth his hand to the wretched nation." He at the same time, however, said: "That the first thing to be done in this matter, was, in all seriousness, to beware of undertaking anything with a reliance upon great power, or upon reason, even if the power of the whole world were ours; for God cannot and will not endure it, that a good work be begun with a reliance upon our own strength, or upon reason, he casts it down to the ground and nothing can avail, as it is written in the 33d Psalm: 'A king will not maintain himself by means of his great power, nor an army by the greatness of its might.' And I apprehend this to have been the reason, that in by-gone days, those worthy princes, the Emperors Frederick I. and II., and many more German emperors, were so wofully trampled upon and oppressed by the Popes, whilst yet the whole world feared them. They probably relied upon their own power, more than upon God, therefore they had to fall."

Hereupon he says: "The Romanists have very dexterously encompassed themselves within three walls, behind which they have thus far taken refuge, so that no one has been able to reform them, in consequence of which all Christendom has wofully declined. They, *in the first place*, when temporal power was put into requisition against them, made it a rule and said: That temporal power had no authority over them; but that, on the other hand, the spiritual power was above the temporal. In the *second place*, if any one has attempted to rebuke them with the Holy Scriptures, they have in opposition made the rule, that no one was authorized to interpret the Scriptures except the Pope. In the *third place*, if you threaten them with a council, they feign that no one has the right to summon a council but the Pope. Thus they have clandestinely stolen from us three rods that they might go unpunished, and within these three walls they have securely established themselves, to practice all manner of villany and wickedness, as we now all behold."

The first wall Luther overthrows by declaring the distinction between *spiritual and temporal* stations to be an invention and deception, saying: "All Christians are in truth of a spiritual station, and there is no difference between them, excepting only in as far as office is concerned, for Paul (1 Cor. 12,) says: That we are all one body, yet every member has its peculiar

office, in which it serves the rest. All depends upon this, that we have one baptism, one Gospel, one faith, and are alike Christians. For baptism, Gospel and faith, alone make spiritual and Christian people. Christ has not two, or two kinds of bodies, one temporal, the other spiritual. One head he is, and one body has he. Therefore just as those whom we now call spiritual, that is, priests, bishops and popes, are distinguished from other Christians by no further or greater dignity, than by ministering the Word and the sacraments, which is their duty and office; so likewise has the temporal power in its hand, the sword and the rod, for punishing the wicked and protecting the good. Now behold how Christian it is to declare and to say, that the temporal power has no authority over the clergy, is not to punish them either. That is just as much as to say, the hand shall afford no help, although the eye suffers great need. Is it not unnatural, not to say unchristian, for one member to refuse helping the other, and warding off his destruction? Yea, the more honourable a member is, the more the others are to afford him aid. Therefore the temporal, Christian power is to exercise its office freely without hinderance, regardless whether it be Pope, bishop or priest, whom it strikes. It is nothing but Roman invention and presumption to say; That he who is guilty suffers what the spiritual law has affixed to his guilt. For thus says St. Paul to all Christians: Let every soul (the popes too, I conceive,) be subject unto the higher powers, for they do not bear the sword in vain. They serve God with it, and are to be a terror to evil-doers and a praise to them that do well. So St. Peter: 'Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake; for so is the will of the Lord.' He has foretold too, that there would be such men, who would despise the temporal power, 2 Peter 2, as has been the case in consequence of the spiritual law. Thus, then, I think this first paper wall is demolished, inasmuch as the temporal power has become a part of the Christian body; and although its office is temporal, yet is it of a spiritual station, therefore it is to exercise its office freely and without hindrance in all parts of the body, punishing and urging on, as guilt deserves or need requires, irrespective of Pope, bishops or priests, let them threaten and excommunicate as much as they please. It cannot be a good spirit either which has invented such subterfuges and made it possible for sin to go unpunished.

"The second wall," continues Luther, "is of a yet more tottering and crumbling nature, namely, that they claim for themselves the exclusive right of interpreting the *Scriptures*, although they do not, in all their life, ever learn anything in it; they presumptuously claim all authority, and prate to us most impudently, that the Pope cannot err in matters of faith, be he good or bad, and with all this they cannot produce, for their assertions, one iota of proof. Hence it happens, that there are contained in the canon law so many heretical and unchristian, yea, unnatural statutes, of which it is not necessary now to speak. For, since they imagine that the Holy Ghost does not forsake them, be they as unlearned and as wicked as they may, they become bold to enact whatever they choose. And if this were so, what need or use would there be of the Holy Scriptures? Let us commit them to the flames, and content ourselves with the unlearned gentlemen at Rome, in whom there dwells the Holy Ghost, whilst, notwithstanding, He dwells only in the hearts of the pious. If I had not read it, it would have been incredible to me, that the devil should be pretending such preposterous things at Rome, and yet gain adherents." He then reviews the passages of Holy Writ pro and con, and says: "That there certainly were pious Christians among us, having the true faith, spirit, understanding, word and meaning of Christ, if we now should reject their word and understanding and follow the Pope alone, the whole faith and the Christian Church would be denied, and we could not say: 'I believe in one holy Christian Church,' but would have to say: 'I believe in the Pope at Rome,' and thus we would wholly concentrate the Church in one man, which would be nothing more or less than devilish, infernal error."

"The third wall," says Luther, in conclusion, "falls of itself if the other two are demolished. For, if the Pope acts in opposition to the Scriptures, we are in duty bound to stand by the Scriptures, with punishment and coercion, as Christ says: 'If thy brother sin against thee,' &c. Here every member is commanded to have care for the other; how much more are we to lend a helping hand where a common ruling member does wrong, and by his actions causes much injury and offence to the rest. If in such a case I have to accuse him before the congregation, then, certainly, I must assemble it. Nor can they maintain it with Scriptural authority, that the Pope alone has the right to convoke and to sanction a council; they have

nothing but their own statutes for it, which are admissible only in so far as they prove of no injury to Christendom and to God's statutes. In case, therefore, the Pope deserves to be punished, their own statutes already fall to the ground, for it would prove injurious to Christendom not to have him punished by a council."

He then proceeds to consider the subjects which should *justly engage the attention of a council.* He says, that it was shocking and horrible to behold, how the highest personage in Christendom, who boasts himself to be the vicar of Christ and successor of St. Peter, lived in so worldly and splendid a manner, that no king or emperor was equal to him in this, and how he, who claims to be the most holy and the most spiritual, was more worldly than the world itself. That the crowd of cardinals were of no other use in Christendom, than to acquire possession of all the cloisters, bishoprics, fiefs and benefices, and that when Italy would be exhausted, Germany would have its turn. That Antichrist would have to amass the treasures of the world, as was foretold. That nevertheless, it would be more tolerable, if they stole from us only temporal property; but that they were, in this way, laying waste the churches, and robbing the sheep of Christ of their pious shepherds, and suppressing the service and Word of God. That the court of the Pope would be large enough still for returning answers in matters of faith, if the one-hundredth part were suffered to remain, and ninety-nine parts were abolished. That the Germans were not such veritable fools, as not at all to perceive or to understand the artifices of the Romans. That he did not here complain of God's command and Christian equity being despised at Rome, since things were not now in so prosperous a condition in Christendom, especially at Rome, as to induce one to complain of such important things. Neither did he complain that natural or human law and reason were disregarded, but only that they did not obey their own invented spiritual law. He then proceeds to show how the annual contributions formerly granted by the German emperors and princes for prosecuting the war against the Turks, were misapplied; how the Pope was managing to gain possession of fief after fief; how he sold the pall to the bishops for a large sum of money, and with shocking oaths bound them to himself as his servants, so that no bishop or chapter might have any power, but everything be regulated at Rome; how, even in

that year, the bishop of Strasburg had been prevented from properly controlling his diocese and from making reformations in the service of God; further, how matters stood with re ard to the coadjutors, administrators, commendans, the union and incorporation of prebends, which, according to the canon law, could not be held and retained together, whilst a single Roman courtier, in this way, possessed twenty-two benefices, seven provostships, and forty-four prebends, at the same time; how the Pope was accustomed to make prebends hereditary, how avarice had, in addition, also invented the pectoralis reservatio, or inward reservation, according to which, the Pope can again take from any one the fief, which had been legally secured to him; and how, finally, there was at Rome an especial house, that of *Datarius*, where everything could be purchased for money, and all dishonour and disgrace be promoted to honours. He concludes: "Let no one imagine that I have exaggerated; these things are all public, so that even at Rome they must acknowledge, that they are more shocking and more numerous than any one can express in words. I have not yet, and will not yet, touch upon the real essential dregs of personal vices; I speak only of common current matters, and yet cannot express them in words."

He then passes on to state, what might, perhaps, on the part of the temporal power or by a general council, be done for the *amelioration of this shocking condition of things.* Every prince, the nobility and the cities should, in the first place, at once forbid their subjects to transmit to Rome the annual contributions, and should wholly abolish them. 2. No more fiefs should, in future, be drawn to Rome, and no more be obtained there in any way whatever, but should again be disengaged from the grasp of tyranny. 3. An imperial edict should be issued, prohibiting the obtaining from Rome a bishop's robe, or the confirmation of any dignity, but a bishop should, (according to the decree of the Council of Nice,) be ordained by the two others who resided nearest to him, or else by the archbishop. 4. No temporal affairs should be drawn to Rome, but all of them be left to the temporal authorities. 5. No reservation should henceforth be allowed, and no more fiefs be obtained at Rome. 6. The so-called reserved cases should likewise be abolished, as by means of them not only much money is exacted from the people, but many weak consciences are perplexed and confused. 7. The Roman See should abolish the officia

and diminish the crowds and swarms of its servants. 8. The severe and shocking oaths which the bishops are compelled to render to the Pope should be abolished. 9. The Pope should have no power over the Emperor, except to anoint and to crown him at the altar, as a bishop crowns a king; and the satanical pride, which requires the Emperor to kiss the Pope's feet or to sit at his feet, should, by no means, be allowed in future, much less should he take the oath of allegiance and faithful subjection to the Pope, which the Popes impudently venture to demand, as though they had a just claim to do so. Such exceedingly presumptuous, haughty, and insolent demand of the Pope has been invented by the devil, in order, under cover of it, in time, to introduce Antichrist, and to exalt the Pope above God, as many already do, and have done. 10. The Pope should refrain himself and not assume the title of king of Naples and Sicily. He has just as much right to it as I have. Therefore the Emperor should, instead, point him to the Bible and prayer-books, that he might permit temporal lords to govern the country and the people, especially those which nobody has given him, and he preach and pray. 11. The kissing of the feet of the Pope should not occur any more. It is an unchristian and anti-christian example. 12. The pilgrimages to Rome should be abolished, and no one should be permitted to go on a pilgrimage to gratify his own private fancy or devotion. 13. On no account should more cloisters for mendicant friars be erected. The Lord knows there are already, by far, too many, and would to God they were all abolished, or at least collected at two or three places! They should, moreover, be excused for preaching and hearing confession, unless they are called upon and desired for this purpose. So there should also be abolished the many different sects and distinctions in the same order. The Pope should, likewise, be prohibited from establishing or confirming more such orders, and he should be compelled to abolish several, and to reduce them to a smaller number. Forasmuch as faith in Christ, which alone is the chief good, and which can exist without any order, is in no little danger of being lost to men, since among so many different works and ways, they are easily seduced to trust more to such works and ways, than to have respect to faith. In my estimation, it would be a necessary regulation, especially in our dangerous times, again to make endowed institutions and cloisters what they were in the be-

ginning, with the apostles, and for some time afterwards, when they were all free and every one was at liberty to remain in them as long as he saw proper. 14. According to the institution of Christ and his apostles, every town is to have a pastor or bishop, as Paul clearly writes to Titus 1, and this pastor is not constrained to live in celibacy, but may marry, as St. Paul writes, 1 Tim. 3. The Roman See, in its own presumption, has ventured to pass it into a general law, forbidding the priests to marry; it was the devil that instigated them to this, as St. Paul, 1 Tim. 4, declares. My advice is, again to leave it optional with every one, to marry or not. 15. The evil spirit has possessed several abbots, abbesses, and prelates, that they, at confession, reserve to themselves all or at least some mortal sins, those, namely, which are secret, and forbid any brother to absolve the other from them, under pain of excommunication and punishment for violation of vows. I here counsel such children, brethren and sisters: if your superiors will not allow you to confess your secret sins to whom you wish, then go with them and confess them to your brother or sister, whom and where you choose, be absolved and comforted, then depart and do what is lawful and right; only firmly believe that you are absolved, and all is right. 16. It would be well, too, either wholly to abolish the anniversaries, celebrations and requiems, or at least greatly to diminish their number, since they have become a mere mockery, greatly to the displeasure of God, and minister only to the gratification of avarice and the sensual appetites. 17. A number of penalties imposed by the spiritual law should likewise be abolished, especially the interdict, which is most undoubtedly an invention of the evil spirit. 18. All the festivals should be abolished, and Sunday alone be retained: but if it should still be desired to observe the festival of our lady, or of the distinguished saints, they should all be transferred to Sunday. 19. The degrees within which it is forbidden to marry, should be changed. So likewise should the fasts as well as all manner of food be left optional with every one, as the Gospel allows. 20. The chapels in the wilds and the field-churches should be razed to the ground, those, for instance to which the new pilgrimages are made. I would that the good saints were left undisturbed, and the poor ignorant multitude unseduced. What spirit has given the Pope power to exalt the saints? Who informs him whether they are holy or unholy? Are there not sins enough on earth already, that

God must also be tempted, by interference in his judgments, and by making money-gods of the dear saints? 21. All mendicancy should be abolished throughout Christendom: every town should support its own poor, and admit no strange beggars, whether they be hermits or mendicant friars. 22. It is likewise to be feared, that the multitude of masses made incumbent on endowed institutions and cloisters, are not only of little use, but greatly excite the wrath of God; wherefore it would be well not to endow any more such, but to abolish many of those endowed, since it is evident, that they are regarded only as sacrifices and good works, whilst they are a sacrament, just as baptism and repentance, which are useful, not to others, but only to those that receive them. 23. The confraternities as well as indulgences, letters of indulgence, butter-certificates, mass-certificates, dispensations, and what else there is of the same sort: extirpate them, lay the axe to the root, and let all be drowned and destroyed, there is nothing good in them. And first, there should be expelled from the German dominions the papal emissaries with their authorities, which they sell to us for large sums of money, whilst it is all mere knavery, as for instance, that they for money make unjust gain just, absolve from oaths, vows and contracts, thus subverting and teaching to subvert all trust and confidence plighted between man and man, and all this under the pretence that the Pope has power to do so. The evil spirit has instigated them to speak thus, and to vend to us such satanical doctrines, taking money for teaching us to sin, and for leading us to perdition. If there were no other wicked artifice to prove that the Pope is the true Antichrist, this very thing would be sufficient to establish it. Dost thou hear it, O Pope! not the most holy, but the most sinful—that God might visit thy See with swift destruction from heaven, and sink it down to the abyss of hell—who has authorized thee to exalt thyself above thy God, to violate and to annul what He has commanded, and to teach Christians, especially the German nation, who are of noble nature, and praised in all histories for their constancy and fidelity, to become inconstant, perjured, traitorous, knavish and faithless? God has commanded us to observe oaths and fidelity even towards enemies, and thou venturest to annul such command, teachest in thy heretical, anti-christian decretals, that thou hast power to do so, the malicious devil all the while speaking falsehoods by thy mouth and pen, such as he

has never yet spoken, whilst thou dost wrest and contort the Scriptures most wickedly. Oh, Christ! my Lord, look down, let Thy last day come swiftly, and destroy the devil's habitation at Rome. Here is seated the man of whom Paul prophesied, that he would exalt himself above Thee, and sit in Thy Church, acting as a god, the man of sin and son of perdition. 24. It is high time, too, that we once seriously and uprightly take up the dispute with the Bohemians, and endeavour to restore union between themselves and us, so that the shocking blasphemies, hatred and envy, chargeable on both sides, may at length cease. 25. The universities, too, will need to be thoroughly reformed, I must say it, let it displease whom it may. The Holy Scriptures should take precedence of all things, and form the chief object of attention in the higher and lower schools, and for the smaller boys the Gospel. And would to God each town had its female school too, in which the girls might daily, for one hour, attend to the Gospel." In connexion with the 26th point, Luther meets the pretension, that the Pope had taken the holy Roman realm from the Greek emperors and transferred it to the Germans, for which honour and benefit he justly deserved subjection, gratitude, and every good from the Germans, and on which account he claimed authority to check all attempts at reformation. He, in the 27th place, then draws attention to some defects in temporal affairs, for instance, the excessive extravagance and expense in regard to the article of clothing, the superfluous spicery, the putting money on interest, the usury of the Fuggers and similar associations, the free, common brothels, &c. "Finally," he says, "I am aware, that I shall be considered to have touched high keys, to have proposed many things which will be deemed impossible, and to have discoursed on many points with too much severity. But what shall I do? I am in duty bound to speak out on these matters. If I could, I would accomplish them in action too. I will sooner have the world to be displeased with me than God; men, certainly, will not be able to deprive me of anything more than life. I have, thus far, repeatedly made overtures of peace to my adversaries, but God, I perceive, has, through them, constrained me only continually to speak out the more boldly."[12]

Authorities.—Let., No. 137, 153, 158, 160. Contra malignum Jo. Eccii judicium super aliquot articulis a fratribus quibusdam ei impositis M. Lutheri defensio, in Löscher, III., ch. 13. Emser's letter to

Zack, ib. ch. 10. Ad Ægocerotem Emserianum M. Lutheri responsio, ib. Let., No. 162, (the letters of the two Bohemians in Löscher, as quoted,) 167, 190. Sermon on the holy sacrament, and all the writings and letters called forth by it, W. W., vol. 17., divis. VI., p. 272 seq. Let., No. 190, 191, 195, 196. The answer of the bishops, W. W., vol. 17, p. 294 and 297. Let., No. 207, 162, (Selnecc., p. 94,) 203. The writings of those of Cologne and Louvaine, Lat. in Löscher, III., ch. 12, Germ. in the W. W., Hall. ed. vol. 15, p. 1589, seq., where too is found Luther's answer, Germ. (Lat. Jen. opp. latt., T. I., p. 264.) Let., No. 225, 228, 231. Concerning the papacy at Rome, &c., W. W., vol. 17, p. 430 b. Aurifaber's account, &c., ib. p. 380, Let., No. 184, 192, 206. Melanchth. Epp. (in the Corpus Reform., T. I.,) lib. II., N. 75, 78, 88, 86 and 103. The letters of Erasmus in the collections and in Seckend., p. 96. The letter of the Elector to Teutleben, W. W., vol. 17, p. 297. Let., No. 238. Melanchth. Epp. l. II., N. 57, 64. Hutten's letter to Luther, W. W., vol. 17, p. 304. Schauenburg's ib., p. 381. Let., No. 243, 240. Spangenberg's Adelsspiegel, vol. 2, fol. 33 b. To the Christian nobility of the German nation, &c., W. W., vol. 17, p. 457.

Notes.—1.) This title has reference to the fact, that Emser had placed his armorial bearing, in which there was the representation of a wild goat, on the title page, with these words subjoined: Noster hic Ægoceron sine fœno peccat in uno, Quod non est Lucæ linea ducta manu.

2.) Emser's real design probably was, to prevent an approximation between L. and the Bohemians, by causing these to entertain suspicions of Luther. The latter was not willing to have himself thus unceremoniously numbered among the Bohemians; he did, indeed, entertain a better opinion of them than the papal adherents, but yet he did not know precisely what to think of them. Compare page 127.

3.) Its title was: A venatione Lutheriana Ægocerotis assertio. Löscher, III., ch. 10. Eck, too, entered the lists and published a Responsio pro H. Emser, contra malesanam Lutheri venationem ad Joh. Schleznitz, Eccl. Misn. Episcopum, remarkable for this, that in it the name Lutherans is first used. Löscher, III., p. 934. In opposition to this John Œcolampadius wrote his Canonicorum indoctorum Lutheranorum ad Joh. Eccium Responsio, ibid.

4.) Luther had previously corresponded with him in regard to the primacy of the Pope, what, however, as being of less importance, we have passed by. Comp. Löscher, III., ch. 3.

5.) L. did not yet attack the mass itself any further, he complained only that (in consequence of the increasing number of silent masses,) the Lord's Supper nearly ceased to be a communion and was reduced to an opus operatum.

6.) These letters were written on the 4th February, but not dispatched till the 24th. (Comp. Let., No. 204.) It seems as if L. wrote them at the instance of the court, or, at least, of Spalatin.

7.) L. wrote it on tho 7th February, and it appeared a few days afterwards.

8.) As contained in the first collection of them, which appeared in

Basle in the beginning of the year 1519, and concerning which Luther expresses an opinion in letter, No. 123.

9.) During this time he was put on his guard, too, as to treacherous designs against his life. Comp. Let., No. 221, 240, and the account, how, in the year 1520, it was attempted, treacherously, to murder Dr. Luther, in the W. W., vol. 17, p. 378.

10.) Melanchthon was engaged upon this writing already, in November, 1520, (comp. Let., No. 269,) but it did not make its appearance till February, 1521.

11.) This answer of the Elector is dated on the 9th April, 1520, it must, however, have been issued several months subsequent to this, since Luther's letters to Spalatin, No. 238–240, exercised a visible influence on their contents.

12.) On the 23d August this writing was circulated already to the number of 4000 copies, and a second edition was issued. See Let., No. 250, 252.

CHAPTER X.

CONCERNING SEVERAL WRITINGS OF LUTHER'S WHICH PLEASED HIM BETTER THAN HIS CONTROVERSIAL WRITINGS.

During the years 1519 and 1520, Luther was kept extraordinarily employed. Spalatin having, at the desire of the Elector, called upon him to write an Explanation of the Gospels and Epistles for the Fast Days, he excused himself (on the 18th December, 1519, and 8th February, 1520,) with his numerous engagements and want of time. It was especially the book of Psalms, on which, at that time, at the urgent request of his hearers, he was lecturing for the second time, that caused him much labour and trouble. "You will believe," he writes to Spalatin, "what labour one single verse alone sometimes requires."

A Latin explanation of the first twenty-two Psalms Luther had published already, in the year 1519. Not venturing to call it explanation or commentary, he entitled it *Operationes in Psalmos*, or labours on the Psalms, and dedicated it to his Elector. In the dedication he refers to a declaration of the latter, which, he says, Staupitz had, on a certain occasion, communicated to him. The conversation having turned upon preachers, the Elector had said, that those sermons which consisted in subtilties and human fancies, had no interest for him, and seemed powerless, since nothing could be advanced which was so subtile but it could be refuted by some other subtilty.

That it was the Holy Scriptures alone, which, without any addition of ours, have such a majesty and power, as speedily to triumph over all the arts of discussion, and to constrain us to acknowledge: "So never man spake, here is the finger of God, for they speak with authority and not as the Scribes and Pharisees." This pleasing anecdote, says Luther further, had caused him to cherish the greatest regard for the Elector, for he did not know how it happened, he was constrained to love those whom he found to be friends of the Holy Scriptures, and to hate those who despised and destroyed them. To this, his love, therefore, the Elector was requested to permit the dedication of this book to him. That he did not presume to have done, what none of the holiest and most learned fathers had been able to do, namely, fully to have understood and explained the book of Psalms in all its parts. That it was already enough to have understood some Psalms, and these only in part; that the Holy Ghost reserved much to himself, he wishing always to have us remain his pupils. That this, his second course on the Psalms was very different from the first, and that there was no book in the Holy Scriptures which had kept him in such constant exercise as this. He finally thus expresses himself concerning the Book of Psalms: "This book, in my judgment, differs as to its contents, from all other books. In the rest we are taught, by word and example, what we ought to do; but this does not teach alone, it likewise points out to us the way and manner in which we can fulfil the Word and imitate the example. For we have not the power to fulfil God's law and to follow Christ; but it does become us to pray and to long for the ability to fulfil the law and to follow after Christ, and when we have obtained it, to return praises and thanks. But what is the Book of Psalms else than prayer and praise to God? Thus the good Spirit of God, who is a father to the infant child and a teacher of the inexperienced, seeing that we did not know what and how to pray, came to the aid of our weakness, and after the manner of school-teachers, who instruct their pupils how to write and to speak to their parents, has, in this book, likewise set before us the words and the manner with which we are to address our Heavenly Father, and to pray for that, which, in the other books, He has taught us to do and to imitate, in order that there might not be wanting to man anything which is necessary to his salvation. Thus great are the care and the goodness of God in our behalf—to Him be praise forever."

In the same year, (in September,) there likewise appeared his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians.* In this work Luther clearly points out the difference between outward and inward righteousness, and that no man becomes righteous by works, but only by faith in Christ, in reference to which he, however, remarks: "That the apostle does not reject the works, but only the false trust and confidence in the works, that is, he rejects not the works as if we were not to perform them, but he says, that no one becomes pious and justified by the works, and cannot become so either." He directs attention to the fact, "that Paul not only calls sacrificial offerings works of the law, but likewise all the works embraced in the ten commandments. For even these, if they are performed without faith and true righteousness, are not sufficient, and only cause hypocrites to have a false confidence in themselves. Paul," says he, "had not been understood, because it had not been understood what is meant by works of the law. By works of the law we are not to understand that by which satisfaction is rendered to the law. What then must fulfil the law? The rule of the apostle is this: The works do not fulfil the law, but the fulfilment of the law does works. No one becomes righteous by performing the works of a righteous person, but a righteous person performs good and righteous works. Before the works are done, there must first be righteousness and fulfilment of the law, for from these the works flow. Therefore Paul makes a distinction between the works of the law and the works of grace or the works of God. For the works of the law truly belong to the law and not to us, because they are not done from our free and acting will, but through the constraint and threatening of the law, or also through the promise of the law." On chapter 4, verse 5, he says, concerning the adoption as sons by God, that it is with it as with other things, which are to be understood thus: "Not as if they were fulfilled in us, but that Christ has fulfilled them, in order that they might be fulfilled in us. For thus all things have been begun, that they might be more and more fulfilled from day to day. We have been redeemed and are still redeemed every day. We have received the adoption of sons, and still receive it. We have already, too, become children of God, and still daily become so. The Holy Ghost has been sent, is sent, and will continue always to be sent. We understand and shall

understand. Therefore you are not to think or to imagine that the Christian's life is a standing still or a resting, but a drawing and going or pilgrimaging from sin to righteousness, from vice to virtue, from love unto love, from one virtue unto another. And those that are not continually making progress are not to be regarded as Christians, but as a people of peace and indolence, upon whom the prophet will speedily bring in their enemies."

This commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians was received with great rejoicing; went through many editions, and was translated.[1] Martin Bucer, having been able only hastily, during one night to examine the work, which a friar had brought with him from Nuremberg, wrote to Spalatin concerning it, being in an ecstasy of joy, and Melanchthon, who had written a preface and postscript to this commentary, in a letter to John Hess, of Breslau, called it the thread of Theseus, which one might safely follow in the labyrinth of this epistle.

Besides these commentaries and his controversial writings, Luther, during this time, likewise wrote a large number of didactic and consolatory treatises, so that we can easily comprehend what he, (in the letters mentioned,) writes to Spalatin: "I certainly have a rapid hand and a brisk memory, so that what I write rather flows into my pen without any effort or labour on my part; and yet I cannot meet all engagements."

In this connexion must first be mentioned his *Tesseradecas consolatoria pro laborantibus et onoratis*, which nearly at the same time (February, 1520,) appeared in a German translation by Spalatin, under the title: "A consolatory treatise for every afflicted Christian." He wrote it at the instance of Spalatin, to comfort the Elector in his illness, because the command of Christ to visit and to comfort the sick, was to be observed by us as a universal command towards all men, much more, therefore, towards those of the same faith, and most of all towards friends and neighbours, according to St. Paul's distinction, (Gal. 6, 10). But he gave to this treatise the name *Tesseradecas*, because he had divided it into fourteen chapters, that thus it might become beneficial to the Elector instead of the fourteen comforters in need: the first part contains "seven portraits or representations of the evils, troubles, and adversities," the second part, "seven representations of things agreeable."

Concerning this treatise of Luther's, Erasmus wrote that it had met with the approbation even of those, who, in other respects, were decidedly opposed to his doctrines.

In the month of March appeared Luther's *Ratio confitendi*, or treatise on confession, which Spalatin likewise translated into German. In this, Luther especially impresses it upon men, by no means, to trust either in past or future confession, but with a firm faith to confide wholly and alone in the most merciful promise of God; he shows how the good resolution to do better is to be rightly understood, what is to be thought of the requirement to confess secret sins, and that a great distinction is to be made between sins against God's commandments, and against the statutes of men; finally, he expresses his displeasure concerning it, that through the reserved cases and the subject of vows many souls were grievously burdened, so that "the most beneficial sacrament of repentance had become to be nothing else but a mere tyrannizing of the great lords, bringing in its train distress and increase of sin."

At the time of publishing the *Ratio confitendi*, Luther was already again engaged with a sermon *on good works*, which, however, grew to the size of a book, and of which he himself, whilst writing it, entertained the hope that it would prove the best thing he thus far had written. In the dedication of it to Duke John, of Saxony, the Elector's brother, he thus replies to the objection of those who were accustomed to say, that he wrote only little books and German sermons for ignorant laymen: "Would to God I had, during my life, with all my ability, benefitted one layman, I would be satisfied, praise God, and quite willingly, afterwards, see all my little books perish. I shall, most cordially, leave the honour of performing greater things to others, and not be at all ashamed of preaching and writing in German for ignorant laymen. Although I cannot pretend to much even in this respect, yet I think, if we had heretofore applied ourselves more to this, and did more apply ourselves thus in future, Christendom would have derived and would derive from it more advantage and benefit than from those lofty and abstruse books and questions, treated of only in the schools among the learned." In the book itself he says, that there are no good works except only those which God has commanded, that the first, and highest, and noblest good work is faith in Christ, as he says to the Jews, John 6, and that therefore all good works must proceed from this work,

and must receive, what good they have, like a fief, from it. That consequently it is accursed unbelief, and an abridging and diminishing the number of services to God, to whom everything that can be done, spoken, or thought in faith, is a service, to confine good works within so narrow a limit, as to say, that they consist only in prayer and fasting and the giving of alms, whilst all manner of works for the support of the body and for the common good, are considered useless. That every one can himself perceive when he is doing good and when he is not. If he finds in his heart the assurance, that what he does pleases God, the work is good, even if it were as insignificant as the lifting up of a straw. If the assurance is not there, or he has doubts in regard to the work, it is not good, though it should raise up all the dead, for (Romans 14,) Paul says: "Whatsoever is not of faith is sin." That in this faith now all works become equal, and one is as good as the other, because the works are acceptable, not on their own account, but on account of faith, and that therefore a Christian living in this faith does not need a teacher of good works. That it is higher than all works, however, joyfully to confide in God, that He means it well with us and not as things appear, when to our thoughts and understanding He shows himself angry with us. "To those that in distress trust God, and retain the firm confidence in Him that He loves them, distresses and adversities are the most precious merits, and the noblest and most invaluable treasures. For faith and confidence make all that most precious before God, which to the rest proves most injurious." But that the highest degree of faith is to believe even when God, not merely with temporal suffering, but with death, hell and sin, afflicts the conscience, refusing all grace and mercy, as though he would condemn and be angry forever. To believe here, that God has a gracious design with us, is the highest work which can be done by and in the creature, a work of which those that trust in outward works and good deeds know nothing whatever. According to this rule, Luther then takes up the holy ten commandments, one after the other, and from them demonstrates what are good works and what are not.

In this class belongs, also, the "*Brief direction for contemplating the ten commandments, the creed, and the Lord's prayer*," which Luther published in the year 1520, "as a plain Christian direction and mirror, to teach a knowledge of sin

and to pray," because in the usual prayer-books the common people were harassed and distressed by directions for the confession and enumeration of sin, and were taught to use unchristian and foolish expressions in their prayers to God and to His saints.

But especially must we here also notice the little work *de libertate christiana*, or "*concerning the freedom of a Christian*," which Luther published in October, 1520, and dedicated to Pope Leo X., (see the next chapter,) with a sincere wish for promoting peace and brightening the prospects of the future, from which he wrote, "thy holiness may perceive in what kind of things I would like to be engaged, and that too, for the purpose of accomplishing good, if thy unchristian sycophants did only permit me."

In the beginning of this work he advances the following two contradictory Theses: 1. "A Christian is *a free lord* over all things, and subject to no one. 2. A Christian is a *tributary servant* to all things, and subject to every one;" these things being distinctly asserted by St. Paul, 1 Cor. 9. 19: "*I am free from all men, yet have I made myself servant unto all.*" So in Rom. 13. 8: "*Owe no man anything but to love one another*," and are to be explained from the fact, that every Christian has two natures, one spiritual, the other corporeal. "If we contemplate the inner spiritual man, and inquire what constitutes him a pious, free Christian—it is manifest that no outward thing can constitute him free or pious, let it be called what it may—for neither his piety and freedom, nor his wickedness and captivity, are corporeal or outward. What does it profit the soul that the body is free, fresh, and hale, eating, drinking, and living at its pleasure? Again, what injury is it to the soul that the body is imprisoned, sick and faint, hungering, thirsting, and suffering what it does not wish? None of these things reach the soul, either to liberate or to imprison it, to make it pious or to make it wicked. Thus the soul is not profited by it, that the body is clad in holy garments, such as the priests and the clergy wear; neither that it is in the Church or holy places; neither that it prays corporeally, fasts, undertakes pilgrimages, or does all other good works, which could ever be accomplished through and in the body throughout eternity. It must all be something very different from this if it is ever to afford or to give freedom to the soul. For all the particulars, works and ways, mentioned above, also a wicked man, a

dissembler and a hypocrite, may have and practice. . . . The soul has nothing else, either in heaven or on earth, through which it can live, be pious, free and Christian, except the holy Gospel, preached by Christ, as he himself says, John 11: *I am the life and the resurrection, he that believeth on me, liveth forever.* So, 14: *I am the way, the truth and the life.* So Matt. 4: *Man liveth not of bread alone, but of every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.* We are accordingly to be assured, that the soul can dispense with everything, excepting God's Word, and that without God's Word, nothing will be of any advantage to it. If, however, it has the Word, it has no need of anything further, for in the Word it has enough, food, joy, peace, light, skill, righteousness, truth, wisdom, freedom, and every good in abundance. . . . But if you ask: What, then, is that Word which gives such exceeding grace, and how am I to use it? Answer: It is nothing else but what is preached concerning Christ, as contained in the Gospel, and which consists in this, that you hear your God speak to you, how all your life and your works are nothing before God, and that you, with all that is in you, must perish forever. Which, if you sincerely believe, as it is your duty to do, then you must despair of yourself, and acknowledge that the declaration of Hosea is true: *O, Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself, but in me is thy help.* But that you may be delivered from yourself, that is, from your destruction, He places before you His dear Son, Jesus Christ, and, in His life-giving, consolatory Word, directs you, with a firm faith, to surrender yourself to Him, and without any hesitation to confide in Him. Then shall your sins, because of that same faith, all be forgiven you, all your destruction shall be overcome, and you be righteous, true, contented and pious; all the commandments being fulfilled, and you being free from all things, as St. Paul says, Rom. 1: *A justified Christian lives only by his faith.* And Rom. 10: *Christ is the end and the fulfilment of all commandments to them that believe in Him.* Therefore this should properly be the only work and exercise of all Christians, thoroughly to learn the Word and Christ, continually to exercise and to strengthen such faith, for no other work can constitute any one a Christian, as Christ, John 6, speaking to the Jews, who had inquired of Him what they should do in order to perform divine and Christian works, said: *That is the only divine work, that you believe in Him whom God has sent.* Whom alone, also, God the Father has ordained for this purpose. Therefore,

true faith in Christ is an incalculable treasure, for it brings with it all salvation, and removes all wretchedness."

He then explains how it happens that faith alone makes pious, and without all works gives such exceedingly great treasures, whilst still there are prescribed to us in the Holy Scriptures, so many laws, commandments, works, stations, and regulations. He directs attention to the fact, that everything contained in the Holy Scriptures is embraced under two heads, that it is either law and commandment of God, or promise and assurance. That the commandments did, indeed, prescribe to us various good works, but that with this they were not yet performed; they, indeed, teach what we are to do, but give no strength to perform; that they all belong to the Old Testament, and were designed especially for this, that man through them might learn his inability to do good, and thus be led to despair of himself. "If now," continues he, "man has, from the commandments, learned his inability, and is, through them, made sensible of it, so that he becomes distressed, not knowing how to satisfy the commandments, which still must be fulfilled; then he is truly humbled and feels his utter nothingness, discovering nothing in himself by which he can become pious. Here, then, comes the other word, the divine promise and assurance, and says: Do you wish to fulfil all the commandments, be delivered from your evil desires and your sins, as the commandments exact and demand; behold, believe in Christ, in whom I promise you all grace, righteousness, peace and freedom; if you believe, you have; if you do not believe, you have not. For that which is impossible to you with all the works of the commandments, of which there are many, but without saving power, is easily and speedily obtained by you, through faith. For I have briefly comprised all things in faith, so that he who has it, shall have all things; he that has it not, shall have nothing. Thus the promises of God give, what the commandments require, and fulfil what the commandments enjoin, that all may belong to God, both commandment and fulfilment. He alone enjoins, He alone, too, fulfils. Therefore the promises are God's Word of the New Testament, and properly belong to the New Testament. Now these and all words of God are holy, true, righteous, peaceful, free, and full of all grace. Therefore the soul of him, who, with true faith cleaves to them, is united with it so wholly and so truly, that all the virtue of the Word is imparted to the soul, and thus through faith, the

soul is, by the Word of God, made holy, righteous, true, peaceful, free, and full of all grace, a true child of God, as John 1, says. *He has given to them that they may become children of God, all that believe in his name.* From all which it is readily perceived, why faith can accomplish so much, and that no good works can be equal to it. For no good work cleaves to the Divine Word as faith does, nor can it be in the soul; for Word and faith alone rule in the soul. As the Word is, so the soul becomes through it, just as iron becomes red-hot like fire, by a union with fire. Thus we see that a Christian has enough with faith, and has no need of any work to make him pious. Since, then, he has no more need of works, he certainly is absolved from all commandments and laws. But if he is absolved, he certainly is free. This is Christian freedom, faith singly and alone, which enables us, not to be idle or to do evil, but to dispense with all works in the attainment of piety and salvation. . . . But not only does faith cause the soul to become like the Divine Word, full of all grace, free and happy, but it likewise unites the soul with Christ, as a bride is united with her bridegroom. . . . Here now begins the joyful exchange and contest. Because Christ is God and man, who has never sinned, and whose piety is invincible, eternal, and almighty, and since, through her bridal-ring, which is faith, He makes the sins of the believing soul His own, and does not otherwise than as if He himself had committed them; therefore sin must be swallowed up and drowned in Him, for His invincible righteousness subdues all sin. Thus the soul, through its love-pledge, that is, in consequence of faith, becomes purified from all its sins, delivered and free, and endowed with the eternal righteousness of its bridegroom, Christ."

He further says, that the reason why so much is ascribed to faith, is, that it fulfils all commandments, and makes pious without any other works, since it honours God, in ascribing to Him truth and all that is good, thus fulfilling the first and greatest commandment, and with it all other commandments, that works, however, as dead things, cannot honour or praise God. He then thus proceeds to demonstrate what a great blessing true faith is: In the Old Testament, the first-born possessed the distinguished privilege of ruling, and of exercising the priestly office. This typifies Christ, the first-born, who is a King and a Priest, though spiritually. His kingdom is concerned with spiritual blessings, as truth, wisdom, peace,

joy, happiness, &c., though temporal things are not excluded, much rather are all things subjected to Him, albeit, we do not behold Him, because He rules spiritually and invisibly. Neither does His priestly office consist in the performance of outward ceremonies, but He intercedes for us at all times, and instructs us inwardly in the heart. This, His primogeniture, with its honours and dignities, Christ divides with all His Christians; by faith they become kings and priests with Him. By faith, a Christian in a spiritual manner becomes lord of all things; and though he cannot outwardly possess and use them, but must, much rather, succumb to death and many other things, yet nothing can prove detrimental to his salvation, and all things must much rather be subject to him and prove subservient to his salvation. So Christ, likewise, has acquired for him the priestly office, which makes him worthy to appear before God and to intercede for others. "Who now is able to conceive the honour and the greatness of a Christian? Through his kingly office he has power over all things; through his priestly office he prevails with God, for God complies with his prayer and wish, as is written in the Psalm: 'God fulfils the desire of them that fear him, and hears their cry.' Which honour is conferred upon him only because of faith and not because of any works. From all which we clearly learn, how a Christian is free from all things, and is over all things, so that he has no need of any good works to become pious and happy, faith affording him everything in abundance."

He finally adds, that the distinction which had been made between priests and laymen, took away all proper understanding of Christian grace, freedom, faith, and everything else that we have from Christ, yea, Christ himself. So likewise, that it is not sufficient to preach the life and work of Christ superficially and only historically; but that he must be preached so, that faith may be produced and kept alive by it, which is done, when it is said how we are to use and to enjoy him, what he has brought and given us. That this rejoices and most substantially comforts the heart, and draws it to Christ to love Him in return, which can never be accomplished by means of laws and works.

Upon this he proceeds to the *second part*, and in the first place, answers all those that take offence at the preceding remarks, and says: "If this be so, and faith supplies the place of

everything, and is, of itself, sufficient to make us pious, why then are good works commanded? Then let us be of good cheer and do nothing." To this he replies, "That might be true if man had already become wholly inward and spiritual; but that of this there is only a beginning made on earth. According to the soul," says he, "man is indeed sufficiently justified by faith, and has everything he is to have, except that faith is to continue always to increase; but he withal remains in this temporal life on earth, and must govern his own body and have intercourse with men. Here, now, begin the works, he dares not live in indolence, but the body must be exercised and urged on that it become conformed to the inner man, to faith and obedience, not hindering and resisting, as its manner is, when it is not constrained by force; for the inward man who is one with God, and would in his love like to serve God, finds in his flesh a refractory will, which strives to serve the world, and pursues that which pleases it. But the works are not to be done in the hope that man through them becomes pious before God, but that the body may become obedient and purified from its evil desires. Good pious works, never make a good, pious man; but a good, pious man does good, pious works. Evil works never make an evil man; but an evil man does evil works. So that in all cases, the person must first be good and pious before he can do anything good, and good works flow and proceed from a pious and good person. Just according as a man has faith or not, so his works are good or evil, but not as his works are so is he pious or in faith. Works, as they do not cause faith, so neither do they make pious; but faith, as it makes pious, so it likewise causes good works. Therefore he that wishes to do good works must begin, not with the works, but with the person that is to do the works. Where the false addition and the perverse intention are connected with the works, to become pious and saved through them, they are already no longer good but altogether condemnable, for they are not free, and derogate from the grace of God. But this simple addition and perverse intention are insuperable where there is no faith. Therefore we are not to preach only the one, but both Words of God. We are to preach the commandments, to terrify sinners, and to reveal to them their sins, that they may repent and be converted. But we are not to let this suffice; the other word, the promise of

grace must likewise be preached in order to teach faith, without which the commandments, repentance, and everything else is in vain.

"But man lives not only in his own body, (which he is to subdue and exercise,) but likewise among other men on earth; therefore he cannot be without works towards those, although of these works he needs none for piety or salvation. All works are to have for their object the good of our neighbour, because every one has sufficient for himself in his faith, and all other works with his life remain to him, to serve his neighbour with them freely from the dictates of love. A Christian is to have the same mind which he sees in Christ, so that although he is wholly free, he, notwithstanding, again willingly becomes a servant, to aid his neighbour, to proceed and to deal with him as God has dealt with him through Christ. And all this without hope of gain, seeking nothing but the pleasure of God, and thinking thus: 'Verily, my God has, through and in Christ, without any merit on my part, but freely and purely from mercy, bestowed upon me, an unworthy condemned being, the full measure of piety and salvation, so that henceforth I need do nothing more than believe that it is so. Therefore I will, in return, do for such a Father, who has so abundantly bestowed upon me His rich blessings, whatever is pleasing to Him, and likewise become a Christian to my neighbour as Christ has become a friend to me, and do nothing further than what I find to be necessary, useful, and beneficial to him; since through my faith, I at any rate, have sufficient of all things in Christ. Behold, thus from faith there flows joyous love to God, and from love a free, willing, joyful life, gratuitously to serve our neighbour.'"

He then points out, from several examples, how good works are to be performed, and what judgment is consequently to be passed upon the innumerable commandments and statutes of the pope, the bishops, &c., and finally draws this conclusion: "From all this it follows, that a Christian lives not to himself but to Christ and his neighbour; to Christ through faith, to his neighbour through love. Through faith he rises upwards to God; from God, he again, through love, descends, and yet always abides in God and divine love. . . . Behold, this is true, spiritual, Christian freedom, which delivers the heart from all sin, statutes, and commandments, and which surpasses

all other freedom as heaven surpasses the earth. Which may God enable us rightly to understand and to preserve. Amen."

Authorities.—Let., No. 181, 197, 128. Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, W. W., vol. 10, p. 451. Seckend. comm., p. 137, sq. Let., No. 200. Seckend., p. 93. The Ratio confitendi in German, W. W., vol. 17, p. 502. Let., 214, 218. The Sermon on Good Works, W. W., vol. 17, p. 392. The "Brief direction for contemplating the Ten Commandments," &c., vol. 22, p. 29. The "Treatise on the Freedom of a Christian," vol. 17, p. 382, Comp. Let., No. 264.

Note.—1.) The German translation with a preface by Bugenhagen, appeared in the year 1525. This first explanation of the Epistle to the Galatians, is to be distinguished from the more comprehensive work, which made its appearance in 1535.

CHAPTER XI.

THE LAST ATTEMPT AT RECONCILIATION WITH THE POPE.

Charles von Miltitz, who well perceived and had remarked to others, that he had not accomplished anything with the delivery of the consecrated rose, but yet was anxious on his own account to effect something, applied to a convention of the Augustines, held at Eisleben, in the month of August, 1520, at which Staupitz resigned his office, and requested their advice as to how Luther could be caused to observe silence. The latter are said to have replied, that they had no concern with Luther, and could give no advice; Miltitz, notwithstanding, prevailed upon Staupitz and the newly-elected vicar Wenzel, to proceed to Luther with a letter, and to request him, by all means, to write a private letter to the pope, assuring him that it had never been his intention to undertake anything against his person.

At first Luther thought that he could very easily do that, and that it was also the truth; on his hearing, however, that Eck had arrived at Leipzig with the bull of excommunication against him, and was giving utterance to shocking threats, he declared there would be nothing done towards it now. Miltitz, nevertheless, although he had met Dr. Eck at Leipzig, and received from him an accredited copy of the bull, still entertained hopes of compromising the matter. He represented to

Eck that he had acted improperly in publishing the bull, as long as the cause was yet awaiting an amicable adjustment, and that he should have written to him before. He now directed Luther to meet him at Lichtenburg, with the view to induce him to execute his promise, and to write to the pope; that the bull would not take effect before 120 days; in that time he would be at Rome and obtain another breve, by which the bull would be nullified or modified. Luther, upon this, being accompanied by Philip Melanchthon, a brother of his order, a nobleman and four horsemen, came to Lichtenburg on the 12th of October, and shortly afterwards Charles von Miltitz likewise arrived. Having now most amicably consulted upon the subject, they at length agreed together, that Luther should dedicate to the pope some small treatise or other, preceding it by a letter in German and Latin, giving a statement of his matter, how he had never harboured the design of assailing the pope's person, and how all the censure attached to Dr. Eck. This writing was to appear within twelve days, and to bear the date of the 6th of September, ten days after the convention at Eisleben, by which he had been besought to write to the pope, lest any one should say, that Eck, with his partizans, had, through the publication of the bull on the 21st of September, constrained him to write thus.

Miltitz was in hopes the matter would yet have a favourable termination; they would meet Eck and his partizans in a way they had not anticipated; for that his papal holiness would be well satisfied to have cause for limiting the excommunication together with the bull. Luther, however, thought: "If it succeeds, as we hope, it is well; if it does not succeed, it is well too, because it so has pleased God."

He meanwhile did, as he had promised, and dedicated to the pope the little book: "Concerning the Freedom of a Christian," (See above, ch. 10.) In the writing prefixed to this, and dated on the 6th September, he says:

"Although by several of thy unchristian sycophants the necessity has been imposed upon me to appeal from thy See and decision, in my case, to a free Christian council, yet have my affections never been so estranged from thee, as not always, from all my heart, to have wished thee and thy Roman See the highest prosperity, and in diligent, earnest prayer, to have interceded for it with God."—He says further: "That he had so far despised those who had sought to menace him with

the eminence and greatness of the papal name, but this he would not despise that he was represented as not having spared even the person of the pope. That he was not conscious of anything else, but that as often as he had referred to the person of the pope, he had spoken of him in the most respectful and becoming terms; and if he should not have done so, he would not praise it himself, and would do nothing more gladly, than speak the reverse of such malice and wickedness, and retract his censurable language. That he had called him a Daniel in Babylon; his good life also was too well known everywhere, than that it could be assailed by any one. That he would not speak disparagingly of him, whom everybody was praising; since it was not at all his manner to assail even those who were in bad repute with every one,—for the sins of others afforded him no pleasure, as he well knew that he too had a beam in his own eye. That he had indeed written sharply against a number of unchristian doctrines, and been severe towards his adversaries, not because of their wicked lives, but because of their unchristian doctrines; of this, however, he did not at all repent, nor would he refrain from it, as he had Christ's, St. Paul's, and the prophets' example to guide him here. The ears of men had only at the present time, through the host of unchristian sycophants, become so delicate, and men did not know how otherwise to maintain their ground against the truth, but by raising the cry of severity, intolerance, and rudeness. But of what profit is salt, if it does not bite sharply; or the edge of the sword, if it be not keen and cutting? Does not the prophet say, '*Cursed be he that doeth the work of the Lord deceitfully, and that keepeth back his sword from blood?*' (Jer. xlviii. 10.)

"Therefore," continues he, "I pray thee, holy father Leo, to accept this my apology, and to be firmly assured, that I have never undertaken anything evil against thy person, but have sincerely wished thee all that is good, and that I do not either desire to live at variance with any one on account of his evil life, but contend only for the truth of the Divine Word. I shall willingly, in all things, yield to every one, only God's Word I shall not, and cannot either forsake or deny. If any one entertains a different opinion of me, or has understood my writings differently, he errs, and does not understand me rightly.

"This is indeed true, I have briskly assailed the Roman See,

which is called the Roman court, and of which neither thou thyself, nor any person on earth, can otherwise declare, than that it is worse and more abominable than any Sodom, Gomorrah, or Babylon ever was. And, as far as I can perceive, there is no longer any remedy for its wickedness." . . . . . "For that thou thyself well knowest, how now, for many years, nothing but destruction of body, soul, and property, and the most pernicious examples of all that is evil, have proceeded from Rome, and swept like a desolating flood over the world; all which is manifest and public, and known to everybody; and thus the Roman Church, which in times past was the most holy, has now become a den of murder above all dens of murder; a bawdy-house above all bawdy-houses; a chief city and realm of all sin, of death and perdition; so that it cannot well be conceived, what greater wickedness could yet be perpetrated, even if Antichrist himself should come.

"Thou, holy father Leo, meanwhile dwellest like a sheep among wolves, (Matt. x. 16,) and like Daniel among lions, (Dan. vi. 16–23,) and with Ezekiel among scorpions, (Ezek. ii. 6). What canst thou singly and alone accomplish against so many raving monsters? And even though three or four learned and pious cardinals should side with thee, of what avail would it be among such a multitude? For you would be removed by poison, before you could attempt to remedy the evil. The Roman See has seen the day of its glory,—the unappeasable wrath of God has overtaken it." . . . . . "It is indeed properly a work which devolves upon thee and the cardinals to check the progress of these evils; but the disease mocks at the remedy, horse and chariot heed not the driver. This is the reason, thou pious Leo, why it has always grieved me, that thou hast become pope in these times, who wouldest deserve to be pope in better times. The Roman See is not worthy of thee, or men like thee: but the evil spirit ought to be pope, who certainly too rules more in that Babylon than thou dost. O, would to God that, being delivered from the honour, (as they, that is, thy most pernicious foes, call it,) thou mightest maintain thyself from some prebend, or from thy paternal inheritance! Surely, such honour should be conferred upon no one, except Judas Iscariot, or such like him, whom God has cast off."

"Behold here, my father,"—says he, somewhat further on,—"the cause and the reason why I have so severely assailed this

pestilential see: for so far have I been from all assaults on thy person, that I had even hoped to gain favour and thanks with thee, and to be considered as promoting thy best interests, if I merely fearlessly and sharply attacked this prison, or, rather, this hell of thine." . . . . . "Those, certainly, who injure this court in every way they can, perform a work which thou thyself oughtest to perform; they all honour Christ, who do most to bring such court into disgrace. In short, they are all good Christians who are bad Romanists."

"It would yet," continues he then, "never have entered into his heart, to create any excitement against the Roman court; but he would, in view of the remediless condition of things there, have devoted himself to the noiseless and quiet study of the Holy Scriptures, if the senseless ambition of Eck had not drawn him into the discussion. The latter," adds he, after giving a statement of things thus far, "is the enemy both of thyself and of the Roman See: From his single example every one may learn that there is no more dangerous enemy than a sycophant. What else has resulted from his sycophancy, but such mischief as no king has been able to occasion? The name of the Roman court has now a bad odour all over the world; the papal ban is powerless, and Roman ignorance is much decried; all which would not have been the case, if Eck had not meddled with Charles (von Miltitz's) and my proposition of peace."

Having now stated how, through Miltitz and the fathers of his order, he had been induced to honour the pope's person, and in a submissive writing to vindicate the innocence of the same, as well as his own, how delightful too and joyful this message had been to him, and how willingly he had complied with its requisitions, he thus addresses the pope:

"Therefore, now I come, holy father Leo, and, casting myself at thy feet, pray thee, if possible, to exercise thy authority, and to put a check upon these sycophants, who are the enemies of peace, although they pretend peace. But that I should retract my doctrines, needs not be expected; and no one needs insist upon it either, unless he desires to make the matter only the more perplexing and intricate. Nor can I endure rules and measures in explaining the Scriptures, because the Word of God, which teaches all freedom, is not and dares not be made captive. If these two things are granted me, then nothing at all can be imposed upon me, which I shall not most willingly

perform and suffer. I abhor strife, and have no wish to excite or to provoke any one ; nor do I wish to be provoked. If, however I am provoked, I do not wish to be prevented from speaking or writing. Thy holiness may easily, by a few short words, assume this whole quarrel to itself, and make an end of it, at the same time enjoining silence and peace, which I have always been most desirous to see.

"Therefore, my holy father, I beseech thee, not to listen to those who deceitfully flatter thee, and say that thou art not a mere man, but in part God, and hast power to command and to demand all things. It will prove false ; and thou wilt fail in thy endeavours. Thou art a servant of all the servants of God, and in a more perilous and wretched station than any man on earth. Let not those deceive thee, who hypocritically and falsely represent to thee, that thou art lord of the world, and who will admit no one to be a Christian, unless he be subject unto thee ; prating, as they do, that thy power extends to heaven, to hell and into purgatory. They are thy enemies and seek the destruction of thy soul. As Isaiah says: (ch. iii. 12 ; ch. ix. 16,) '*Oh my people, they which lead thee cause thee to err.*' They all err, who say, that thou art above the councils and collected Christendom. They err, who ascribe the power to interpret the Scriptures to thee alone. They one and all seek nothing else, but how they may, under the cover of thy name, promote their unchristian projects in the Church; as the evil spirit, alas, has also done through many of thy predecessors. Do not, in short, believe any one that exalts thee, but only those that humble thee; that is the judgment of God, as is written: He hath put down the mighty from their seats and exalted them of low degree. (Luke i. 52.)

"Behold how unequal are Christ and his vicegerents, yet they wish all to be his vicegerents, and indeed I fear, they are only too much his vicegerents. For a vicegerent is vicegerent in the absence of his lord ; if therefore a Pope rules in the absence of Christ, who does not dwell in his heart, is he not then too truly Christ's vicegerent ? But what can such a multitude be, but an assembly without Christ ? And what now can such a pope be, but an Anti-Christ and false god ? How much better was the course which the Apostles pursued, who called themselves and caused themselves to be called nothing but servants of Christ, dwelling in him, and not vicegerents of the absent Christ!

"Perhaps it is insolent in me, that I presume to give instruction to a personage in so elevated a station, by whom every one is to be instructed, and from whom, as some of thy venomous sycophants assert, all kings and judges are to receive decisions. But in this I imitate St. Bernard in his book to Pope Eugenius, which all popes ought in truth to have impressed upon their memory. It is not from the presumption of becoming thy teacher, that I speak as I do, but from sincere faithful anxiety and duty, which justly constrain every one to be concerned for his neighbour, even in those things which are harmless, and do not permit us to have regard to dignity or want of dignity, so very diligent do they cause us to be in attending to our neighbours' perils and prosperity. As I therefore know, how thy holiness lives at Rome, namely, as upon the deepest sea, tossed about by innumerable dangers raging on all sides, living and labouring amidst such distresses, that thou well hast need of the aid even of the most humble Christian; I did not consider it improper, so long to forget thy majesty, till I had discharged the duty of brotherly love. I have no wish to flatter in a matter so serious and perilous, in which, if some will not understand, how I am thy friend and more than subject, those will not be wanting, who will understand it."

In the last place, he refers to the book which he dedicated to the pope, and concludes: "It is a small, insignificant little book, if the paper is considered; but yet the whole sum of what a Christian life should be, is contained in it, if the sense is regarded. I am poor and have nothing else, with which to serve thee; neither hast thou any need of aid but in spiritual matters. And herewith I commend myself to thy holiness, which may Jesus Christ ever bless. Amen."

Authorities.—Letters, No. 255, 257, 260. Letter of Miltitz to the elector and that of Wolfgang von Reischenbusch to Fab. Peilitsch, in Cyprian's Urkunden, vol. 1, p. 436 and 447. Letters, No. 263. 264.

CHAPTER XII.

THE PAPAL BULL AND THE BURNING OF IT.

Several days previous to Luther's writing the letter to the Pope, the Treatise "De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiæ," or "Concerning the Babylonian Captivity of the Church," had al-

ready made its appearance, in which he assailed "the tyranny of Rome" more unsparingly than ever. At the very outset he remarks, that his adversaries were making him daily more learned. That two years previous he had written hesitatingly concerning indulgences; now he knew that they were nothing but a fraud of the Roman sycophants, by means of which they were destroying faith in God and depriving the people of their money. That before he had denied only the Divine right of the Papacy, and admitted the human right; now he knew, that the Papacy was the realm of Babylon, and the power of Nimrod, the mighty hunter. So now, he was, once more through the writing of a monk of Cremona and of the Leipzig Franciscan, (Alveld, see ch. 9, p. 134,) driven to the necessity of taking up the doctrine on the Sacrament. And here he was, constrained in the first place to deny, that there were seven sacraments; that he could now receive only three, baptism, repentance,[1] and the bread, (that is, the Lord's Supper,) and that all these had been brought into wretched captivity by the Roman court, and the Church had been robbed of all its freedom.

In reference to the *Lord's Supper*, he enumerated three captivities of this Sacrament, namely, the refusal of the cup to the laity, the doctrine of transubstantiation, and the regarding of it by all as a good work and sacrifice. That, in order to obtain a true and pure knowledge of this Sacrament, it was necessary to set aside everything, that human devotion and fancy had added to the original and simple institution of the same.

In regard to the Sacrament of *Baptism*, he praised God, that He had, in the richness of His mercy, preserved to His Church this one Sacrament, against defilement and corruption from human tradition; he lamented, however, that the efficacy and grandeur of this Sacrament were so little regarded, and ascribed the cause of this, in particular, to the innumerable vows, which ought also either to be wholly abolished or avoided.

Concerning the Sacrament of *Penance* he says, that, in it, the avarice of the shepherds had shockingly raged against the sheep of Christ. That they had, in reality, abolished the whole sacrament, since they had employed the *word of promise*, by which faith was to be excited, merely in support of their tyranny, and had declared faith to be unnecessary. That they had instead of the promise and faith, substituted three things, viz., penitence, confession and satisfaction. *Penitence*, instead

of making it a work of faith, they had made a work of merit; and some, still more presumptuous, had invented a half-way penitence or an *attrition; Confession*, useful and necessary in itself, had been made to subserve the tyranny and extortion of the popes, who had reserved to themselves the power to grant absolution in particular cases; concerning *satisfaction*, finally, such a manner of teaching had been observed, that the people never could understand true satisfaction, which is a renewing of life, and that the consciences of men had been sadly tormented with doubts, they having conceived the idea, that they were required with their works to render satisfaction for their sins.

"Concerning *Confirmation*," he said, "we nowhere find, that Christ had made any promise, although he laid his hands upon many; therefore it is sufficient, that we regard it as a custom of the Church, or a sacramental ceremony, like other ceremonies, which because they have not God's promise, cannot be called sacraments."

"Matrimony," he continued, "is regarded as a sacrament, without any scriptural authority whatever; the grace of God is not obtained through it, neither has it been instituted by God, that it should signify anything. Neither can it be called a sacrament of the new covenant, since it has existed from the beginning of the world, and is observed even among unbelievers."

He then demonstrated, that the text, Ephes. v. 31, is falsely adduced here, from a want of acquaintance with the Greek language, and that marriage, according to this passage, was only a figure and image of Christ and the Church, but not a sacrament; he, moreover, expressed his indignation at the ungodly statutes of men, through which this mode of life, instituted by God, had been confusedly and intricately represented; especially did he rail against the numerous invented obstacles to marriage, and against the arbitrary procedure in divorcing and forbidding second marriages.

Concerning *Holy Orders*, he likewise said, that they were no sacrament, but an observance of the Church; that the Church, however, had no power to institute new divine promises of grace; that from this had arisen the shameful tyranny of the clergy, that they deemed themselves better on account of the bodily anointing: Christian fellowship had, in consequence, wholly ceased; the shepherds had become wolves, the servants tyrants, and the clergy worldlings.

He finally came to the sacrament of *Extreme Unction*, which it is attempted to establish from James v. 14, 15, in opposition to which he said, that it did not behoove the apostles[2] arbitrarily to institute a sacrament, that is, to give the promises of God with an accompanying sign, since this belonged only to Christ; that in the Gospels, however, there was nothing to be found in reference to it. But that if it was to be observed, why did they not observe it according to the prescription of the apostle, instead of making of it an anointing, ordinarily observed with the sick; by which, through the prayer of faith, they might recover,—a last anointing for the dying?

Luther having now, towards the close, explained what properly constituted a sacrament, concluded with these words: "I learn, too, that there have been newly fabricated against me, bulls and papal persecutions, which are either to compel me to retract, or to declare me a heretic. In case this is true, I wish this little book to be a part of my future recantation, that they may not in vain lament their vaunting tyranny. I shall shortly too, with the help of Christ, write a recantation such as the See of Rome has never either seen or heard, and shall thus sufficiently testify my obedience, in the name of my Lord Jesus Christ. Amen."

After the publication of this severe writing, which was soon also prohibited, anything like reconciliation with the pope could, of course, scarcely be expected; *the bull of excommunication* against Luther, and Eck's deportment on delivering it, finally ruined everything. It was reported already in August, (1520,) that Eck, bearing with him the bull, had arrived at Meissen: Luther, however, was at that time yet unwilling to credit it. In September he actually made his appearance: on the 21st it was posted up at Meissen, on the 25th at Merseburg, and on the 29th at Brandenburg. In the beginning of October, Eck was at Leipzig, boasting to Miltitz that he would now soon teach Luther, and making a great parade with his bull. Duke George wrote to the council, commanding them to make him a present of a gilded chalice filled with florins; he was, however, notwithstanding this, poorly received at Leipzig, and in many places there was posted up against him a placard, in which he was derided and menaced, so that he was under the necessity of taking refuge in the cloister of St. Paul, and of concealing himself from the view of the public. To the rector of the university of Wittenberg, (Burkard), Eck,

on the third of October, transmitted the bull, with threatening injunctions; he, however, did not publish it, because it had not been delivered to him in proper form. At Wittenberg, they deemed it best to wait and see if the matter would not perhaps in the mean time take a different direction; but information being afterwards received, in the beginning of the year 1521, that the bishop of Brandenburg intended, when he would pass through Wittenberg, (on his way to Worms,) in company with the elector of Brandenburg and duke Albrecht of Mecklenburg, to have the bull posted up and published, John von Taubenheim concerted plans with the mayor to prevent it, even if it should be necessary to proceed from words to actions. At Zeitz, Erfurt, and Bamberg, the bull was not published at all, it being objected, that it had not been transmitted in due form. At Erfurt, copies of the bull, printed and offered for sale there, were torn in pieces and thrown into the river by the students, amidst the exclamation: "Now it is indeed a true 'bulla,' (that is, bubble). By others, on the other hand, as, for instance, by the bishop of Eichstädt and the bishop of Freisingen, its publication was strictly enforced.[3]

The bull was dated the fourth of June, 1520. After the pope had in it called upon the Lord Christ, the apostles Peter and Paul, for aid, and lamented, that in the highly-renowned German nation such heresy had arisen; he sets down forty-one theses, which he rejected and condemned as erroneous, and which, under threats of repeated excommunication, he forbade all the clergy and the seculars, the princes and their subjects, to confess or to defend. The books of Luther containing these errors he prohibited: no one should read, possess, or sell them; they were everywhere to be searched up, and to be publicly and solemnly burnt. As to Martin himself, the bull provided, that nothing had been left undone which could induce him to forsake his errors, but that he disobediently had despised the citation and everything else, wickedly appealing to a future council. That he could justly, without further delay, be dealt with as a heretic; but that, nevertheless, the course of mercy would be followed, and that he and his adherents were accordingly entreated and exhorted, for the sake of the blood of Christ, no longer to disturb the peace of the Church, and to desist from their errors. That Martin should, in the mean time, refrain from all preaching, and, within sixty days, retract

all and each of his errors, or, within sixty days more, to communicate such recantation to the pope, in a written and legally authorized form. That if he, his adherents and patrons, did not do this, they should, as withered branches, which could not remain in Christ, and, as manifest and perverse heretics, be condemned. That all Martin's writings, even those in which the errors mentioned are not contained, or which he might yet publish, should, as emanating from an enemy of the Christian faith, be forbidden to be read or sold, yea, they should be committed to the flames, that his memory might be wholly exterminated from among the society of Christians. That no one should have any intercourse with him or his adherents. All the clergy and the seculars in the whole world, especially in the German dominions, were commanded under pain of every penalty, to seize the persons of Martin and his adherents, and to deliver them to the pope, for which good work the Roman See promised them a becoming reward. Martin and his partizans were, at the least, everywhere to be expelled, and every place whither they might betake themselves should, as long as they remain there, and for three days after their departure, be placed under the interdict. Under pain of excommunication, they were everywhere in the churches publicly to be proclaimed as being declared and condemned heretics; and the bull of excommunication, or an accredited copy thereof, was to be posted up and published.

It was in the early part of October that Luther first obtained a copy of this bull. Although he regarded it as genuine, he still at first wished to omit the name of the pope in the game, and to treat the bull as an invention of Eck. He accordingly wrote the pamphlet: *Concerning the new Eckian bulls and falsehoods*, in which he pointed out the falsity and craftiness of Eck's accusations, and then spoke of the bull itself, of which he said, that he could not regard it as genuine, because his appeal to a council had never been withdrawn; because his matter had, at the instance of Miltitz and with the consent of his elector, been submitted for examination to the archbishop of Treves; because he could not believe either, that the pope would have commissioned his ferocious enemy, Dr. Eck, who was a party in the case, to deliver the bull; and because, in general, he would not believe any bull, unless he saw the original, since he well knew of what falsifications the Roman knaves could be guilty.

He was of good courage meanwhile, and replied to Duke Frederick of Saxony, who had caused a gracious letter to be despatched to him, that he had not been in the least terrified at the bulls, and would none the less continue to preach, to lecture, and to write, although Duke George and the bishop of Merseburg were so greatly enraged against him as not to omit anything which might exile him from Wittenberg. He rejoiced that his friend Spalatin at last perceived, that it was not in princes in whom we must trust, "for"—he wrote—"if the Gospel were of such a nature, that it could be spread and maintained by the great men of the world, God would not have entrusted it to fishermen." On that account he did not feel inclined either, in private communications, to apply to the princes, but contented himself with renewing his appeal to a council. (Compare part 3, ch. 6.) At the same time, however, there appeared (in November) in German and Latin, the writing: "*Adversus execrabilem Antichristi bullam;* or, *Against the bull of Antichrist.* In the beginning of it Luther stated how his opponents, the defenders of indulgences, on perceiving that their false doctrines were sustained neither by Scripture nor reason, had, as was their manner and custom, resorted to papal intrigue and violence, condemning him and his books without a refutation and without stating reasons, decrying them as heretical, prohibiting and condemning them, which indeed was an easy matter, and could be performed by children too. That he could conscientiously declare, that nothing would rejoice him more than to see the destruction of all his books, which he had published only for the purpose of, through them, warning the people against such errors, and drawing them to the Bible. That, if there were only a right understanding of the Scriptures, his books signified nothing; and if the condemning of them did injury only to himself, he would willingly observe silence. But because Christ says: *He that confesseth me before men,* &c., because, moreover, he was in duty bound to promote the salvation of his neighbour, and because he was convinced that the pope and his adherents had, without reason or cause, from mere ignorance and error, opposed the truths of Christianity; he could not and durst not keep silence, permit the truth to be reviled, and souls to be seduced, befall him what might. "Therefore," said he, "I will have every one know that I herewith offer him my humble Christian services, as far as behooves me, faithfully to admon-

ish him, that he may forget me, and attend to the interests of his own soul, and with all diligence be on his guard, that his papal wickedness[4] do not drive him from the truth, by his and his partizans' highly-menacing, inflated and feigned words in the bull, which they say has lately arrived from Rome, against Dr. Luther. Every one is to know that he does me no service, if he despises the nefarious, heretical and lying bull, and that he will occasion me no chagrin either, if he highly esteems it. Through the grace of God I am free, need not and will not console myself with any of these things, or be terrified by them. I know well who is my consolation and defence: He will stand by me against men and devils. I shall discharge my duty; every one shall, at his death and at the last day, answer for himself, and then well appreciate my faithful warning. But that none may prefer the excuse that he did not know what that impiety and those errors were against which he was to be on his guard, I shall enumerate the articles condemned in the bull, and in the first place point out the blindness and malice of the Roman knaves."

He now, first of all, exposed the ambiguity of the bull, which indicated: that some articles were heretical, some erroneous, some perplexing, some seductive, some intolerable to Christian ears, whilst it did not state, which, in order thus to condemn all at once. He said further: That no one might doubt, but that the evil spirit had dictated the bull, it was expressly declared in it, that even those books were to be condemned and burnt, which contained no error. That it had never yet been heard of in Christendom, that Christians had been publicly commanded to deny the truth, to condemn and to commit it to the flames. He finally took up the bull itself and reviewed the first twelve articles, which were condemned in it, justified them briefly, and concluded:

"Therefore I will herewith have every one put on his guard and admonished, that he may beware of such devils, and will give a sign, namely this: If the pope does not revoke and condemn this bull and rebuke Dr. Eck and his clique, as the executors of such bull; then no one is to doubt but that the pope is the enemy of God, the persecutor of Christ, the destroyer of his Church, and the true Anti-Christ. For thus far it has never yet been heard of, that any one has condemned the plain, manifest Christian truth, as this hellish, accursed bull does."

A detailed defence of the theses condemned in the bull,

Luther soon afterwards published in the Latin and German writing: *Assertio omnium articulorum per bullam Leonis X., novissimam damnatorum*, or, Arguments in support of all the articles unjustly condemned by the Roman bull, which he dedicated to the Saxon knight, Fabian von Feilitzsch.

Before this treatise was issued from the press, however, Luther proceeded to something further, in order to convince the Papists, that it required no great skill to burn books, which one cannot refute. On the tenth day of December, namely, all the students at Wittenberg, were, in a public notice posted up on the black-board before the lecture room, called upon to assemble, with the information, that the anti-christian decretals would be burnt at nine o'clock in the forenoon. At the appointed time, the students numerously assembled, in a place before the Elstergate, and situate behind the infirmary, when a respectable magister prepared a place for a fire, piled up the wood and kindled it. Whereupon Dr. Luther cast the anti-christian decretals,[5] together with the bull of Leo X., recently issued against him, into the fire, with these words: "Because thou hast grieved the holy ones of the Lord, may eternal fire grieve and consume thee." This being done, Dr. Luther again returned to the town, and many doctors, magisters and students with him.

The following day, Dr. Luther, after the lecture on the Psalms, which he, in the year previous, in the month of March, had begun to explain in course, admonished all his hearers to be on their guard against the laws and statutes of the pope. The burning of the decretals had been mere child's play, that it was high time, however, that the pope, namely, the Roman See, together with all its doctrines and abominations, were consumed in the flames. Further, he said, with great earnestness, "If you do not, with all your heart, oppose the wicked government of the pope, you cannot be saved. For the kingdom of the pope, is so utterly opposed to the kingdom of Christ and to Christian life, that it would be better and more safe to live in a wilderness, without any human being near, than in and under the kingdom of Anti-Christ. Therefore every Christian is to be very careful, as he loves his soul's salvation, that he do not deny Christ, which certainly will be the case, if he sides with the Papists; so that every one who approves of their religion and false acts of worship, in the church, as they are at present observed under the Papacy, and who does not bear

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testimony against their strong delusions, must be forever lost in the life to come. But if he does bear testimony, he assuredly jeopards body and life. I shall rather, however, incur all manner of perils in this world, than charge my conscience with keeping silence, for which I would have to render an account to God. As I therefore have, for some time past, with my whole heart, resisted the raving monster at Rome, I consider the Babylonian plague and pestilence. an abomination, and shall, also, as long as I live, point this out to my brethren and warn them. If withal I cannot prevent the appalling ruin and destruction of innumerable souls, yet some among us can be rescued, so that they be not cast into the abyss of hell along with the rest. Others may do in this matter, what they choose, but it is time that we attend seriously to the business and reform.

He, at the same time, issued a writing under the title: "*Why the books of the Pope and his disciples have been burnt? Let any one, who chooses, likewise show why they have burnt Dr. Luther's books.*" He, in it, publicly declares what he had done, and gives as a reason, in the first place, that it was an ancient custom to burn corrupt and nefarious books; that he, in the second place, as a baptized Christian and a sworn doctor of the Holy Scriptures, was required to resist erroneous doctrines; that, in the third place, the pope and the papal impostors were hardened to such a degree, that they would receive no instruction, but blindly condemned the doctrines of the Gospel; that he, in the fourth place, did not believe his adversaries had authority from Pope Leo X., for what they did, as far his person was concerned, and that he trusted the pope himself did not approve of the books burnt by him; that, in the fifth place, since the adversaries, by their burning of books, were, to the great disparagement of the truth, exciting false notions in the common people, he had, at the bidding of the Spirit, as he hoped, committed those books to the flames. No one should permit the high-sounding titles of the consumed books, or the long use made of them, to impose upon him, but should first examine and see, what the pope had taught in these books, and what shocking doctrines were contained in the canon law. He then extracted thirty theses from the canon law and the papal books, as: 1. The pope and his See are not bound to be subject to the laws of God or to obey them. 2. It is not a command, but an advice of St. Peter's, when he teaches that all Christians are to be subject to kings. 3. The sun signifies the

papal, the moon the temporal power in Christendom. 4. The pope and his See are not bound to be subject to Christian councils and regulations. 5. The pope has, in his heart, full power over all law, &c. That, in short, the sum total of the canon law was: "The pope is a god upon earth, above all that is heavenly, earthly, spiritual or temporal. For that no one dared say, What doest thou?" That no one had scarcely thus far been suffered to expose such abominations, the pope having threatened to burn all who would resist him. That the pope had never yet refuted any one from the Scriptures or from reason, but had crushed all by a resort to violence or treachery, persecution, exile, and death; and had even resisted all interference of justice and judgment, pretending that he was above all Scripture, judgment and authority. But that truth and justice did not shun judgment. That he, Luther, was prepared in all this to abide the decisions of justice before any one.

Authorities.—The writing concerning the Babylonian captivity. W. W., vol. 17, p. 511. Let., No. 265, 249. Cypr. Urk., vol. 1, p. 436, Comp. Let., No. 260. W. W., vol. 17, p. 316. Cypr., vol 1, p. 474 and 495. Let., 268, 262. Writing concerning the new Eckian bulls, &c. W. W., vol. 17, p. 318. Let., 266, 268. The writing against the bulls of Anti-Christ, W. W., vol. 17, p. 324, and the writing: Arguments in support, &c., ibid., p. 338. Let., No. 2, 75. W. W., vol. 17, p. 332. The writing: Why the books of the pope and his disciples, &c., ibid., p. 333.

Notes.—1.) Further on (vol. 17, p. 558,) Luther says: That strictly speaking, repentance is not to be considered a sacrament.

2.) In this passage is already expressed Luther's known want of regard for the Epistle of St. James. (In which he is not followed by the Ev. Luth. Church.)

3.) The administrator of the bishopric of Naumburg, the chancellor, Dr. Henry Schmidtberg, on the other hand, willed one hundred florins to Luther. The latter was sent for by him to come to Eilenburg, where he lay sick; but on Luther's arriving, he had already expired, firmly believing in Christ and confessing the doctrines of the Gospel. Luther was rejoiced, not so much at the present, as at the case itself, which he considered a sign of the times against Eck and his patrons. Let., No. 269 Comp. No. 283, and Lingke, Reisegeschichte L.'s, p. 76, sq.

4.) Thus Luther writes ironically, instead of the customary title: "His papal holiness."

5.) Some other books too, for instance the Summa Angelica and writings of Eck and Emser were burnt along with the rest.

N. B. In this chapter, the negotiations, which were held between the papal legates and the elector, at Cologne, in Nov., 1520, as well as the expressions of Erasmus concerning Luther. W. W., vol. 17, p. 376, and Spal. Anal. p. 28, should also have been noticed.

CHAPTER XIII.

CITATION AND JOURNEY TO WORMS.

The papal nuncio had repeatedly requested the emperor to have Luther's books consigned to the flames, throughout the entire length and breadth of the holy Roman realm; the elector of Saxony, on the other hand, had, through the counsellors of the emperor, duke William of Croy, margrave of Arschot, and Count Henry of Nassau, signified his wish to have no proceedings instituted against Luther, till he had first been heard. As the emperor, accordingly, "was anxious to have this matter, from which great confusion and error might arise, finally adjusted," he, in a letter, dated from Oppenheim, on the 28th November, 1520, enjoined the elector to bring Luther with him to Worms, in order "there to have his affair investigated by learned and highly-intelligent men, and to see to it, that he would sustain no injury or any ill-treatment." The elector should, however, in order to prevent further offence, admonish Luther, in the mean time, not to write anything against his papal holiness. To this the elector replied from Alstädt, under date of the 20th December, that he had never presumed to defend Luther's writing or preaching: but as the latter had so frequently offered to submit to an investigation, he, the elector, had interceded for him with the emperor. But as now, since his taking leave of the emperor, Luther's books had, at Cologne, Mayence, and other places, without proper investigation or refutation from the Holy Scriptures, been committed to the flames, (which he had not expected, and which probably had been done without permission from the emperor,) and because Luther might, perhaps, before the letter of the emperor had reached him, the elector, likewise have committed himself in opposition: the emperor was requested to excuse him from bringing Luther with him to the diet. The emperor himself had, meanwhile, changed his mind, and, under date of the 17th December, had, from Worms, despatched a letter to the elector, to this effect: That he had now received certain information of Luther's having incurred the severest excommunication of the pope, and that all places in which he might make his stay, were to be placed under the interdict, as well as all who had any dealings with him to be excommunicated;

the elector should therefore bring Luther with him, only on condition of his first retracting everything that he had written against his papal holiness, and of submitting himself to the pope's decision, even then, however, not to Worms, but only as far as Frankfort on the Maine, or some other place, where he should await further directions. If Luther, however, refused to comply with this, the elector should permit him to remain at home till they had first verbally consulted upon the subject.

When Luther was first questioned by Spalatin as to what he would do if the emperor should cite him to appear, he answered: (the 21st Dec.) "*If I am cited, I shall, as far as it depends upon me, have myself conveyed thither sick, if I cannot proceed in health;* for I dare not doubt but that the Lord calls me, when the emperor calls. And then, if they have recourse to violence, as it is probable they will—for it is not for the purpose of informing me better, that they have me cited—we must commend the matter to God. He that preserved the three men in the fiery furnace of the king of Babylon, still liveth and ruleth. If he will not preserve my head, it signifies little, compared with Christ, who amidst such great reproach, to the offence of all, and the destruction of many, was put to death. For here we are not to have regard to the perils or the welfare of any one, but much rather to have care, that we do not yield up the Gospel to the derision of the ungodly, with which we have once begun, and thus give occasion to the adversaries to reproach us, as if we did not venture to confess that which we have taught, and feared to lay down our lives for it. May Christ, in mercy, avert from us such reproach, and from them such boasting! Amen." And further: "This one duty remains to us and is commanded us, namely, to pray the Lord, that the reign of the Emperor Charles may not, at the very outset, be stained in favour of wickedness, by the shedding of my blood, or that of any other person; and I would rather, as I have often said, perish wholly by the hands of the Romanists, if only the emperor with his government do not become involved in this matter. You know what misfortunes pursued the Emperor Sigismund after the murder of Huss, and how nothing would prosper for him afterwards, &c. But yet, if it must be so, and I am to be delivered not only to the priests, but likewise to the heathens the Lord's will be done. Amen. Behold here you have my purpose and my mind. Expect everything from me, except flight or recantation: flee of my-

self, I shall not, recant much less. In this may the Lord Jesus sustain me. For neither the one nor the other could I do, without detriment to godliness and the salvation of many."

On his hearing that the emperor had again receded from his determination to have him come to Worms, he very much regretted it, and in a letter to the elector, under date of the 25th January, 1521, once more offered, if the requisite security and safe conduct were given him, to appear at the diet, before just, learned, pious and unsuspected judges, and with the help of the Almighty, so to set forth his cause and to defend himself, that all should in truth perceive how he had thus far attempted and done nothing from an impious, froward, insubordinate disposition, or for the sake of temporal, wordly honours and advantages, but in all had complied only with the requirements of his conscience, oath and obligations, endeavouring, as a poor teacher of the Holy Scriptures, to promote the glory of God, the salvation and happiness of Christians in general, the good of the German nation, the extirpation of dangerous abuses and superstitions, and the delivery of all holy christendom from so many fraudulent, innumerable, unchristian, damnable and tyrannical usurpations, oppressions and blasphemies.

The papal adherents were not anxious to have Luther appear before the diet, but wished to have him condemned without further process. The papal nuncio, *Alexander*, accordingly delivered a speech before the diet, in connection with which he produced the original of the bull of excommunication against Luther, because some had declared it a fabrication, and complained of the calumny, that the papal legates should have procured the burning of Luther's books by bribes. He then requested attention to several doctrines of Luther, which certainly deserved that a hundred thousand heretics should be burnt on account of them, since Huss and even Wickliffe were defended in them. That Luther was waging war against the subterranean and celestial spirits, was sinning against the whole body of the clergy, rejecting all monastic orders, and offending against the saints, the world, and the councils. That Luther was indeed reputed to be a pious man, but that Satan did under a good appearance deceive men, and if Luther were pious, he would not desire to be wiser than the Fathers and the Church. He then spoke against granting Luther a safe-conduct and against having him heard. That he would not suffer himself to be instructed by any one, not even by an angel from

heaven. That having been cited by the pope, he had not appeared but had appealed to a council. That it did not behoove the matter to be brought before his imperial majesty, as laymen were not the proper judges in the case; and that the clergy themselves durst not, without permission from the pope, enter into a disputation with heretics. That Luther, finally, would not admit the decision of the pope. That the object would therefore be, to prevent any further spread of the heresy; that he accordingly prayed, in a public edict, to command, that Luther's books be burnt and not further sold.

The emperor actually, too, gave command, that all the writings of Luther should be brought forward and delivered to the authorities; but the estates of the realm represented in opposition, that there could not be much good expected from the publication of this edict, as Luther's doctrines were already spread over the whole extent of Germany, and that the evil could not be remedied, if he were not himself heard. They accordingly advised, that he should, under promise of safe conduct, be cited and interrogated, as to whether he were willing to retract the articles, which were opposed to the holy Christian faith, as received from the Fathers and so far maintained. If he would not do so, the estates would in all earnestness sustain the emperor in the execution of the mandate. To this they added the prayer, that the abuses, through which great injury was inflicted upon the German provinces by the See of Rome, might be duly and properly reformed. This advice of the estates the emperor so far approved, that he resolved to cite Luther, and promised to consider the grievances against the court of Rome: only he desired to have these separately specified.

Luther having, through Spalatin, been informed of these proceedings, and also of the articles which he was to retract, declared, in reply, that he would positively not retract anything, if they had no other ground but this, that what he had written was in opposition to the usages and customs of the Church (as his opponents, namely, understood it). He would answer the emperor, that he would not appear, if he were cited merely for the purpose of retracting. If, then, the emperor felt disposed a second time to cite him, in order to put him to death, he offered to appear; for that, relying upon the help of Christ, he had no intention of fleeing or forsaking the Word in the midst of the contest. That he was fully assured, his blood-

thirsty enemies would not rest, till they had destroyed him. To the elector, he replied to the several points, and concluded by saying, that his recantation would not be of any avail at this time, in which the Scriptures and the ancient teachers had again become known, and in which it was no longer asked, what was taught, but why this or that was taught. That for the Roman Church there would grow out of it nothing but public disgrace, since that, which she without authority taught and practiced, would not receive authority through his recantation. He could conscientiously say, that he would, regardless of all honour, willingly recant, if only sufficient evidence of his error and of their truth were afforded him.

Meanwhile, Luther was busily employed at home. In a letter to *Conrad Pellicanus*, who superintended the printing of his Latin writings at Basle, he excused himself with reference to some oversights in his Psalter, and says: "I am very busily employed—I preach twice every day, I labour at the Psalter, I am engaged upon postillas, I reply to my adversaries, I contend against the bull in German and Latin, and defend myself, not to mention the letters which I have to write to my friends, and the conversations which occur at home and elsewhere."

During this time, there appeared the first part of the Postil, Enarrationes Epistolarum et Evangeliorum, (that is, Explanation of the Epistles and Gospels,) which he wrote at the instance of the elector. (See ch. 10, p. 153.) In the dedication to the elector, (of the 3d March,) he excused himself for not having complied with his advice, to refrain from writing controversial books, with which he had already wasted three years of his time, and to devote himself to holy and peaceful studies, since this, though he also had anxiously desired it, had not been possible. That he had always cherished the hope, he would some time or other be suffered to remain undisturbed, but that he perceived this to be a vain hope, and that Satan only strove in this way, wholly to draw him away from his object; that he had therefore begun to give up all hope of peace, and now intended, in imitation of Nehemiah, to be ready for the work of peace and war at the same time, holding in one hand the sword, and with the other building up the wall."

He, at this time, likewise published the *German Exposition of the Magnificat*, (or Hymn of Mary,) which he, under date of

the 10th March, dedicated to the young duke, John Frederick, by way of answer to a consoling letter from the latter to him. This holy hymn, said he, it behooves all, who wish to rule well and to be useful sovereigns, carefully to learn and to remember, since Mary, in it, in the most holy strain sings of God and His government, and of His works in the higher and lower stations of life.

Among the enemies, to whom Luther was under the necessity of replying, Emser was particularly prominent. He wrote against Luther's book to the German nobility, and the latter in consequence became involved in a new controversy with him, which was conducted in the German language with great severity.[1] In the same strain, he replied to a writing of an Italian Dominican monk, *Ambrosius Catharinus*, in the Latin language, pointed out the ridiculousness of the latter's defence of the Papacy, and appended a detailed exposition of the passage in Daniel, chap. viii. 23, 25, declared it to be the kingdom of Anti-Christ. Even Luther's friends repeatedly censured him for this his severe style of writing. Nor did he take offence at this, and for instance, answered Conrad Pellican: "You are right, I am sensible of it too, but I cannot control myself. I know not what spirit hurries me along, as I am conscious of not wishing evil to any one. But my foes press upon me, too, most furiously, so that I am not sufficiently on my guard against Satan. Pray the Lord for me, therefore, that I may understand, speak and write, what is befitting Him and me, and not them." But severely as Luther wrote against his opponents, he would yet by no means hear of a resort to violence and bloodshed in order to maintain the Gospel. In this spirit he wrote to Ulric von Hutten, who was meditating warlike plans, and to Spalatin he thus expressed himself on this subject; "By means of the Word the world was overcome and the Church maintained, and by means of the Word she shall also again be restored; and Anti-Christ also, as he began without the sword, shall without the sword again be vanquished."

As many confessors at that time closely questioned the people at confession, whether they possessed and read Luther's books, and menaced them with excommunication and refusal of absolution and of the sacrament, Luther further wrote an "*Instruction for penitents concerning his prohibited books*," in which he directed them what to do in such case. He concluded with the admonition: "Beware, therefore, and let nothing ever

so great on earth, not even angels from heaven, against thy conscience, drive thee from those doctrines which thou knowest and considerest to be divine. St. Paul, Gal. 1, says: '*That if an angel from heaven should teach anything different from the Gospel, he should be accursed.*' Thou art not the first, wilt not be the only one, nor the last, who is persecuted on account of God's Word. Christ says: '*Happy are ye, if you are persecuted for righteousness' sake.*' Again: '*You will be hated of all men for my sake.*' Again: '*The time will come, in which those that persecute you will think they are doing God service.*' On such passages we must lay hold, and strengthen ourselves through them, yea, thank, praise and pray God, that we may be considered worthy to suffer for the sake of His Word. Remember that it is foretold, that in the times of Anti-Christ, no one will be permitted to preach God's Word, and all who speak or hear it will be considered outcasts. Thus it is now, and has been so for more than a hundred years."

In this way Luther was engaged, when, on Tuesday of the holy week,[2] (it being the 26th March,) the imperial herald, *Caspar Sturm*, of Oppenheim, appeared, he being commissioned to escort him to Worms, and thence again in safety to his home. The citation of the emperor read thus: "Honourable, beloved and devout, whereas we, and the estates of the holy empire now here assembled, have concluded and resolved to receive information concerning the doctrines and the books for some time past published by thee, we have, to enable thee to come hither and to return again in safety to thy home, given and freely offered thee our safe-conduct and that of the empire, which we herewith transmit to thee. And it is our earnest desire that thou wouldst speedily set out on thy journey, so as, within twenty-one days allowed in this our safe-conduct, to be unfailingly here with us, and not to remain away, nor to be apprehensive of any violence or injustice. For we shall unwaveringly observe to thee our aforesaid safe-conduct, and shall also confidently expect thy presence. And in this thou wilt comply with our earnest desires. Given in our imperial city of Worms, on the 6th day of the month of March, in the year of our gracious Lord, 1521, and of our reign the second."[3]

Luther was under the necessity, now, of suspending all his labours. On Easter-day, accordingly, he wrote to Duke John Frederick: "I herewith transmit to your princely grace the first parts of the Magnificat, the fourth part is yet in the

printer's hands; I must defer further attention to it till my return; for your princely grace will perceive, that, being summoned to the diet, I am constrained to let everything lie." And thus, upon such imperial citation and safe-conduct, he set out on his journey, (sometime about the 2d April,) and everywhere commended himself to the prayer of pious men. The council of Wittenberg provided him with a conveyance.

At *Leipzig* no further honour was shown him, than that the council made him the customary present of wine. At *Naumburg*, the mayor, Grässler, entertained him and the herald with hospitality, and a priest of the place sent him the portrait of the pious, Christian Savonarola, and exhorted him firmly to stand by the once acquired truth, for that his God would, in turn, firmly stand by him and support him. As they now came to Weimar, where he was presented with money for his journey from Duke John, the cry was raised that Dr. Martin and his books were already condemned, and that of this there was no doubt.[4] And, indeed, he himself beheld the messengers who were to post up, in all the cities, the imperial mandate in which Luther was condemned by the emperor. Then the herald asked him and said: "Good doctor, will you proceed?" He answered: "Yes, though they have excommunicated me, and published this in all the cities, yet will I proceed, and confide in the imperial safe-conduct."

At *Erfurt*, *Gotha*, and *Eisenach*, Luther preached. The Erfurters came as far as two (German) miles to meet him, and received him very honourably. At Eisenach he was taken very ill, so that his recovery became very doubtful. But on his being bled, and drinking a precious liquor presented to him by the mayor, John Osswald, subsequent burgomaster at Gotha, he fell into a sleep and grew better. The next day he travelled on, but was ill the whole distance to Frankfort, more so indeed than ever before.

Wherever he entered into a city, the people ran out before the city to meet him, being anxious to see the man who was causing so much excitement, and was so bold as to venture to withstand the pope and the whole world, which, to the dishonour of Christ, had looked upon the latter as God. Some whom he met on his journey, afforded him but poor comfort, saying, that there were so many cardinals and bishops at the diet at Worms, they would instantly burn him to powder, as they had done to Huss, at Constance. But Luther answered

them: "*That though they should kindle a fire which should rise up to heaven between Wittenberg and Worms, yet, as he was cited he would appear there, and step into the mouth of Behemoth between his great teeth, confess Christ, and leave the issue to Him.*"

The papal adherents at Worms, hearing that Luther was on his way, feared for their cause, (for they had hoped Luther would suffer the example of Huss to deter him from appearing,) and succeeded in having the emperor send his confessor, a Franciscan monk, by the name of Glapion, and his grand chamberlain, Paul von Amsdorf, to Francis von Sickingen, with the request to him, to invite Luther to his castle of Ebernburg, whither he, the emperor, would send several learned men to treat with him, especially because so many important affairs engaged their attention at Worms, that they could not well give audience to Luther there. Sickingen had no objection, and despatched *Martin Bucer*, who was in his service at that time, in order to inform Luther of the emperor's wish. Luther was at *Oppenheim*, and had only three more days allowed him by his safe-conduct, when Bucer came to him and endeavoured to persuade him to come to Francis von Sickingen, to Ebernburg. But he rejoined: "I shall proceed on my journey; if the confessor of the emperor has anything to speak with me, he can very well do so at Worms!" and thus he proceeded. (Luther subsequently regarded the whole matter as an artifice of the archbishop of Mayence, who had hoped in this way to lead him about, that the term of his safe-conduct might expire before he would arrive at Worms.)

Being now not far from Worms, Spalatin, who was there with the elector, sent to him to warn him against coming in and exposing himself to such dangers. But he sent word to him in return: "*If there were as many devils at Worms as there are tiles upon the housetops, yet would I enter in.* For," added he, afterwards, when shortly before his death these matters were referred to at table at Eisleben, "I was undaunted and feared nothing. God truly can make one so mad. I do not know whether I would now also be so joyous."

On the 16th April, Tuesday after Misericordia Domini, Luther entered Worms, seated in his Saxon travelling car, and accompanied by his three fellow-travellers, a friar, (by the name of *John Pezenstein*,) the licentiate, *Amsdorf*, and *Peter Suaven*, (an inmate of Melanchthon's house, and a friend of

Luther's). In the advance of the car rode the imperial herald, in the vestments of his office, with the armorial bearing of the eagle on his breast; so likewise his servant. The licentiate, *Justus Jonas*, of Nordhausen, (at that time still in Erfurt,) and his servant, followed in the rear. Many had gone to meet him. Of the Saxon nobility, *Bernard von Hirschfeld*, *John Schott*, *Albert von Lindenau*, the cup-bearer, with six attendants on horseback, as well as many courtiers of other princes. He entered the city about ten o'clock in the forenoon. Here the court-fool of the duke of Bavaria, Cochläus, stepped up before him, bearing in his hand a crucifix, such as are customarily used at funerals, it is not ascertained whether employed for the purpose by any one, or whether seized by a prophetic spirit, which was ascribed to him, and, with a loud voice sung these words: *Advenisti desiderabilis, quem expectabamus in tenebris*, (that is, now thou hast come, thou, for whom we have longed and waited in darkness.) More than two thousand people followed Luther to his lodgings in the German hotel, not far from the hotel of the Swan, in which Ludwig, the Elector Palatine had taken up his abode. There many counts and gentlemen, clergymen and seculars, visited and conversed with him till late in the night. The landgrave of Hesse, likewise came to his hotel on horseback, in order to see him. On leaving, he took him by the hand and said: "If you are in the right, doctor, may God help you."

Authorities.—Cyprian's Urk., vol. 1, p. 480, sq. Spalat. Annal., p. 18. Let., No. 277, 283, 288, 291. Seckend., p. 149 and 148. Let., No. 302, 303, 290, 296, 301. The writings against Emser, W. W., vol. 17, p. 609, sq., that against Ambrose Catharinus, in German, vol. 7, p. 498. Let., No. 290. The writing: Instruction for penitents, &c., W. W., vol. 17, p. 563. The imperial citation and safe-conduct, ib. p. 569. Mathes., 3 Pred. Let., No. 308. Veit von Warbeck, in Seckend., p. 152, and in Lingke, p. 86. History of what befell Luther at the diet of Worms, W. W., vol. 17, p. 568. Myconius, Reformationsgeschichte, p. 38. Let., No. 309. The further statements according to Luther's, Veit von Warbeck's, and Selneccer's (p. 106,) account.

Notes.—1.) The manner in which this controversy was conducted. is sufficiently apparent from the titles of the writings which were exchanged. They read thus: Refutation of the Augustine, M. Luther's unchristian book to the German nobility, addressed to the whole praiseworthy German nation, by Jerome Emser. (L.) To the He-goat at Leipzig. (E.) To the Steer at Wittenberg. (L.) Reply to the answer of the He-goat at Leipzig. (E.) Answer to the raving reply of the Steer at Wittenberg. Dr. Martin Luther's answer to the hyper-

christian, hyper-spiritual, and hyper-artificial book of the He-goat, Emser, at Leipzig, in which his accomplice, Murner, also is noticed. (Thomas Murner, of Frankfort, likewise had written against the address to the German nobility.)

2.) Luther himself gives this as the date; and the statement in Walch, who substitutes the 24th, is accordingly to be corrected.

3.) To this must be added the safe-conduct. The original is found in the Wallerodtian library, at Königsberg. The elector of Saxony and duke George gave Luther additional letters of protection. The former had, at first, been desired by the emperor, to cite Luther to Worms on his own authority, but he wisely declined doing so. Cyprian's Urk., vol. 2, p. 211, and vol. 1, p. 492.

4.) And there was no doubt, the command to deliver them up had already been given before, (see above, p. 186,) but was not posted up at Worms till the 15th April. Seckend., p. 148.

CHAPTER XIV.

LUTHER AT THE DIET.

Luther's enemies having now learned of his arrival, some of them advised that his safe-conduct should be violated. But the elector and count Palatine from the Rhine, had expressed his opposition to it, and said, his safe-conduct should be inviolably kept, without the least deviation from it, they had, in reference to it, so vehemently disputed with the elector of Brandenburg, margrave Joachim, the elder, that they had drawn their swords upon each other. So the most confidential advisers of the emperor likewise had replied to his request, as to what he should do in Luther's affair: that they knew of no better advice, than, as soon as possible, to put Luther out of the way and to destroy him, they having cited the case of John Huss, and said, that it was not obligatory to give or to keep a safe-conduct to a heretic. But the emperor Charles, in reply, gave the praiseworthy answer: "*What we promise, we should perform.*"

The day after Luther's arrival, the hereditary marshal of the realm, *Ulric von Pappenheim*, came to him, early before mealtime, and informed him of the command of the emperor, that he should appear at four o'clock in the afternoon, before his imperial majesty, the electors, and other estates of the realm, and hear, why and for what purpose he had been cited and demanded. This command Luther received with becoming reverence.

On that occasion he prayed thus: "Almighty, eternal God, what a vain thing is the world's grandeur, yet how greatly do men prize it, and how little faith have they in God. How frail and weak is the flesh, and how powerful and active through his apostles and the worldly wise, is Satan. How swiftly does it apostatize and pursue the beaten track, and the broad road to perdition, the reward of the ungodly; looking only at what is splendid and powerful, grand and mighty, honoured and respected. Truly, if to such things I too must look, I am undone, the hour of my destruction has come, my doom is fixed. O, God! O God! O, Thou my God, Thou my God, do Thou stand by me and support me against the combined reason and wisdom of the world, do Thou do it, Thou must do it, Thou alone. It is not my cause truly, but Thine; I have nothing personally which could bring me in contact, and engage me with these great lords of the world. Truly, I too would prefer happy, quiet days, and an undisturbed life. But the cause is Thine, O Lord, and it is righteous forever, support Thou me, Thou faithful, eternal God, I confide not in men. All is vanity and trifling, the flesh and all that savours of the flesh is deceitful. O God, O God, dost Thou not hear, my God? Art Thou dead? No, Thou canst not die, Thou only hidest Thyself. Hast Thou chosen me for this, I ask Thee, as I am sure Thou hast, then do Thou direct all; for I never, in all my life, thought or intended to be opposed to such great lords. Do Thou, then, my God, assist me, in the name of Thy beloved Son, Jesus Christ, who shall be my shield and protection, yea, my strong fortress, through the power and strengthening influences of thy Holy Spirit. Lord, where dost Thou remain? Thou, my God, where art Thou? Appear, appear, I am ready, even to lay down my life, patiently like a lamb. For the cause is righteous, and it is Thine, neither will I ever separate myself from Thee. Be this resolved in Thy name; the world, with all its fiendish might, shall yet leave my conscience untrammelled. And if my body, which is still the workmanship of Thy hands, and Thy creature should perish, and perish utterly, (against which Thy Word and Spirit, nevertheless, testify to me, and it would, besides, only affect the body,) the soul is Thine, it belongs to Thee, and remains with Thee forever. Amen. God help me. Amen."

As soon as the clock had struck four, there came Ulric von Pappenheim and Caspar Sturm, demanded and escorted him

through the German hotel to the lodging of the count Palatine, whence they conducted him to the council-house by secret passages, in order that he might sustain no injury from the people, who had in crowds assembled in the street leading to his imperial majesty's lodging. Yet many ascertained this movement, and hastening on, hoped to force their way in, but the guards compelled them to stand aloof. Many ascended to the tops of the houses in order to obtain a view of Dr. Martin.

Before going into the assembly he was accosted by the knight, George von Freundsberg, who, placing his hand on Luther's shoulder, said: "My dear monk, my dear monk, you are about to encounter perils, such as I and few officers have encountered in our most serious engagements. If you have right on your side, and you are certain of the justice of your cause, then proceed in God's name, and be of good courage, God will not forsake you."

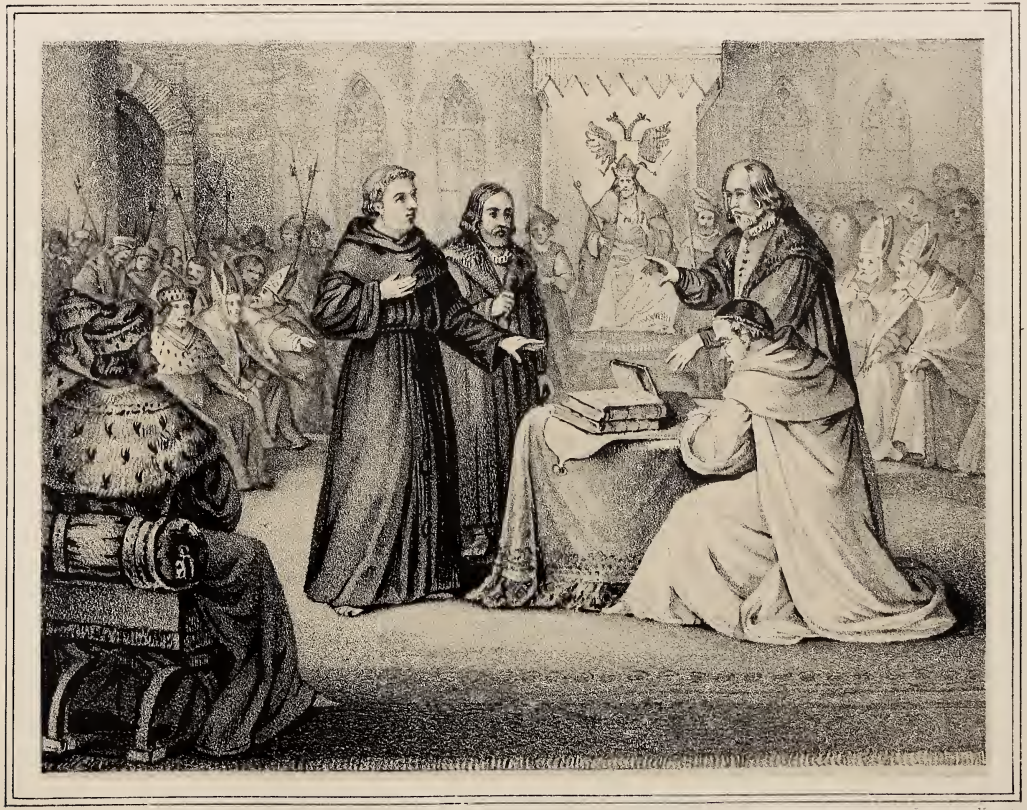
As Luther was now standing in the presence of his imperial majesty, of the electors, and all the estates of the realm, at that time in attendance at the Diet, von Pappenheim reminded him not to speak until desired. Then the imperial orator, Dr. John Eck,[1] general official of the bishop of Treves, in obedience to his imperial majesty's order, began, in a clear and distinct voice, first in Latin, then in German, to speak thus: "Martin Luther, his august and invincible imperial majesty has, in accordance with the deliberate advice of all the estates of the holy Roman empire, summoned thee to appear here, before his majesty's throne, to make inquiry of thee concerning these two points: Firstly, whether thou acknowledgest these books"—of which a large number, written in Latin and German, were shown—"to be thy own, and whether thou recognisest them as thine or not? Secondly, whether thou wilt revoke them and what is contained therein, or whether thou wilt abide by them and maintain them?"

Before Luther, however, replied to these question, *Dr. Jerome Schurf*, who was appointed and stood at his side, as his counsel, called out aloud and said: "Let the titles of the books be read." The official of Treves thereupon read off the titles of the books, among which there likewise were, the exposition of several Psalms, the book concerning good works, the explanation of the Lord's prayer, the sermon concerning three kinds of righteousness, and other Christian books not of a controversial character. Hereupon Luther returned the

following answer in Latin and German: "I must, in the first place, certainly acknowledge the books just named as my own, and cannot, by any means, disavow a single one of them. But as to what follows, that I am to declare, namely, whether I, at the same time, will defend or retract all? as that is a question concerning faith, the salvation of the soul, and God's Word, which is the highest and greatest treasure in heaven and on earth, and is justly, by all of us, to be held in the highest esteem, it would be presumptuous and hazardous in me, hastily to declare anything, as I might thus, unadvisedly and without reflection, assert less than the case demands or more than is in accordance with the truth, in both which cases I would bring upon myself the judgment pronounced by Christ, when he says: '*He that denieth me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven.*' I therefore most submissively and humbly beg of your imperial majesty, time for consideration, so that I may be able to return to the questions proposed an answer which may be proper, and may neither disparage God's Word, nor peril the salvation of my soul."

The princes then consulted together, and the official of Treves returned the following decision: "Although thou, Martin Luther, couldst sufficiently have understood, from the imperial mandate and citation, for what purpose and why thou hast been summoned, and therefore wouldst not now deserve to have further time for reflection granted thee, yet does his imperial majesty, from innate kindness, allow thee one day more to consider, so that thou art to appear here on the morrow, precisely at this hour, bearing in mind, however, this condition, that thou art to declare and present thy answer, not in writing, but orally."

Upon this the herald conducted Luther back to his lodgings. On the way the people cheered him, and a voice exclaimed: "Blessed is the womb that bare thee." Many of the nobility came to his lodging to visit him, and said: "Good doctor, how do things fare with you, they speak of burning you alive; but they shall fail in this and sooner all perish themselves." Ulric von Hutten, at that time, transmitted two comforting letters to Luther,[2] whom he called "the invincible theologian and evangelist, his holy friend," and among other things spoke thus to him: "Contend valiantly for Christ, and do not yield to wickedness, but advance boldly and oppose it. Act as a good soldier of Christ, and employ the gift which is in you, and be



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assured that He in whom you have believed, is able to reward you at that day. I too shall battle valiantly; yet here there is a difference between our undertakings, that mine is human, but you are more perfectly and entirely devoted to divine things. I would much like to see how your adversaries contemplate you, what squinting looks they cast at you, how they gape at you. I think only of frightful things. And frightful things I fear there will be; yet I hope, it is time that the Lord Zebaoth purify his vineyard, which the wild swine have laid waste, and an especial wild boar has rooted up. So much in great concern for you. Christ preserve you. From Ebernburg, the 15th April." And somewhat later: "My Saviour Christ, my heavenly Father and the Holy Ghost. What do I hear? What shocking things, alas! Surely rage itself is not rage, compared with their fiendlike madness. But do you, most worthy father, be of good courage, and undismayed. Let them not overpower you. They may bray, roar, and rave, but do you sternly awe these monsters into silence. For the cause is not yours, but His to whom the Lord said: '*Sit thou on my right hand till I make*,' &c."

On the following day, being Thursday, at four o'clock in the afternoon, the herald returned and escorted Dr. Luther to the emperor's court, where, as the princes were engaged, he remained till six o'clock, standing in the midst of a great crowd of people, who all pressed up anxious to hear his reply. The princes having at length taken their seats, and Luther standing before them, the official began to speak, and demanded of him, as the specified time for further consideration had expired, to give a final answer, as to whether he would defend his acknowledged books one and all, or whether he would revoke any part of them? This he spoke in Latin and German. Luther, hereupon, began to reply likewise in Latin and German, though most submissively and humbly, was not overloud or vehement, spoke very respectfully, decorously and modestly, yet with great Christian joyfulness and firmness, and upon the whole, in such a way as to cause his adversaries earnestly to wish that he might have spoken more hesitatingly and despondingly, for they had expected and hoped, as he had requested time for further consideration, that he would have recanted.

Having in the first place begged to be graciously heard, and to be excused, if, perhaps, from inexperience, he should not

give every one his proper title, or in any other way offend against court usages; he then, firstly, once more acknowledged his books as his own, "excepting only," added he, "what, perhaps, through the knavery or unwarranted conceit of my enemies, may have been changed or maliciously interpreted, for I do not acknowledge as my own what belongs to others, but only what is mine and is written by me, without any one's glosses, be he never so skilful." As to the second point, he begged most submissively, that it might be taken into consideration, how his books were not all of the same class. That in some he had treated of the Christian faith and of good works in so plain, simple, and Christian a manner, that even his adversaries themselves were constrained to acknowledge them to be useful, of no injurious tendency, and worthy to be read by Christian people. That even the papal bull had excepted some of his books as innocuous, whilst yet it had, unnaturally, condemned them together with the rest. If, therefore, he should now revoke these, he alone, of all men, would condemn the truth, which friends and foes alike confessed. That *another* class of his books was directed against the papacy and the papists, who had, by their corrupt doctrines and practices, brought desolation upon the Church, as to body and soul. That no one could deny or conceal, that the consciences of Christians had, through the statutes and human inventions of the pope, been most grievously vexed, perplexed and tormented, and that the property, especially of the German nation, had fallen a prey to incredible tyranny. That they themselves even, in their own decretals ordained, that those statutes and doctrines which might be opposed to the Gospel or to the opinions of the Fathers, should be considered erroneous. That, consequently, if he should revoke these books, he would be doing nothing less than strengthening such tyranny, and opening, not only the windows, but likewise door and gate, to a state of things most unchristian and grievous, since they would then be much more unrestrained and bold in pursuing their wicked ends than previously, and thus, through his testimony, their already unrebuked tyrannical proceedings would be only the more encouraged, especially because it would be said, that this had been done at the command of his imperial majesty, and of the whole Roman empire. That a *third* class of his books were those which he had written against some individual persons, such, namely, as had under-

taken to defend the tyranny of Rome, and to exterminate those blessed doctrines which he had taught. That he admitted his having been more vehement against these than was proper. That he did not wish to make a saint of himself, nor did he dispute concerning his life, but concerning the doctrines of Christ. That he could not, however, revoke even these books, as he would, by that, give his assent to those tyrannical proceedings, and the actors in them, too, would only the more relentlessly oppress the people.

"Yet," continued he, "because I am a human being and not God, I cannot do anything more for my books than Jesus Christ did for his doctrines, who, when he was questioned by Annas concerning his doctrines, being struck on the cheek by a servant, said: '*If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil.*' If the Lord, accordingly, who knew that he could not err, yet did not refuse to hear witness against his doctrines even from the basest servant, how much more shall not I, who may easily err, desire and wait, whether some one will bear witness against my doctrines? I therefore pray your imperial majesty and highnesses, or any one that can do so, be he of high or low degree, for the sake of a merciful God, to bear witness and to convince me from the evangelical and prophetical writings. Then, if I be thus convinced, I shall be quite willing and ready to revoke all error, and shall be the first to commit my books to the flames. From this, I conceive, it is perfectly evident that I have sufficiently considered and weighed the danger of dissension, insubordination and rebellion, which are said to grow out of my doctrines, as I was sternly and severely reminded yesterday. To me, indeed, it is the greatest delight and joy, to behold that division, misunderstanding and dissention are occasioned because of God's Word, for this is the course and the issue of the divine Word, as the Lord himself says: '*I am not come to send peace but a sword; for I am come to excite a man against his father,*' &c." He prayed that it might be considered, how marvellous and dreadful were the judgments of God, lest by beginning with the condemnation of God's Word in order to remove divisions, a frightful deluge of evils might be the result, and thus the reign of the youthful and pious emperor, from whom, next to God, so much was expected, have an unfortunate beginning; for that it could be demonstrated from many examples of Holy Writ, that kings had then injured themselves most, when they had thought

most firmly to secure their kingdoms by wise counsels and projects, God taking the wise in their own craftiness. Therefore we ought to fear Him.

"This," he concluded, "I do not speak as though I thought that such great chiefs had need of my instruction or admonition, but because I am a German, and consider it my duty not to withdraw my humble services from my native country, and herewith I wish it to be considered, that I most submissively commend myself to your imperial majesty and highnesses, and humbly pray, not to suffer my adversaries to influence you to proceed against me without cause. This I shall, at all times, in all submission, with humble entreaty to God for you, most diligently pray."

This Luther had spoken in German. They now desired of him once more to repeat the same in Latin; but he was completely suffused in perspiration, and the noise, and his position, being entirely surrounded by the princes, made him feel quite uncomfortable. The Saxon knight, Frederick von Thun, upon this said to him: "If you cannot do so, this will suffice, doctor." But he repeated all he had spoken in Latin. This greatly pleased the elector, duke Frederick.

He having now concluded his address, the imperial orator took up the subject, and in a rebuking tone said: That he had not given a satisfactory answer, neither was it intended now to dispute concerning things, which the councils of the past had already determined and condemned; but that a plain and unequivocal answer was desired of him, as to whether he would or would not recant.

Upon this Luther said: "*As your imperial majesty, therefore, and highness, desire an unequivocal answer, I will give one which shall have neither horns nor teeth, to this effect: Unless it be that I am proved to be in error, by testimony from Holy Writ, or by clear and overpowering reasons, (for I base my faith neither upon what the pope nor what the councils alone have said, since it is evident and manifest, that they have often erred and contradicted themselves,) I am constrained, by the passages which I have adduced, my conscience being bound by God's Word, and therefore I cannot and will not recant, because it is neither safe nor advisable to do anything against conscience.* HERE I STAND, I CANNOT ACT OTHERWISE, so help me God. Amen."[3]

The electors and estates of the realm having consulted upon

this answer, the official of Treves began thus to refute it: "Martin, thou hast replied with more presumption than becomes thy person, and hast not at all spoken to the point. Thou makest various distinctions between thy books, yet so as not at all to meet the question propounded. If thou hadst revoked those books, in which a great part of thy errors are contained, his imperial majesty would, no doubt, from innate kindness, have prohibited the condemnation of those which are good. But thou art anew creating disturbance and excitement about things which were condemned by the unanimous voice of the general council of Constance, which was assembled from all parts of Germany, and thou still callest for proof from the Holy Scriptures; but in this thou dost altogether err. For to what purpose is it, anew to dispute about those things which so many centuries ago were already condemned by the churches and the councils? Or shall we, perhaps, show and give reason to every one concerning all points and articles? For if one who is opposed to the councils and the opinion of the Church should be sustained in his demand for being overcome with Scripture proof, there would be nothing certain or established in Christendom. And this is the reason why his imperial majesty desires of thee a simple and direct answer, either yea or nay, whether thou wilt defend all thy doctrines as Catholic and Christian, or whether thou wilt revoke any part thereof?"

Luther, upon this, begged his imperial majesty not to permit that he, against his conscience, which was overcome and constrained by God's Word, should be forced to retract anything, without sufficient reason from those that opposed him. That the answer which he had given was not incorrect or sophistical, but simple, plain and right, and that he had no other but the one already given. That everything ordained by the councils was not necessarily always true, that they had, indeed, often contradicted themselves, and this he could demonstrate. That therefore he could not retract what was so diligently and clearly taught in the Holy Scriptures.

To this the official simply replied: That the councils could not be shown to have erred. But Luther offered to do so.

Having now finished speaking, he was suffered to withdraw, two men being sent with him to conduct and escort him. Upon this there arose a tumult, and the noblemen cried out and asked: Whether he was conducted away as a prisoner?

But Luther said: That they were only escorting him. As Luther was thus in the midst of the crowd, *Duke Erick, of Brunswick*, the elder, sent him a silver pitcher full of Eimbeck beer, desiring him to refresh himself therewith. And as Luther, on inquiring what prince had thus remembered him, learned that the gift came from a papal prince, and that the same had himself first drunk from the pitcher, that he might not suspect any evil design, Luther likewise drank and said: "As duke Erick has now remembered me, so may our Lord Christ remember him in his dying hour."[4] He being now on his way from the imperial council-house to his lodgings, the Spaniards ridiculed and mocked him; but his courage, confidence, and joy in the Lord were so great, that he said to Spalatin and others: That if he had a thousand heads, he would lose them all before he would retract.

The following day, (Friday, the 19th April,) the emperor sent a document to the council of the realm, in which he said, that as Martin would not, in the least, forsake his errors, he was necessitated, in imitation of the example of his predecessors, who had always yielded obedience to the Roman Church, to protect the ancient faith, and to aid the Roman See, and that he would, therefore, pursue Luther with the ban and proscription, and other lawful means. That he would not, however, violate the safe-conduct extended, but first suffer him, in safety, to return to his home. The estates took up this message of the emperor, and spent all the afternoon of Friday as well as the whole of Saturday in advising upon it.

Meanwhile Luther was visited by many princes, counts, barons, knights, among the nobility, by clergymen, and seculars, and common people, who were continually in and around the hotel in which he lodged, and could not be satisfied with seeing him. There were likewise posted up two placards, one against the other, as was thought, for Luther. There was contained in them an intimation of a combination of four hundred noblemen, among themselves, for the the purpose of defending Luther, and likewise of the troops, which Sickingen was said to have in readiness. Some, however, conceived it to have been designedly and insidiously so arranged, in order to have a pretext for revoking the safe-conduct.

On Monday after Jubilate, (the 22d,) Luther received an invitation from the *archbishop of Treves, Richard von Greifenklau*, to come to him at six o'clock in the forenoon of Wednesday.

The chaplain of the archbishop and the imperial herald escorted him thither; and those that had come with him from Saxony and Thuringia, as likewise some other good friends, accompanied him, and appeared with him before the prince, the archbishop of Treves, the margrave Joachim of Brandenburg, duke George, of Saxony, the bishops of Augsburg and Brandenburg, and others. The chancellor of the margrave of Baden, Dr. Vehus, began with protesting, that they had not sent for him in order to dispute with him, but that the princes wished only, from Christian love and the especial favour which they had obtained from his imperial majesty, graciously and brotherly to admonish him. He then represented, that the councils had, indeed, instituted various things, but had decreed nothing contradictory, and though even they should have erred, their authority would yet not, thereby, be subverted, that every one should be suffered to oppose them according to his own conceits. That human statutes, ceremonies and regulations, were designed for the suppression of vice, and to be a check upon presumptuousness, and could not be dispensed with. That Luther's books would cause great commotion and fearful insurrections, the populace would misuse the book on Christian freedom for the purpose of throwing off the yoke and strengthening itself in disobedience. That he had written much that was good; his latest works, however, were an evidence that a tree is not known by its blossoms, but by its fruits. In short, the whole of the shrewdly-conceived discourse had for its aim, to prevail upon Luther to take into consideration respectability, honour, prosperity, good laws, right and order; and on the other hand, the great danger of embarrassing the consciences of men, and of proving detrimental to the general and individual good and interests of others. He failed not continually to repeat, that this admonition proceeded only from the favourable disposition of the princes, and he finally menacingly intimated: That if Luther persisted in his course, the emperor would proceed against him and banish him from the empire, and he therefore exhorted him well to consider these and other things.

To this Dr. Luther made the following reply: "Most serene and serene high-born princes, most gracious lords. I most humbly return my thanks to your highnesses for the most gracious and kind disposition which has prompted this exhortation and admonition. For I acknowledge that I, a poor man, am

much too insignificant to be exhorted by such distinguished princes and lords." He then said that he had not taken exception to all the councils, but only to that of Constance, because it had condemned God's Word. That he could not prevent faith giving offence, as it was not owing to him that Christ was a rock of offence. That if the lambs of Christ were led to the pure pasture of the Gospel, and there were pious and Christian superiors or servants in the Church, there would be no need of burthening the Church with human traditions. That he well knew that the authorities are to be obeyed, even those which lead evil lives; so he likewise knew that we must depart from our own conceits and thoughts, as he had taught the same in his books and writings, and would most obediently and willingly do all this, excepting only that he would not be compelled to deny God's Word.

Luther having then withdrawn, the princes advised among themselves what they should answer him in reply, and when he had again been called in, the chancellor repeated what he had said before, and exhorted him to submit his books and writings to his imperial majesty and the realm for decision. Luther replied to this: He would not have it said of himself that he had feared the decision and judgment of his imperial majesty, the electors, and the estates of the holy empire; for that he was willing to have his books most diligently and carefully scrutinized and examined, not only by his imperial majesty and their highnesses, but even by the most humble personage, if it was only done in accordance with God's Word, and here he appealed to a passage of St. Augustine, (see p. 77,) and to the words of Paul, 1 Thes. v. 21, and Gal. i. 8, 9. That he therefore submissively prayed, they would not oblige him to deny God's Word and the Holy Scriptures, by which his conscience was bound and constrained, but would graciously intercede for him with his imperial majesty, that he might not be required to do anything against his conscience in this matter; everything else he would do most willingly and obediently.

As he spoke this, the *margrave Joachim of Brandenburg* asked him: "Doctor, if I rightly understand you, your meaning is that you will not yield, unless you are overcome with the Holy Scriptures?" And Luther answered: "Yes, most gracious lord, or with clear and manifest reasons and arguments."

Thus they separated, the other princes proceeding to the council-house, the archbishop of Treves, however, taking Luther into his apartment, as likewise his official, John Eck and Cochläus; but with Luther there were Dr. Jerome Schurf and Nicholas von Amsdorf. Then the official began to defend the pope's cause, saying, that from the Holy Scriptures there had commonly originated only heresies, &c. But Luther and Dr. Schurf refuted them. So at length they separated.

In the evening of the same day the *archbishop* sent Luther word, that his imperial majesty had extended the safe-conduct for two days further, in order that he might, in the meantime, treat with him. Accordingly, early in the morning of Thursday, there came the *chancellor from Baden*, and *Dr. Peutinger*, and endeavoured to persuade Luther simply and without condition, to submit it to the emperor and the realm, to decide concerning his books. Luther rejoined, that he would have no objection, if they would only suffer the Holy Scriptures to be the guide and umpire; and when they vehemently and pressingly urged him, he roundly declared: That he would not, in short, suffer any man to sit in judgment on God's Word.

Upon this they left, but desired him to bethink himself and to return a better answer, after dinner they would call again. They did call again, but accomplished as much as before. They finally endeavoured to induce him, at least, to refer his cause to the decision of a future council. This Luther was willing to do, but on the condition, that the articles drawn from his books should be submitted to the council itself, and the Holy Scriptures be made to decide concerning them.

They now went and informed the archbishop that Luther had offered to refer his books, in the shape of a number of articles, to the decision of a council, and in the meantime observe silence; which, however, had never entered into the mind of Luther. Then God so ordered it, that the archbishop caused Luther to be sent for, in order to hear him himself. On his now perceiving that matters stood very differently, he said: That he would not, for a great deal, have failed hearing him himself; as he would soon have waited upon the emperor and have informed him of what the doctors had reported, and then have been found under a misapprehension. He, however, most graciously conversed with Luther, at first alone, in reference to the decision both of the emperor and realm, as well as of a council, Luther concealing nothing, and saying plainly:

That it would not at all do to confide and submit so important a matter to those, who, during the term of his safe-conduct had condemned him by new mandates, and approved and confirmed the pope's bull. The archbishop then took Spalatin with him into the apartment, and with many gracious words endeavoured to induce Luther at least to yield something, and said: "My dear doctor, what is to be done then?" Then Luther spake these words: "*Most gracious lord, I know no better advice than that which Gamaliel gave, as stated in the Acts of the Apostles: 'If this counsel or this work be of men it will come to nought, but if it be of God ye cannot overthrow it.' So likewise if my cause is not of God, it will not maintain itself for more than two or three years, but if it is of God it cannot be overthrown.*" The archbishop then asked him what he would do, if the articles which were to be submitted and referred to the council should be condemned? Dr. Luther replied: "If only they are not those which were condemned by the council of Constance." The archbishop: "Precisely those it will be, I fear." Luther: "Then I can and will not be silent, as I am convinced that by such decrees God's Word is condemned. Therefore I shall sooner part with life and everything else, than surrender God's clear and true Word."

The archbishop now perceiving that Luther would, on no account, submit God's Word to human decision, he graciously dismissed him. But Luther said: "Most gracious lord, I pray your electoral grace to obtain for me from his imperial majesty, gracious permission to return to my home, for I am now here the tenth day and nothing has been accomplished with me." Then the archbishop said: "I shall presently ride to his imperial majesty and submit the matter."

Thus Luther took leave of the archbishop of Treves, and went directly to the knight, John von Minkwitz, who was lying dangerously ill at Worms, and having given him faithful and Christian consolation, he, on leaving, blessed him, and among other things, said: "On the morrow I shall leave." Then Spalatin tugged him by his cap, which he at that time yet wore, and said: "Doctor, you certainly are premature in saying that you will leave on the morrow; why you have not yet obtained your final dismission." Then he said: "You shall see, I shall leave on the morrow." Thus he returned to his lodging. And, in truth, not fully three hours after the conversation with the archbishop, the *official of Treves*, and with him *Maximilian*

Transilvanus, his imperial majesty's secretary, besides a notary and several other persons, arrived, and upon command of the emperor informed him: That, as he had been so often and in different ways exhorted by his imperial majesty, the electors and estates of the realm, and yet would not take this to heart, so as to reform or to return to unity and peace with the Church, his imperial majesty, as protector and defender of the Catholic faith, was compelled to proceed to harsher measures against him. That his majesty's command therefore was, that he should be suffered, within twenty-one days, without molestation, to return to his home, under the protection of public safe-conduct, which should be inviolably kept to him, on condition, however, that he should not on his way, by preaching or writing, cause disturbance among the people. Luther, on hearing this, with great humility and modesty said: "*As it seemed good to the Lord so has it happened, blessed be the name of the Lord.*" Then he said further: That he most humbly and faithfully thanked his imperial Roman majesty, the electors, and the estates of the holy empire, for hearing him so graciously, and so graciously observing to him his safe-conduct. That he would also willingly have yielded in all things, whether for life or death, honour or dishonour, only God's Word he was constrained freely to teach and to confess.

Authorities.—History of what befell Luther at the diet of Worms, W. W., vol. 17, p. 586. Dr. M. Luther's acts before the emperor, &c., ib. p. 574. Luther's prayer, p. 589. Hutten's Let., in the Hall. ed. of the W. W., vol. 15, p. 2192. Spalat. Annal., p. 41, 44–47. Seckend., p. 155.

Notes.—1.) Not to be confounded with the known adversary of Luther.

2.) Hutten likewise sent letters to the emperor and the clergy assembled at Worms, in which he advocates Luther's cause, earnestly representing to the emperor Rome's oppression of the Germans, and Luther's innocence, and in severe terms, reminding the clergy of their injustice, wicked lives, and obstinate persecution of Luther and God's Word. Hall. ed. of the W. W., vol. 15, p. 2195 and 2208.

3.) Thus the somewhat intricate construction of this passage seems most accurately restored, by a comparison of the two existing German criticisms of the text with each other, and the Latin.

4.) And it is related that Duke Erick really did remember this in his dying hour, and that he desired evangelical consolation from the attending page, Francis von Kramm. The account is based on Selnecker's authority, (p. 118.) who, though no cotemporary of Luther's, yet learned many particulars from the lips of the imperial herald.

CHAPTER XV.

DEPARTURE FROM WORMS AND IMPRISONMENT.

The elector of Saxony, who had already, before Luther's arrival at Worms, written to his brother, duke John: "Would to God I could do anything towards having Martin treated with justice, I should not fail to do so," had, with admiration, listened to his courageous answer before the emperor and the estates of the realm. He, on the same evening, sent for Spalatin, and the latter having come, he beckoned him into his apartment, and with great astonishment said to him: "Truly the pater, Dr. Martin, spoke well, both in Latin and German, before the emperor and the assembled princes and estates of the realm. He is far too bold." And on the 23d April he wrote to his brother: "If it were in my power I should very willingly have justice done Dr. Martin. . . . There is nothing else contemplated but to drive him into exile. Every one that in the least wishes him well is put down as a heretic. May God dispose all for good! and surely He will not forsake the righteous cause." The elector, therefore, certainly was well disposed towards Luther, and he would have been very much grieved if anything untoward had befallen him; he would not, on any account, have acted against God's Word, but he, at that time, was still somewhat faint-hearted, and did not wish to incur the displeasure of the emperor. He accordingly fell upon the expedient of concealing Luther for some time, in the hope that, meanwhile, matters might perhaps be adjusted, and this he also caused to be communicated to him in the presence of Spalatin, and of the knights Philip von Feilitsch and Frederick von Thun, the evening before his departure from Worms. Luther, out of respect for the elector, yielded consent, though he would certainly, at all times, have much preferred, boldly to prosecute his cause.

On Friday after Jubilate, the 26th April, he, having before blessed his lords and friends, of whom a great number had come to him, and partaken of some soup and breakfast, departed, about ten o'clock in the forenoon, being accompanied by those who had come with him thither and escorted him. But Caspar Sturm, the herald, followed him several hours

afterwards, and overtaking him at Oppenheim, escorted him in obedience to the verbal command of the emperor.

Writing from Frankfort, he, in a letter dated the 28th April, took leave of his friend and god-father, *Lucas Kranach*, because he had to permit himself to be imprisoned and concealed, he did not yet know himself where. And though he would sooner have suffered death at the hands of the tyrants, he yet durst not despise the advice of pious men, but must abide his time. "For a short time I must maintain silence and suffer; 'A little while and you shall not see me, and again a little while and you shall see me,' says Christ. I trust this shall be true now too. Yet God's will, which is the best, be done in this, as in heaven, so on earth. Amen."

On this day he proceeded as far as *Friedberg*. From this place he despatched two letters, one in Latin, to the emperor, the other in German, to the estates of the realm, both of the same import. He in them once more rehearsed the whole course of the proceedings, said that he had offered and did still offer to do everything, only God's Word should be free and untrammelled; he regretted that he had not been met with proof from the Scriptures, but that they had insisted only on a recantation, he at the same time, however, humbly returned his thanks for the observance of the safe-conduct, and promised his dutiful prayer for his imperial majesty and the whole realm.

With this communication he dismissed the herald,[1] and on the 29th drove to *Grünberg*, on the 30th to *Hersfeld*. Here he was, with much kindness, received by the resident princely imperial abbot of the Benedictine cloister there, *Crato Meilius*. The latter sent his chancellor and auditor the distance of a (German) mile to meet him, received him himself with many horsemen, and escorted him into the town. Within the gates Luther was received by the town-council, and then nobly entertained in the cloister, being constrained to lodge in the bedchamber of the abbot. At five o'clock in the morning they insisted on his delivering a sermon, which he in vain refused, he fearing that the abbot might forfeit his prerogatives if this should perhaps be represented to the emperor as a breach of faith, since preaching on the way had been forbidden him. Yet he could undoubtedly say, that he had not given his assent to having God's Word bound. The next day the abbot escorted the travellers as far as the forest, and caused his chancellor

once more to entertain them at *Berka.* By evening they arrived at *Eisenach*, whence many came out on foot to meet them. Here Luther likewise preached. The next morning Dr. Schurf and all his fellow travellers, (except Amsdorf,) took leave of him. He himself, even on the 3d May, wrote from Eisenach to count Albrecht, of Mansfeld, and proceeded to visit his relatives behind the forest, (in Möra). Having now taken leave of them and being on his way to Waltershausen, there of a sudden galloped forth towards him from a narrow pass not far from Altenstein, two noblemen, *John von Berlepsch*, captain of the Wartburg, and *Burkard von Hund*, lord of Altenstein, with two servants, and on the drivers ordering one of them to be gone, they commanded him to halt, whilst they, at the same time, with feigned violence seized Luther and drew him from his car. One of the servants dealt Amsdorf's driver some blows and forced him to hasten away. Amsdorf knew that Luther was to be imprisoned, but the place of his confinement he did not know. Luther's brother (Jacob, who was with him,) as soon as he saw the horsemen, leaped from the car and made for a place of safety. The horsemen clothed Luther in a riding-dress, assisted him on a horse, and conducted him about the forest for some hours, till night had overtaken them. They likewise strapped one upon a horse, that they might bring a captive with them. Thus they arrived at the castle of Wartburg about midnight, the new horseman quite fatigued from the long journey.

Authorities.—Seckend., p. 158. Spal. Annal, p. 40 sq. Let., No. 311, 312, 313, 315, 2 vol., No. 319. Mathes. 3 Pred.

Note.—1.) Probably because he now entered the Hessian territory, and had a safe-conduct from the landgrave, Philip of Hesse, and perhaps too, because he knew what awaited him.

PART IV.

THE

STRUGGLES OF THE REFORMATION.

FROM THE ABODE AT THE WARTBURG TO THE CLOSE OF THE DIET OF AUGSBURG.

FROM MAY 4, 1521, TO OCTOBER, 1530.

CONTENTS OF PART IV.

At the Wartburg, Luther, amidst bodily distresses and spiritual trials, though otherwise well-provided for, submissively endured the confinement enjoined upon him, in prayer, and with his labours served the Church of Christ. His writings soon make known to friend and foe, that he still lives. Each one of his writings speaks with the voice of thunder upon the musty fabric of papistical falsehood. The sacrifice of the mass falls into disuse, the doors of the cloisters are opened, the prohibition of marriage to the priests is discarded, as the doctrine of devils! At the Wartburg, Luther likewise began to translate the Bible into German; and everywhere arise, to the captive, friends and assistants in the work of the Lord. But Satan was not idle, and in his absence enters his own fold. Upon this, Luther, under a far greater protection than that of the elector, returns to Wittenberg, and by his powerful discourses from God's Word, calms the tumult. Now, with the sword in one hand and the trowel in the other, he, under the blessing of God, prosecutes the work anew, though not without experiencing, both in himself and by sympathy with the members of Christ, all manner of sufferings, occasioned by foes, now by false friends. Among these must be reckoned the martyrdom of faithful witnesses, as the death of the wise Frederick; the errors of the Sacramentarians and the Fanatics, and the insurrection of the peasantry. And as he had previously laid aside the hood, so now, precisely at this time, he discards the last remnant of popery, by entering the divinely-instituted state of matrimony. God blesses him with a pious spouse, children, and domestic affliction. In the hour of severest trials, when he already despairs of life, his faith proves nobly triumphant. Now good Christian order, spreading abroad from Wittenberg, is daily established upon a firmer basis; the work of visitation begins; the catechism appears. The dispute concerning the Lord's Supper, however, continues, and the colloquium held at Marburg, does not put an end to the dissension. Yet those, whom Luther's testimony has gained over to confess the truth in its purity, now draw so much the more closely together; and conscience, as constrained by the Word of God, having been secured against the enemy, by the protestation of Speyer, they unite in the good Confession of Augsburg; and whilst his friends are hotly contesting for it at the diet, Luther, like a second Moses, stands upon the Ehrenburg, with hands raised to heaven, imploring victory upon the arms of the Lord, and sending many a word of powerful comfort to the combatants.

CHRONOLOGICAL SYNOPSIS.

1521.	November.	Writing concerning the abuse of the mass, and writing concerning spiritual and monastic vows,	Chap. 1
1522.	March 7.	Luther at Wittenberg again,	" 2
1522.	September.	The translation of the New Testament appears,	" 3
1525.	January.	Writing against the Heavenly Prophets,	" 5
1525.	June 13.	Luther is married,	" 6
1527.	July 6.	—— in great bodily and spiritual distress,	" 8
1529.	March.	The Catechism,	" 9
1529.	Oct. 1—4.	The conference at Marburg,	" 10
1530.	April—Oct.	Luther at Coburg during the Diet of Augsburg,	" 11

CHAPTER I.

LUTHER IN HIS PATMOS.

The report of Luther's having been taken captive spread abroad with surprising rapidity; but all were in the greatest uncertainty as to what had become of him; whether he had been put to death, or was still living.[1] "If he still lives, or if they have murdered him!"—the painter *Albrecht Durer* wrote in his journal,—"which I do not know, he has suffered for the sake of Christian truth, and because of having rebuked the unchristian papacy, which by its oppressive burden of human statutes opposes the liberation of Christ." As thou didst to this man, who has written more clearly than any one that has lived within one hundred and forty years, to whom thou hast given so evangelical a spirit, we pray thee, O heavenly Father again to give thy Holy Spirit to one, who may collect thy holy Christian church from all parts, that we may once more lead quiet Christian lives, so that all infidels, Turks and heathens, may, by our good works, be won over and embrace the Christian faith. But, Lord, thou wishest, before thou judgest, that as thy Son Jesus Christ was put to death by the priests, arose from the dead and ascended up into heaven, so likewise, it should similarly happen to thy follower, Martin Luther, whom the Pope, by bribery, treacherously against God, deprives of his life, him thou wilt quicken; and as thou, my Lord, didst afterwards dispense that Jerusalem was destroyed in consequence, so wilt thou likewise destroy this arbitrarily-assumed power of the Roman See. O Lord, do thou afterwards grant us the new-adorned Jerusalem, which descends from heaven, and of which the Apocalypse speaks, the holy pure gospel, which is not obscured by the doctrines of men. May every one, therefore, who reads Martin Luther's books observe, how clear and lucid his doctrines are, when he treats of the holy gospel, wherefore his books are to be highly esteemed and not to be burned; rather should his adversaries, who always resist the truth, be cast into the fire with all their opinions, because they attempt to make gods of men. But, oh, that more Lutheran books were published. O God, if Luther is dead, who will in future

so clearly proclaim to us the holy gospel! Oh, my God, what might he not still have written in ten or twenty years! Oh, all ye Christian people, aid me in diligently bewailing this heavenly-minded man, and in praying to God, that he would send us another enlightened man."

Meanwhile there was published, in the month of May,[2] the imperial edict against Dr. Martin Luther's books and doctrines, his adherents, supporters, followers, &c. After it had enumerated the errors and heresies, the introduction of which it ascribed to Luther, it proceeded: "And that all the other innumerable iniquities of Luther be, for the sake of brevity, passed by in silence, let it suffice to say, that this individual, not as a human being, but as the evil spirit, in the form of a man, under the assumed cowl of a monk, has collected into one filthy puddle the most severely-condemned heresies of many heretics, which for a long time past have remained concealed, and has moreover invented several himself under pretence of preaching the faith, which he generally inculcated with so much diligence, in order in this way to destroy the true and right faith, and under the name and the appearance of evangelical doctrine, to subvert and to crush all evangelical peace and love, as likewise all good ordinances and the most ornate Christian forms." The transactions at Worms are then related, how Luther, remaining altogether obdurate and perverse, had continued in his manifestly-heretical opinions, and on that account had been declared a member severed from God's church, an obdurate disturber and manifest heretic, wherefore it is commanded, under pain of punishment for high treason, and the severest proscription of the empire, that no one shall afford him lodging, food, drink, or protection, or in word or deed, secretly or openly adhere to him, aid or assist him; but if any should get him into their power to take him captive and to deliver him well secured to his imperial majesty. All are to oppose and take captive his coadjutors, adherents, harbourers, supporters, patrons, and followers, to seize their property and retain it for their own use. His books were forbidden to be purchased, sold, read, kept, copied, printed or caused to be copied and printed, but that every one should endeavour to obliterate and destroy all remembrance of them among men, regardless of any good, which might be introduced into them, for the purpose of deceiving the simple.

Luther being now in his Patmos, as he called the Wartburg,

Lith. by G. Pfau

Print. by Nagel

THE WARTBURG IN LUTHER'S TIMES.

Published by H. Ludwig & Co. N.Y.

was informed through Spalatin, that they were forging so severe an edict against him; his opinion was, however, that it would not do much harm and wished only that he could publicly enter the lists for the Word of God. To his Melanchthon he wrote: "But what art thou doing, my Philip? Dost thou pray for me too, that this my involuntary concealment may redound to the greater honour of God? I did indeed fear, it might seem as if I had fled from the battle, and yet it was not in my power to withstand those who desired and advised this. I desired nothing more than openly to meet my furious enemies and to offer up my life. Now I sit here, and all the day long picture to myself the condition of the church, and detest my insensibility, that I am not wholly dissolved in tears, and with my eyes, as with fountains of tears, weep over the slain of my people. But there is none to arise and to stand on the side of the Lord, exposing himself in the defence of the house of Israel in these last times of the wrath of God. Yes, kingdom of the pope, thou art worthy of these last waning times? May God have mercy on us. Do thou, therefore, meanwhile, as servant of the Word, advance and guard the walls and gates of Jerusalem, even till they bury thee in their fall. Thou knowest thy calling and thy gifts. I pray for thee above all, if (as I doubt not) my prayer avails anything. Do thou do likewise; we will bear our burden together. We alone yet remain in the battle; after I am gone, the storm will burst over thy head."

But although Luther had submitted to this seclusion only with reluctance; he yet on the other hand felt satisfied too, because he saw in it the will of God, and he approved of having his abode carefully concealed,[3] perceiving that the Lord had some very especial design with this silence. To prevent his being recognised, he was required to lay aside his own garments, and to clothe himself in the habit of a knight, besides suffering his beard and the hair on his head to grow, and in this way he entered even several cloisters without being recognised. On occasion of such excursions he was attended by a respectable servant, a discreet horseman, whose fidelity and admonitions he subsequently often commended, he having enjoined him not to lay aside his sword at the inns and not instantly to run to the books, lest he might be taken for a scribe. At Martschal he came to his friends, but the *knight George*,—for so the horseman called him—they did not know. At Reinhardsbrunnen he was recognised by a prose-

lyte: as soon as his governor perceived this, he reminded his knight, that he would in the evening have to be present at the appointed negotiation, and he accordingly, in haste, again took his departure. On one occasion he also went out to the chase, but even here, amidst the hounds and the nets, he pursued his theological meditations. He wrote to Spalatin concerning it as follows: "Notwithstanding the pleasure it afforded me to witness the spectacle, yet did the spiritual application excite equally as much pain and sympathy. For what does the picture represent else but the devil, who with insidious art, through his ungodly servants, his hounds, namely the bishops and the theologians, hunts the innocent animals. Only too vividly did this exceedingly sad picture of the simple and believing souls impress itself upon my mind. To this was added one even more shocking. At my instance we had preserved alive a little hare, and having enveloped it in the sleeve of my coat, I had gone away and left it for a short time; meanwhile the hounds, tracing up the poor hare, bit him through the coat, and breaking his right leg killed him. Yea, so do the pope and Satan rave, that they even again destroy the rescued souls and render void all my labours. In a word, I am weary of this species of hunting, and consider that more agreeable, where bears, wolves, swine, foxes, and such like servants of ungodliness are the aim for spear and arrow. Yet I comfort myself with this, and this is an application for good, that it is better for hares and innocent animals to be caught by men, than by bears, wolves and birds of prey, or the bishops and theologians, who are like them: for in the latter instance they are, according to the application, caught for hell, in the former, for heaven.—I have written thus sportively, to remind you, that you wild game eaters, at the court, will one day yourselves be wild game in paradise, having, only with great labour and difficulty, been caught and preserved by Christ the best hunter; the sport applies to you, when you have your sport at the chase."

Luther was very well entertained by *von Berlepsch*, the captain of the castle, much better he thought, than he deserved;[4] but God afflicted him with sickness, that he might not be without the cross. An obstinate constipation, a malady, from which he already suffered at Worms, increased to such a degree, that he, under date of the 13th June, complained to his Melanchthon: "For eight days, I neither write, nor pray,

nor study. If the matter does not grow better, I shall be under the necessity of publicly proceeding to Erfurt, in order to obtain the advice of the surgeons, for I cannot endure this evil any longer. Perhaps God visits this upon me, for the purpose of again driving me from my wilderness into the midst of men." By taking some pills, which Spalatin sent him, he was partially relieved, but his digestion was not improved, and the soreness occasioned by the constipation continued. Under date of the 9th Sept. he still complained: "To-day, as on the sixth day, I have, at last, had an evacuation, of such severity, that I nearly expired. Now I am in pain, as one in travail, lacerated, sore and bloody, and shall have little or no rest this night. Praised be Christ, who does not leave me, without a relic of his holy cross." Not till the 7th October could he, with gratitude to God, inform his Spalatin, that he was well again, as before.

But the *spiritual trials*, which Luther had to endure, did not forsake him so soon. If he had before already lamented it, that, instead of being fervent in spirit, he was fervent in the flesh, indolent and slow to prayer, without sensibility in his heart, and had inquired of his friends whether perhaps they were neglecting to pray for him; he at a later date (Novemb. the 1st) wrote to Nicholas Gerbelius, a jurist of Strasburg: Wouldst thou believe it, that here in my leisure and solitude I am exposed to a thousand devils? It is much more easy to contend against the incarnate devil, that is, against men, than against the spiritual powers of wickedness under heaven. I fall often, but the right hand of the Most High sustains me. On this very account I am anxious again to be out among men; but I shall abide God's own time."

Concealed, however, as Luther's abode was kept, the report of his being at the Wartburg continually gained ground. The wish of his friends, who (as Nich. Gerbelius) urgently prayed him, "to inform them, whether he was alive, whether he was imprisoned, whether the liberty to write and to instruct them, was taken from him, or how he fared," was at least soon fulfilled, for Luther did not only diligently apply himself to study "in his wilderness," perusing the Bible in Greek and Hebrew, writing many excellent and consoling letters to his good friends, as also on holy days preaching to his host and confidential people, but he likewise soon published *various writings*.

He finished the *Magnificat* (see above, p. 187), composed a

Commentary on the 68th Psalm, and wrote the Treatise: "*Concerning Confession, whether the pope is authorized to enjoin it,*" which he dedicated to the knight Francis von Sickingen, observing, on the occasion, concerning himself and his adversaries: "We are neither of us over the mountain yet; but I have one advantage, I go empty, God grant that the truth may triumph." In this writing he, firstly, intimates, that the statutes of men are not to be added to the statutes of God; then he shows, that the pope and his advocates have no power whatever to enjoin confession upon all Christians, God not having commanded them to do so. In the third place he says, that "secret confession" is indeed a precious, wholesome institution; that this, however, was perplexing, that the pope made it a matter of necessity, and compelled Christians *once* a year to confess *all* their sins to their *own* priests. That from this resulted the twofold evil, firstly, if any one went to confession involuntarily and with a reluctant heart, God's Word and promise were in vain dispensed; secondly—this being a consequence of all other human statutes—either a false evil conscience or a false good conscience and idolatry. That, therefore, it was his faithful advice, not to go to confession or to partake of the Lord's Supper, during Lent or at Easter, simply because a man, the pope, had commanded this; or if notwithstanding there was a wish to go to confession or to partake of the sacrament at this time, not to do so in obedience to papal statutes, but from an unconstrained will for the good and the salvation of the soul. But there are two reasons which should constrain us voluntarily and willingly to go to confession: the first, the holy cross, the second, the precious and noble promise of God. But where there is true repentance, there there is no need of much persuasion and exhortation; and again to those who are not thus prepared, confession is of no avail whatever. He finally, for the comfort of those weak in the faith, points out the optional character of confession, and directs them not to attempt confessing every sin, but only those which perplex and oppress their conscience; and in case they did not wish to confess to a priest or a monk, to apply to any one, whether priest or layman, in whom they confided, as the priests were not to be lords but servants of Christendom, and secret confession had been given not to the pope, but to Christendom in general.

"In his solitude, Luther also published that learned book

against Jacob Latomus of Louvaine, (who had defended the condemnation and burning of Luther's books by the Louvaine theologians—see above p. 133), in which he so ably treats of letter and spirit, law and gospel, the offices of Moses and of Jesus Christ, of sin and grace, and how we become righteous before God and are saved only through faith in Christ, that I," Mathesius wrote, "as far as my knowledge of Christianity extends, have not, if I except his explanation of the Epistle to the Galatians, and the Epistle to the Romans and Loci Communes by Philip Melanchthon, read anything more correct and solid." In its composition, Luther was wholly deprived of books, having only the Bible near him, and he consequently could not himself examine and see, whether his adversary had quoted the declarations of the Fathers of the church correctly. He accordingly called upon his friends likewise to do something for the Gospel: he had crushed the head of the serpent, they surely now might fully crush the body. That he besides had only with reluctance torn himself loose from the peaceful truths of Christ, to which he had devoted himself in his Patmos, and had thus wasted his time with reading the absurdities of so venomous a sophist, wherefore he did not wish further to refer to Latomus, especially as he had begun to explain the Epistles and Gospels in *German*.[5]

At the request of Duke John, and in order to give the Germans a foretaste of the *Postil*, he in the first place published the "*Gospel of the ten lepers, translated into German and explained*," because thereby it had been attempted to support the ordinance of confession to the priest. "Herewith," said he, "I desire to give to my dear Germans a taste of the *Postils* from the centre of the barrels, although I have not progressed further with them than from *Advent* to *Epiphany*, being obliged, on account of the blasphemers, to interrupt these labours. He wrote the Postil, "because under the papacy the Gospels for the Sundays were often, on account of the legends, wholly omitted, and because, besides those of Tauler, there were few Postils extant, from which children and simple laymen could be plainly and correctly taught, how to lead a Christian life and to die happily;" he at the same time, however, sighed: "O would to God, that the pure Gospel were known among Christians, and that this my labour were to a certainty useless and needless, then there would certainly be hope that the

Holy Scriptures would likewise again be esteemed according to their worth!" He nevertheless subsequently called the Postil the very best book he had ever written, which even the papists approved.

A writing "against the idol at Halle," that is, against the sale of indulgences, which had again been opened in that town, Luther did indeed, at the urgent desire of the elector and of Spalatin, keep quiet; instead of it, however, he wrote to the cardinal and archbishop of Mayence, and called upon him to remove the "idol," as well as to leave those priests undisturbed, who, to avoid unchastity, had entered or wished to enter the state of matrimony; otherwise he would, for the promotion of divine Truth and the salvation of Christians, be constained to declare against this nefarious business, to charge all the former abominations of Tetzel upon the bishop of Mayence, and to proclaim to all the world the difference between a bishop and a wolf. That he would expect a distinct and speedy answer within fourteen days, for after that his book would be published. "Only let not your electoral grace imagine that Luther is dead;"—he wrote—"he will have such a bold and joyous confidence in that God, who has humbled the pope, and begin such a game with the cardinal of Mayence, as few anticipate. Join together, dear bishops, boasting lords you may remain, but this spirit you shall not yet silence or quench; if, however, any disgrace, which you do not now anticipate, grow out of it to you, I will herewith have given you due warning."

The cardinal returned a very mild and humble answer to this, excused himself and declared, that he was more than willing, for Christ's sake, to show Luther grace and favour; but the joy which this afforded the latter, was greatly diminished by the accompanying letter of *Wolfgang Fabricius Capito*, preacher and counsellor of the archbishop, and he considered the whole merely as finely-spun hypocrisy. For Fabricius had written, that he had adopted a different course to advance the cause of the Gospel, from that of Luther and his friends, and Luther found himself constrained, according to the explanation of Fabricius himself, to understand this as follows: "That the cause of the Gospel is promoted by overlooking one thing and the other in the conduct of princes, by sparing them, excusing their deeds, and not rashly challenging them," which he, however, considered veritable hypocrisy and

a denial of Christian truth. He accordingly replied: "If your cardinal had written the letter from his heart, good God, how joyfully, how humbly would we not cast ourselves at his feet, not deeming ourselves worthy to kiss the dust from his feet." Are we not likewise dust and a filthy pit of sin? Let him but receive the Word and we shall serve him as servants. But for those that despise the doctrines and office of the Word, craftily opposing and condemning them, we have neither grace, love, nor favour. Although, in truth, the highest love is, with all our might, in every possible way to resist their ravings." And further: "Do you take Luther to be a man who will overlook all you have been engaged in, simply because he has been tempted with a flattering letter?—Then may you once for all know this: My love is ready to die for you. But he that toucheth faith, toucheth the apple of our eye. Here is love, here you may deride or honour, as you please; but faith and the Word you must revere and esteem most devoutly. This we demand of you. Of our love expect everything you choose; but our faith dread in all things. I felt disinclined to answer your cardinal, because of not being able safely to adopt a middle course, not knowing whether to commend him for uprightness, or to censure him for hypocrisy. But from you he will learn Luther's spirit. And if I find that he is sincere, I shall instantly pour out my whole heart to him and cast myself at his feet. May God protect you, my dear Fabricius, and doubt not, but that my heart is upright towards you. You yourself perceive that this is a great and holy cause. And here we must beware, lest we love our brethren and sisters more than Christ. From my solitude, on the day of Antonius (17th Jan.), 1522."

Luther, on hearing that his brethren, the Augustines at Wittenberg, had begun to omit the daily private mass, further wrote a treatise "Concerning the abuse of the mass," for, though he was highly rejoiced at this step, perceiving from it that the Word of Christ was exerting its influence upon them, he nevertheless was apprehensive as to the result, if they should be assailed on account of it. "I well know," he wrote to them, "that if you are established upon the rock, no fury of the wind or waves can harm you; but if you rest upon the sand, a speedy and severe fall awaits you. I daily experience, in myself, how very difficult it is to set at liberty a conscience, for a long time held in captivity by the traditions of men. Oh, what

labour and trouble has it not cost me to satisfy my conscience, even with the plain declarations of Holy Writ, for having ventured singly and alone to rise up against the pope! And because I have experienced this in myself and well weighed the matter, I have deemed it proper to address to you this communication, for the comfort and encouragement of the weak, who are not able to endure the storm and violence of opposition and of a despairing conscience." Now in this treatise concerning the mass, Luther says: Because in the New Testament there is only one priest, who, for the sake of reconciling the human race, and obtaining complete forgiveness for the sins of the whole world, did, on the high altar of the cross once for all, offer himself as a sacrifice agreeable to the will of the Father; the holy sacrament, which believers eat and drink, according to the injunction of Christ, in remembrance of his death, can in no wise be a sacrifice or satisfaction for the sins of the living, much less for those of the dead in purgatory, or for huntsmen and merchants, who for the sake of success in their pursuits engage the monks to say a mass. Therefore the daily sacrifice of the mass may well, and should, according to the Scriptures, be abolished.

At the same time, there also was published the writing: Devotis monasticis M. Lutheri judicium, ("Martin Luther's opinion concerning spiritual and monastic vows.") In Saxony, Bartholomew Bernhardi, also called Feldkirchen, provost at Kemberg, had been the first to venture on entering the married state. Luther approved of the step, and, upon the whole, regarded the marriage of priests as altogether lawful, because Paul calls the prohibition of the same a doctrine of devils; with respect to the monks, however, he still entertained doubts, and he was not quite satisfied with the way and the manner in which Karlstadt defended the matter. He was apprehensive that the latter, if he did not adduce better grounds from the Scriptures, might cause a deplorable state of things; and he considered it dangerous, by means of insufficient and uncertain passages from the Scriptures, to induce so large a number of unmarried people to enter the married state, and thus in the end occasion them continual and worse conscientious scruples than before. Notwithstanding this, he maintained that monastic vows ought to be disapproved and recalled, if they had been rendered with a view to obtain salvation and righteousness through them; and in support of this position he sent several

theses to Wittenberg. At last, however, he arrived at the firm and unwavering conclusion, that we must confide in the Gospel, and forsaking all these vows, no matter under what circumstances, with what view, and at what time they might have been rendered, return to Christian freedom, and, accordingly, writing the treatise referred to, he (under date of the 21st Novemb., 1521) dedicated it to his father, who had been so greatly dissatisfied that his son had, without his knowledge and consent, become a monk, in order that the same might from this book perceive, "with what signs"—as he writes—"powers, and miracles, Christ has delivered me from the vow of monasticism, and bestowed upon me such exceeding freedom, that, although he has made me a servant to all men, he nevertheless has subjected me to no one, except to himself alone. For He alone, without any one being intermediate, is, as they call it, my Bishop, Abbot, Prior, Lord, Father, Master; I know of no other. And I trust that he took your son from you, in order now through me to afford help to many others of his sons."

In the beginning of the book he says: "That the dispute here is not concerning whether vows are to be observed, but what are true and proper vows, God himself having, in the Scriptures, enjoined the observance of vows; wherefore it is necessary to make a distinction between vows, and to observe which are Christian, good and acceptable to God, and which are ungodly wicked and displeasing to him." He then contends against monastic vows with the following arguments: 1. "*They are not based upon any Word of God,* but are opposed to God's Word." He here refutes the two false arguments, which are advanced in support of monastic vows, and which are derived from the distinction between evangelical counsels and commands, and between the state of perfection and imperfection. 2. "*They are directly opposed to faith,* inasmuch as all, who render such vows, entertain the opinion, not only, that, by their monastic lives, they become pious themselves, blot out sin and earn heaven, but hope also, with their good works, to attain to such perfection, as, from the superabundant treasure of the same, to be able to communicate and to sell to others, and thus to save them at the same time with themselves, whilst, in truth, nothing avails to obtain salvation with God, except the perfect merits of Christ, embraced through faith. And although good works must of necessity

follow, yet do they not merit anything, but are simply fruits, springing forth from faith and love; in other words, from the forgiveness of sin and the good conscience already obtained through Christ." 3. "*They are opposed to Christian freedom.* Christian freedom is a freedom of conscience, through which conscience becomes free from works, not in such a way that none are to be performed, but that it does not depend upon any, making such a distinction between the works of Christ and its own works, as to lay hold upon the works of Christ; and through them becoming free and delivered from all sin and all evil. But as to its own works, it perceives which are evil, and condemns them, overcomes them too, however, and despises them, through the works of Christ, if faith be really present. But its own good works conscience contemplates and argues thus: that they are to be performed freely, gratuitously, for the good of our neighbour, and to exercise the flesh, but by no means with a view, through them, to attain to righteousness, peace, satisfaction and forgiveness of sin. For all this it seeks, and finds nowhere else but in the works of Christ, through a firm faith. And thus the conscience of a Christian is free both from its own good as well as from its own evil works, so that it neither depends upon those that are good, nor despairs on account of those that are evil. It suffers neither the one nor the other to affect it, but looks upon both precisely as if they were nothing, and abides in the works of Christ, relying upon these as being made its own. From which it is perceptible, that the whole canon law and the government of the pope are opposed to Christ and damnable, since they bind men to their own works and draw them away from Christ, thus not only destroying this freedom itself, but also the doctrine and knowledge of it."—4. "They are opposed to *the commandments of God*, not only of the *first table*, but 5. likewise of the *second table* or to love; and, finally, 6. also to reason." He then examines the three chief vows, which are deemed immutable, and shows how, in reality, and according to experience, all is mere hypocrisy, and false pretence, or is, at the least, wholly useless, and even perhaps defiled and corrupted by sin and many abominations. Concerning the vow of *poverty* he says: "As to the outward use of temporal goods, monks and nuns deceive and mock themselves and everybody else, since no class of men have more to do with interests, moneys, rents, and worldly goods, than themselves, none more

seek their own profit; and thus, under the appearance of the holy vow of poverty, they are the most avaricious men in the world, the very men, who most of all strive about temporal possessions at the courts of princes and of justice." Further, concerning the vow of *obedience:* "Now let us observe what monks and nuns vow. Their words, if properly interpreted, according to their true meaning, will run thus: "Lord God, I vow to thee, that I will not, as thy Gospel requires, be subject to all, even the lowest, but only to my abbot, prior or new prelate."— — —"The vow does not permit you to be subject to all men, to serve them, have patience with them, and sympathy for them. The Gospel, however, requires you to be subject to all men; therefore the two are in direct opposition to each other, as fire and water. The obedience of married people towards each other, of children towards their parents, of servants towards their lords, (which the Apostle Paul also, in all his epistles, inculcates,) of prisoners and others, is much holier and better than the obedience of monks." —Finally, concerning the vow of *chastity* he says: "That virginity is a noble, praiseworthy virtue, if no merit is sought in it, and a person does not wish on account of it to be considered pious, and especially, if God himself has bestowed upon a man the exalted and noble gift of chastity; but as to that chastity which men vow of themselves, general experience sadly demonstrates to every person's comprehension, how chastity is observed by monks, nuns, priests, and others, who avoid the married state and boast of their chastity. That many endowed institutions and cloisters had become nothing but bawdy houses." Finally, Luther says, "that he hopes so to have confirmed and established everything with clear Scripture proof and weighty substantial reasons, that it will suffice, not only to stop the mouths of the adversaries, but also, to make the conscience peacefully confident toward God, and to set it free, it being his diligent purpose to arm and to strengthen the conscience against Satan, and to instruct it how to appear acceptably at the judgment-seat of Christ." "Therefore," says he in conclusion, "I here, for the sake of God and of Christ, earnestly pray all who may adopt my advice in this case, and who wish to forsake the monasteries and nunneries and return to freedom, above all things carefully to examine their consciences, and to see that they do not begin this business simply for the sake of engaging in something new, or from contempt and

hatred of men. For such will not prove victorious in the hour of death, when Satan will harass their conscience and accuse them of having acted in opposition to the statutes of men, &c.; but they will take refuge in an ungodly repentance, and thus the last case will be worse than the first. For here we must be able to lay hold on the pure and clear Word of God, so as with it also to appear at the bar of God; knowing that he is true and cannot deny himself. What we would now have to observe further here, has already been amply stated above, namely, that Christ alone is to be our Master, Guide, Light, Being and Life, and that everything invented by men to afford a sure ground for obtaining rest and peace, is useless and insufficient. This our King, Peace, Light, and Life, enlighten, quicken and strengthen our hearts in his own power and holy Word to eternal life. To him be praise and honour forever. Amen. 1 Pet. ii. 16, *As free and not using your liberty as a cloak of maliciousness.* Paul, Gal. v. 13, *For, brethren, you have been called unto liberty; only use not liberty for an occasion to the flesh.*"

Concerning the most important work which Luther undertook at the Wartburg, he gave information to his friend John Lange, under date of the 18th December, 1521: "I intend meanwhile to *translate the New Testament into German.* Our friends insist on my doing so. I understand that you are likewise labouring at it. Continue as you have begun. Would to God that every town had its interpreter, and that this book alone were upon the tongues and in the hands, eyes, ears and hearts of all." Luther subsequently observed: "that Magister Phil. Melanchthon had compelled him to translate the New Testament into German; for he had perceived that here one was translating the Gospel by Matthew, there another that by Luke; so he in like manner had been anxious again to bring to light and to a proper estimation the Epistles of St Paul, which had become somewhat obscure and dark." He likewise said, that when he began to translate the Bible itself into German, he "had entertained the hope that there would be less of writing and studying and more of reading in the Holy Scriptures; as all other writings, too, were to point men to the Scriptures. For, certainly, neither the councils, nor the Fathers, nor we, though we exert ourselves to the utmost, will produce anything as good as the Holy Scriptures, that is, as God himself has produced. Let no one who is resolved to

have my books at this time permit them to prevent him from studying the Scriptures themselves. The Bible is such a book which makes the wisdom of all other books seem folly, because not one can give instruction concerning eternal life except this alone. In the prosecution of the work itself, Luther soon discovered that he had imposed upon himself altogether too heavy a burden. "Now I experience," he wrote, under date of the 13th Jan. 1522, to Amsdorf, "what translating is, and why no one has thus far undertaken such a work, who has affixed his name to it. But I doubt whether I shall be able to touch the Old Testament, unless you are present to assist. And if any one of you could, perhaps, afford me some retired little chamber or other, I would soon come, and with your assistance begin to translate the whole from the beginning, and make such a translation of it as should deserve to be read by Christians. For I trust we would give our Germans a better translation than the Latins have. It is a great work, and deserves that we should all labour at it, for it is a work which concerns all and serves the common good." And to Melanchthon: "have a lodging in readiness for me, for the translation will compel me to return to you, and do you pray the Lord, that it may be done with his permission. I wish, however, to remain concealed as long as possible, and in the meantime shall proceed as I have begun."

Authorities.—Gerbelii ep. ad Lutherum in Seckend., com. p. 161. Dürer's Journal (where first printed?). The imperial proscription, Works, vol. 17, p. 596. Let., vol. 2, No. 316–319, 322. Mathes. 4. Pred. Let., No. 335, 324–328, 331, 343. The explanation of the 68th Ps. Works, vol. 6, p. 256 (compare Let. No. 321). The writing concerning confession, vol. 17, p. 692. Mathes. as before. Rationis Latomianæ, pro incendiariis Lovanensis Scholæ sophistis redditæ confutatio in the Opp. Jen. T. II, 379. Let. No. 325, 339, 340. Mathes. as above. Works, vol. 13, p. 9, vol. 19, p. 438. Let. No. 346, 352, 335. Works, vol. 17, p. 605. Let., No. 359, 350. (Mathes. as above), 332–336 (comp. Seckend., p. 171). The writing concerning monastic vows, Works, vol. 18, p. 54. Let. No. 354. Hall. ed. of the Works, vol. 22, p. 2396. Works, vol. 22. App. p. 144. Let. No. 357, 358.

Notes.—1.) Pallavicinus relates, that the papal legates came very near losing their lives at Worms, in consequence of the report being spread, that Luther had been found slain.

2.) The papal legate Aleander was the author of this edict, which was not produced before the 26th of May, but, as at that time most of the estates had left Worms, it was dated back to the eighth of May, that

it might have the appearance of having been unanimously adopted. So Seckendorf, according to Sleidan and Pallavicinus.

3.) Even the elector's brother, Duke John, knew nothing of it, and they only with reluctance permitted Luther to despatch any letters, fearing the matter might be betrayed. According to Chyträus (Chron. Sax. lib. VIII. p. 253), the papists, in order to ascertain where Luther was concealed, even made inquiries of sorcerers.

4.) Luther was greatly concerned, lest, by his stay, he should occasion this his host expense, and he accordingly desired positive information of Spalatin, whether he lived at the Wartburg at the expense of the elector. Let. (No. 335). He always remained grateful to his host, subsequently intended to dedicate a book to him (Let. No. 372), sent him his writings (Let. No. 377), &c.

5.) They had already been published in Latin. See p. 187.

CHAPTER II.

RETURN TO WITTENBERG.

Melanchthon, on Luther's having been taken captive, had written to Wenceslaus Link: "*Our dearest father lives;* but he longed greatly to see him, and congratulated himself on the day, when he would again be permitted to lock him in his embraces. "Our university prospers," he wrote, "only we have not our father Dr. Martin with us." And somewhat later: "Our Elijah is still absent from us, but we are waiting and looking for him. What shall I say further? My anxiety to see him torments me exceedingly." Luther found fault with him, that he did not more patiently bear the cross, and exalted him too much. "Even if I do perish, he had before written, it will be no detriment to the Gospel, for in this thou dost now excel me, and as an Elisha dost follow Elijah, with a double portion of the spirit, which may the Lord Jesus, in his mercy grant unto thee, Amen." He accordingly, too, rejoiced at it, that Wittenberg prospered, the more so, because this happened in his absence, to the vexation of the enemy, whose designs were in this way brought to naught. He, however, sought also to comfort and to strengthen "the poor little flock of Christ at Wittenberg," and sent to them an *explanation of the 36th Psalm,* writing at the same time: "After St. Paul had preached at many places and was now a captive at Rome, he still continued, by prayer to God, by comforting and strengthening communications, to exercise care for those, whom he

had converted, of which his epistles give sufficient evidence. In imitation of this example, as we do not doubt but that by the grace of God we have heard and learned the true pure Gospel, which it has pleased God, partly through me, a frail man, to make known to you, I shall not, and cannot be unconcerned about it, whether or not wolves do after me enter the fold. And though, by the grace of God, you have so many others to supply my place, that there would be no need of my being thus concerned; yet does the love of the Gospel constrain us to have even more than necessary care."— —.—"But as I am not the man, who, like St. Paul, can write and afford comfort from the resources of his own mind, I have resolved to translate into German, and to accompany by brief remarks, the writing, which as St. Paul, Rom. 15, 4, says, is full of comfort, namely the 36th (37th) Psalm, which in my estimation, is admirably adapted to the occasion, since it, in a peculiarly-lovely and soothing manner, calms the emotions of wrath against the blasphemers and malicious disturbers. For it truly excites pain, when the wicked not only blaspheme after all their hearts' desire, but also claim to be in the right, and demand honour for it, whilst, at the same time, they are active for a while, till their day comes."—In conclusion he says: "Herewith I commend you to God, and do you see to it, that you likewise practise faith, and do not suffer our Christianity to be a matter of mere words. Let not him who hath, forsake him that hath not; but let him that hath not, rely upon God, as this Psalm directs. I commend to you all those that proclaim the Word to you; for they are worthy of double honour, says St. Paul, 1 Tim. 5, 17. Pray also for me, that I may once become pious. For I would not so much please the papists and grieve our Lord Christ, as to be concerned one hair-breadth on account of having to be absent from you. Through the grace of God I am still as courageous and as bold as I have ever been. I have become subject to a slight bodily infirmity, but it signifies nothing. Properly that ought not to perplex me, if I receive as I deserve. Be of good courage, and fear no one. The grace of God be with you. Amen."

But because his congregation and pulpit at Wittenberg continually occupied his mind—as he then at one time, whilst at table. and deeply absorbed in thought, broke out into the ejaculation: "*O, if I only were at Wittenberg!*"—he resolved upon a journey, and arrived at Wittenberg sometime about November, taking up his abode with his travelling companion,

Nicholas Amsdorf, being clad in a cloak of rank, like a nobleman, his cheeks, lips and chin covered with a bushy beard, so that his most intimate friends did not, at first, recognise him. Having then for several days conversed and rejoiced with his friends, whom he had caused to be invited to his lodging, he secretly again returned to the Wartburg. The reports which had reached him, had induced him to proceed to Wittenberg; he was, however, very well satisfied with everything he at that time saw and heard. Nevertheless, already on his return journey, various reports concerning the inconsiderate proceedings of some of his friends, caused him great anxiety, so that he resolved upon publishing a general admonition as soon as he should have arrived in his solitude.[1] He was likewise dissatisfied with the tumultuous manner in which the monks forsook the cloisters, and wished much rather that they might by a general decree be peacefully dismissed.

And this course the *Augustines* adopted, resolving at a convention which they held at Wittenberg: That it should be left to every one's conscience to remain in the cloister or not; those that remained, should continue to wear the habit and observe the usual regulations; mendicancy should be abolished, and every one should engage in labour; the hired masses should be discontinued, &c. The elector, on hearing of these proceedings, despatched his chancellor, Dr. George Brück, to the university, and by him several of their number were selected, to demand an account of the Augustine monks, which being done, they petitioned the elector to abolish the private masses throughout all his dominions, and in this not to fear the reproach of being a heretic or a Hussite, since Christ, who had graciously bestowed upon him above all princes such Gospel light, required it of him to do so. The elector was disposed to do everything becoming a Christian prince: he did not, however, wish to proceed rashly in the matter, but to have a deputation of the university and of the chapter to consult upon it.

But before anything was resolved upon, there arose various disturbances. For when Satan could not prejudice the doctrines of Luther, neither through the learned, nor through the pope and the Roman emperor, or the universities, of Germany and France, he bethought himself of other means to oppose Luther and to do injury to his cause, by means of false spirits and sects; attempting this, according to his manner, in the very heart of the church at *Wittenberg*, at the place, where the

Gospel had first come to light again, and employing for this purpose in particular *Dr. Andrew Karlstadt,* who had before been Luther's fellow-combatant and assistant at the Leipzig discussion. The latter, whilst Luther was absent in his Patmos, occasioned great confusion at Wittenberg from a misapprehension of Christian freedom. For after they had learned that a Christian life does not consist in outward display, images, dress, fasting, eating or drinking, &c., but in spirit and in faith, and that the eating of meat, eggs, &c., is not prohibited by God, but that it is at all times allowed to use them with thanksgiving; and that the pope has not the power to enjoin auricular confession: he and others proceeded rashly, overthrew the private masses, assailed and burned the images, destroyed the altars, abolished auricular confession, suffered the singing and the ceremonies of the Church to fall into disuse, refused any longer to use chalices and patens, went hastily to the sacrament without being examined or having announced themselves, pretending to assert their Christian freedom in these things. They did not cause any sermon to precede the same, by means of which men's hearts might, from the Word of God, have first been instructed concerning true godliness, and have been freed from their erroneous opinions; they did not proceed with the consent and knowledge of the authorities; neither did they concern themselves, whether, by their proceedings, they became the occasion of offence and stumbling to the weak: but everything, done by them, was the result of their own wicked presumption and vain-glorious spirit. They pretended to be urged to this course by the first commandment and Christian freedom, and to be filled with the Holy Ghost; condemning as heretics all who did not coincide with them.

At Zwickau there had before this already arisen various disturbances, especially concerning infant baptism. On the third Christmas holy-day, three of the ringleaders in these affairs arrived at Wittenberg, two of them uneducated men, clothiers, (Nicholas Storch and Thomas Marx,) the third (Marcus Stübner) a man of education. Melanchthon gave them a hearing. They had marvellous things to say of themselves, &c. That they had, by a distinct voice of God, been called to teach; that God had free converse with them; that they could see into the future; that, in short, they were prophetical and apostolical men. *Melanchthon* thought that there was a spirit in them, be

it what it might; but that no one could rightly judge of it, except Luther. And that, as the Gospel, the honour and peace of the church, were in danger here, it was by all means to be arranged that these men might have an opportunity to converse with Luther, for to him they likewise appealed.

When the *elector*, to whom Melanchthon and Amsdorf had written concerning this matter, demanded of them to come to Prettin, causing Haubold von Einsiedel and Spalatin to inquire of them: "What could possibly have induced them to write so earnestly to his electoral highness concerning these affairs?" Melanchthon repeated, that it was highly necessary to obtain Dr. Martin's judgment in regard to this business; and Amsdorf said: "That he had not been desirous either to converse with these men or to see them, being himself an inexperienced pupil in the Scriptures, and they pretending things so unheard of and lofty. That they ought not to be rashly credited, nor ought they to be despised, till they had first been heard and examined." Upon receiving this report the elector observed: "This is a great and important matter, which I as a layman do not understand. Now my good God has bestowed upon my brother and myself considerable poverty. If now I understood these matters, I would, sooner than knowingly act against God, take my staff into my hand, and, forsaking all, depart." But that Luther should proceed to Wittenberg to examine those men, the elector would not advise. He said, that he had so far only taken Martin's part, that, inasmuch as he had offered to submit to justice, he might not be overpowered by a resort to violence. That, if he should now proceed to Wittenberg and anything adverse should happen to him in consequence, it would truly grieve him, for since his imperial majesty was his lord, he was constrained to obey his majesty.

Luther himself, to whom Melanchthon likewise had written concerning the *Zwickau prophets*, censured his friend for being so timid, whilst he was so superior to himself in spirit and learning. In the first place he thought, that as they bore witness of themselves, they ought not to be immediately believed, but the advice of John, to try the spirits, should be followed. That they had the advice of Gamaliel, to abide the issue of the matter. That he had thus far not heard of their having spoken or done anything, which Satan could not likewise do and imitate. That inquiry should be made, whether they

could substantiate their commission: since God never had sent any one, without calling him through another or confirming his mission by signs, from which rule even his own Son had not been excluded. That they ought not by any means to be received, if they based their commission solely upon the revelation granted them. So much in reference to their being authorized to teach publicly. But as regarded their own spirit, he should only inquire, whether they had experienced spiritual trials and the divine birth, death and hell. That, if he heard them speak only of lovely, soothing, devout, as they were called, and holy things, he should not credit them, though they should boast of having been entranced up into the third heaven; as here the sign of the Son of Man would be wanting, that being the only true touchstone to try Christians, and safely to distinguish the spirits. Having also in detail treated of infant baptism, he adds: "I always expected that the devil would touch upon this matter; but it was not to be through the papists: among ourselves and our own people he attempts to create this great schism, but Christ will soon trample him under our feet."

Upon the whole, Luther thought, that on account of these prophets he would not come; but that, having daily to hear more important things concerning Wittenberg, he certainly would, on account of them, if God permitted him, shortly return, and take up his abode, if not at Wittenberg, somewhere else. The elector should be unconcerned about him.

To the Wittenbergers, however, he wrote concerning the innovations among them:[3] That he could not always be with them. That every one was required to die for himself. But that no one could prove victorious, unless during his life he had well learned and applied those passages, which afford comfort against sin. That by nature we are all sinners, but that Christ had borne our infirmity in his life and death. That as Christ had dealt towards us, so we also must deal towards our neighbour. "These innovations in regard to the mass, images, and the receiving of the sacrament with the hands, besides other unimportant, insignificant things, have been introduced, but faith and love have been forsaken; just as if all the world around possessed a correct knowledge in reference to these things, which, however is not the case, and thus many pious people have been drawn into the movement which is the veritable work of Satan. It would doubtless be well to make a beginning with these matters, if we all had equal faith, the whole

congregation being satisfied, so that no one would take offence But that will never be the case. We cannot all be as learned as Karlstadt. Therefore we must yield to those that are weak, or else those that are strong will haste on and advance, and those that are weak and cannot keep pace with them will perish. God has given us his Word and shown himself very gracious to those at Wittenberg. With all this, I do not discover among you the least love. How much more ought you not to bear with those, who have never heard the Word! We have still many brethren and sisters dwelling at Leipzig, in the country of Meissen, and in other places around: those, too, we must take with us to heaven. And though Duke George and many others are now excited on account of these things, and enraged against us, we must not the less bear with them and hope the best of them. But now this business has been hastily and rashly begun, and carried through by main force; with this I am not satisfied, of that be assured; and when it comes to the issue, I shall not stand by you in this affair. You have begun it without me; therefore see to it, how you may carry it through without me. What you have done, is not right, though Karlstadt and his consorts should have asserted it to be so again and again. You have enticed many wretched consciences into the movement, who have partaken of the sacrament and received it with their hands, have torn down the images, and eaten eggs and meat during Lent. If in the hour of death and trial, they should have to give an account to Satan for it, they would not in the least be able to justify themselves against him. Such distress thou hast caused by so inconsiderately entering upon this business, and yet dost thou claim the praise for it of being a Christian, and better than others. But thou errest exceedingly; thou wishest to serve God by it, and knowest not that thou art only the precursor of Satan. Believe me I know Satan well, and better than well; he has begun this matter only for the purpose of dishonouring the newly-revived Word. He has led thee to engage in this little piece of folly, the receiving of the sacrament with the hands, the eating of eggs and of meat, that thou mightest meanwhile forget faith and love. And I cannot think otherwise but that those who have played this game, have sought their own honour; Satan has accordingly also given them their reward." Having then further shown what difference should be observed between dealing with those that are obstinate and those that are weak,

that towards the latter, namely, patience and discretion should be exercised, it being necessary, as St. Paul—Heb. v. 13—says, *To nourish them with milk because of their yet being babes in the faith*, he proceeds: "When a child is newly born, it at first receives only the gentlest food, that is, milk; afterwards somewhat stronger diet, as marmalade and pap, till it increases in strength, when it receives meat and bread, &c. So here too, thou must have patience with thy neighbour, till he attains to a strength equal to thine. When St. Paul was with the Jews he conformed to their manners; with the heathens to theirs. Now that thou hast extracted nourishment sufficient and become strong, dost thou intend to destroy the source, so that the rest may not likewise obtain nourishment? If all children, who cannot immediately eat, should be cast off by their mothers, what would have become of thee? My good friend, if thou hast extracted nourishment enough and attained to full growth, do thou also, permit others to obtain nourishment and to attain to maturity."

But as affairs at Wittenberg were daily becoming more burdensome to Melancthon, and he perceived that he could not stem the flood, whilst at the same time he was fully sensible of the greatness of the impending danger; both he and others continually urged Luther in their letters, that he might return. Upon this Luther (some time towards the close of February) wrote to the elector: "*To my most gracious lord, Duke Frederick, Elector of Saxony, for personal perusal.* Grace and happiness, from God the Father, by way of congratulation for the new relic. Such salutation I write at this time, my most gracious lord, instead of tendering my submission. Your princely grace has now, for many years, been making efforts in all directions, to obtain relics;[4] but now God has complied with the anxious wish of your princely grace, and sent home free of all charge and trouble, an entire cross, with nails, spears and scourges. I say again: Grace and prosperity from God in view of the new relic. But let not your princely grace be terrified, but joyfully extend the arms, and permit the nails to pierce deeply, yea, thank God and rejoice: thus all who wish to have the Word of God, must necessarily learn, not only that Annas and Caiaphas rave, but also that Judas is among the apostles, and Satan among the children of God. Your princely grace should be discreet and wise, and not judge according to reason or the appearance of things, and be not dismayed;

affairs have not yet come to the point to which Satan means to bring them. I pray your princely grace to give credit to me, fool that I am, for I know these and similar spirits of Satan, therefore I am not in the least terrified, and that vexes him. All this is only the beginning. Let the world clamour and condemn, suffer to fall who may, even Peter and the apostles; they will no doubt return on the third day, when Christ arises again. What is written in 2 Cor. vi. 4, 5. Exhibeamus nos in seditionibus, &c., must also be fulfilled in us. I pray your princely grace to accept this in kindness; because of great haste, the pen was driven along with speed; I am at a loss for further time. *I shall myself, if God permit, soon be present. But let your princely grace avoid all interference in my favour.*"

Upon this the elector informed Luther, through *John Oswald*, mayor of Eisenach, (p. 190,) "That Luther well knew how the command of his electoral grace had accomplished nothing in this affair; that they had attempted many strange things at Wittenberg, and were not agreed as to these matters among themselves. That at Wittenberg, and elsewhere, one celebrated mass one way; another, another way. That, as a consequence, many students were leaving, and several princes had called away their subjects on account of it. That his electoral grace, now, did not know what would be the best course to be pursued under such circumstances. As he had written, therefore, that his electoral grace should only be discreet and wise, and not judge according to reason and the appearance of things, it was the gracious desire of his electoral grace, that he would inform his electoral grace what he meant and deemed to be best for his electoral grace to do or to omit in this matter; since his electoral grace would not at all wish to do or to attempt anything which might be opposed to the will of God and to his holy Word. Neither did his electoral grace wish to see anything done which might be unjust, or from which insurrection and trouble might arise. That the imperial government at Nuremburg had written to his electoral grace concerning this subject; that, besides, several bishops, as the one at Meissen, now intimated that they intended, either themselves to preach, or to appoint others to preach, in those places where the people were considered as having been led into error. That as Luther, towards the close of his letter, had intimated his intention of soon being

present himself, &c., his electoral grace did not know whether he meant by that to indicate his intention of again returning to Wittenberg. That if this really was his design, his electoral grace was of opinion that he ought not yet by any means to betake himself thither. That if his abode at Wittenberg should become known, and the pope and his imperial majesty should, in accordance with their mandate on this subject, institute further proceedings against him; or if they should further enjoin his electoral grace to deliver him up,—of the justice of which his electoral grace was not yet convinced, he being yet unvanquished,—this his electoral grace would regard as one of the greatest grievances. That he knew, moreover, how his electoral grace had so far favoured him and his cause no further, than upon his humble and submissive offer to abide by the decision of justice, submissively to intercede for him with his imperial majesty, for a gracious hearing. That his electoral grace could not in future sustain him in his cause on any other ground than because he was not yet vanquished, he himself too having written that his electoral grace should not at all interfere in his favour. But if, in case he should again return to Wittenberg, his electoral grace were to refuse the demand of the pope and his imperial majesty, and not render obedience to them, without having sufficient cause for such refusal, he would have to consider what results would flow from it to his electoral grace, his dominions and people. That, if his electoral grace, however, truly and assuredly knew what was right and good, according to the will of God, his electoral grace would be fully disposed, for the sake of it, to suffer and to endure all that might be imposed upon him, for his electoral grace would not for himself consider this any burden. If this were the true cross and relic sent by God, his electoral grace would not dread it: but because God had said, that his yoke was easy and his burden light, would willingly bear the cross, if he knew that it was of God, not doubting but that God would aid and strengthen his electoral grace for this purpose. That things were assuming so strange and so various a character at Wittenberg, however, and so many sects were arising, that all was confusion, and no one knew what to believe or what to do. That it would, moreover, be exceedingly grievous to his electoral grace, if other people likewise should be subjected to any injury or grievances on account of his electoral grace." The elector having yet in conclusion informed him

that, sometime about the middle of Lent, a new Diet was to be convoked, that his affair would then probably likewise be treated of, on which account it might be well for him meanwhile patiently to refrain himself, till it would appear what phase matters were likely to assume; he nevertheless, on the other hand, assured him: "that if in this way the will and work of God should be hindered, his electoral grace would be grieved, and therefore wished to have everything referred to his own judgment, as one who was experienced in such lofty affairs."

This communication Luther received the evening before his intended departure from the Wartburg. He replied to it on his way, being now at Borna, on Ash Wednesday, (the 5th March, 1522,) by his guide. He in the first place excused himself for having written, that his electoral grace should act wisely. That he had not, by employing such language, meant to reflect upon the highly-renowned wisdom of his electoral grace; "but," said he, "I wished to comfort your electoral grace, not with regard to my affair, of which I did not at that time think, but with regard to the uncouth proceedings at Wittenberg, in which, greatly to the reproach of the Gospel, our people have engaged. On account of these things, I apprehended your electoral grace would be exceedingly grieved; for I myself have been distressed by this affair to such a degree, that if I had not been certain that we have the pure Gospel, I should have been led to despair of our cause." — — "But as regards my cause, most gracious lord, I answer thus: Your electoral grace knows, or if the same does not know, let it herewith be known to your grace, that I have received the Gospel, not from men, but alone from Heaven, through our Lord Jesus Christ, so that I might well (as I also intend in future to do) have boasted and subscribed myself a servant and evangelist. But that I offered to submit to investigations and decisions, was done, not from doubt of the justice of my cause, but from exceeding humility, to win over others. Since I, however, now perceive that my over-great humility is tending to the disparagement of the Gospel, and that Satan, where I yield him only one hand-breadth of space, is endeavouring to occupy the whole ground, I am constrained, for conscience' sake, to act differently. I have sufficiently gratified your electoral grace, in that I have yielded this year, out of obedience to your electoral grace. For Satan very well knows,

that I did not do so from anything like fear. He well saw my heart, on my entering Worms, to be so disposed, that if I had known, that as many devils were lying in wait for me as there are tiles upon the house-tops, I would, notwithstanding, joyfully have leaped into the very midst of them. Now Duke George is far from being equal to a single devil.[5] And since the Father of unbounded mercy has, through the Gospel, made us joyful lords over all devils and death, and bestowed upon us the richness of confidence, that we can venture to say to him, Dearest Father,—your electoral grace will yourself perceive, that it is casting the greatest reproach upon such a Father, not also to trust Him for making us lords over the wrath of Duke George. Thus much I verily know of myself, that, if Leipzig were the scene of these transactions in place of Wittenberg, I would nevertheless ride in, even though (may your electoral grace pardon the foolishness of my language!) it should rain nothing, for nine days, but Duke Georges, and every one of them should be nine times more furious than this one is. He looks upon my Lord Christ as upon a man of straw; this my Lord and I can for a time well endure. I shall not, however, conceal from your electoral grace, that I have, not once only, prayed and wept for Duke George, that God would enlighten him. I shall, too, once more, pray and weep; afterwards, no more forever. And I pray, that your electoral grace likewise would aid us with your prayers, and cause intercessions to be made, if perhaps we might ward off from him the woe which is pressing in upon him, without ceasing. I would speedily destroy Duke George with a single word, if that were the object. This I have written to your electoral grace, for the purpose of showing your electoral grace, *that I proceed to Wittenberg under a far higher protection than that of the elector. Nor do I at all intend to request protection from your electoral grace. Yea, I conceive that I could protect your electoral grace more than the same could protect me. And if I knew that your electoral grace could or would protect me, I would not come. This cause is not to be and cannot be assisted or promoted by means of the sword; God alone must do all here, without any human interference or addition. Therefore he who believes most will here protect most.* As I, accordingly, perceive that your electoral grace is still very weak in the faith, I can by no means look upon your electoral grace as the man who is able to protect or rescue me. And as your electoral grace further

desires to know what the same ought to do in this matter, conceiving to have done far too little, I answer submissively: That your electoral grace has already done far too much, and ought to do nothing at all. For God will not and cannot endure the interference and management of your electoral grace or myself. He will have the sole control, this and nothing else; this may serve your electoral grace for a guide. If your electoral grace believes this, you will be safe and have peace; if your highness does not believe, still I believe and must permit the unbelief of your electoral grace to torment itself with cares, which is the just punishment of all that do not believe. Since I, therefore, refuse to obey your electoral grace, your electoral grace is exculpated before God, if I am taken captive or put to death. With regard to men, your electoral grace is to act thus: namely, as an elector, to obey the powers that be, and to permit his imperial majesty to exercise authority in the cities and the dominions of your electoral grace, over body and property, as the regulations of the realm require, and by no means to resist or to oppose, nor to desire any opposition or hindrance to his authority, in case he designs to take me captive or to put me to death. For authority no one is to resist or to oppose, except alone He who has instituted it; otherwise it is rebellion, and against God. But I trust that they will so much conform to the dictates of reason, as to consider your electoral grace born in a higher station, than to be made jailor over me. If your electoral grace offer no resistance, and observe the free electoral safe-conduct, in case they themselves or their envoys come to take me away, your electoral grace has rendered the requisite obedience. They certainly cannot demand anything further of your electoral grace, than to be assured of Luther's being with your electoral grace. And in this they shall be gratified, without your electoral grace being exposed to any vexation, trouble, or danger. For Christ has not taught me to be a Christian to the injury of any one. But if they should withal be so unreasonable as to command your electoral grace yourself to lay violent hands on me, I will inform your electoral grace what is to be done. I will secure your electoral grace against injury and danger, as to body, property and soul, as far as my cause is concerned, whether your electoral grace believe it or believe it not. Herewith I commend your electoral grace to the blessing of God. We shall very soon resume

the subject, if necessary. For this letter I have despatched in haste, that your electoral grace might not be grieved at the report of my arrival; for I am to striye and must strive to afford comfort to every one, and not to prove injurious to any, if I wish to be a Christian. It is a different man from Duke George with whom I have to deal: he knows me very well, and I well know him. If your electoral grace believed, you would behold the glory of God; but as your electoral grace does not believe, you do not behold anything. To God be love and praise forever. Amen."

On his journey, Luther, being clad as a nobleman in the habit of a knight, took up his lodging at the inn of the High Lily at Erfurt, without being recognised, and, whilst at table, became engaged in conversation with a papal priest, who declared himself prepared to point out to any one a hundred errors in Luther's books; but on being desired to designate only two or three errors, he could give no answer. At the inn of the Black Bear, at Jena, he met with two Swiss travellers, John Kessler and John Reutiner, of which meeting the former gives this account in his journal.

"In the room we found a man sitting at the table alone, with a book lying before him; he greeted us kindly and desired us to seat ourselves near him at the table. Upon this he offered us to drink so that we could not refuse him. Having thus perceived his affability and kindness, we seated ourselves near him at the table (as he had desired) and calling for a measure of wine, we, as respect required, in return offered him to drink thereof; not thinking otherwise but that he was a knight, sitting there according to the custom of the country, with a red cap upon his head, clad in his small-clothes and doublet, his sword at his side, the pommel of it grasped by his right, the hilt with his left hand. He soon began and inquired from what country we were? But answered himself, saying: 'You are Swiss. From what part of Switzerland are you?' We replied: 'From St. Gallen.' He rejoined: 'If you, then, as I have understood, intend to proceed to Wittenberg, you will meet good fellow-countrymen, namely Jerome Schurf and his brother Dr. Augustine.' Said we: 'We bear letters to them.' Whereupon we in return inquired: 'Could not your honour inform us, whether Martin Luther is at Wittenberg, at present, or in what place he probably resides?' He answered: 'I have certain information that Luther is not at Wittenberg, at present.

But it is said that he will soon be there. Philip Melanchthon, however, is there, he teaches the Greek language, and there are others who teach the Hebrew, both of which, I would earnestly recommend you to study. For to understand the Holy Scriptures, a knowledge of these must first be acquired.' Said we: 'God be praised! For (if God spare our lives) we shall not rest contented till we have seen and heard the man; for on his account we have undertaken this journey, having learned, that he attempts to overthrow the priesthood, and the mass as an unauthorized worship. But we having from our youth up been trained and designed by our parents for the priesthood, we would like to hear what instruction he can give us, and with what justice he can engage in such attempts.' Upon this he inquired: 'Where did you formerly study?' Answer: 'At Basle.' Said he: 'How do matters stand at Basle? Is Erasmus Rotrodamus there yet? In what is he engaged?' 'We do not know otherwise, your honour,' said we, 'but that matters stand well. But no one knows, in what he is engaged; for he keeps himself very quiet and secluded.' During this conversation we were greatly surprised at the knight, that he so familiarly spoke of the Schurfs, of Philip and Erasmus, as likewise of the necessity of the Greek and Hebrew languages. Besides this, he occasionally employed several Latin words, so that we began to consider him a different person from a common knight. 'My friends,' said he, 'what do they think of Luther in Switzerland?' 'There are, as everywhere,' replied I, 'various opinions, your honour. Some scarcely know how to exalt him sufficiently, and they praise God, that, through him, he has revealed the truth and exposed error; some, however, condemn him, as an intolerable heretic, most of all the clergy.' Said he; 'I guarantee, it is the priests.' Amidst such conversation we began to feel quite at our ease, so that my companion took up the book that lay before him, and opened it. It was the book of psalms in Hebrew. He then quickly replaced it and the knight retained it. This circumstance caused us to be still more at a loss, as to who he could possibly be; and my companion said: 'I would lose a finger from my hand to understand this language.' He replied: 'You certainly can acquire it if you only make the necessary exertion; I also am anxious to obtain a more accurate knowledge of it, and exercise myself daily in it.' The day being now quite spent, and it being very dark, the host stepped up to the table; and having learned our

anxious wish to see Martin Luther, he said: 'My friends, you might have had your wish, if you had been here two days ago; for here he sat at this table;' pointing to the place with his finger. That vexed us greatly, and we were dissatisfied with ourselves because of our delay, and vented our displeasure upon the bad roads, which had hindered our progress; but said, 'We are nevertheless glad to be in the house, at the table at which he sat.' At this the host, laughing, left the room. Following him, I was affrighted, and bethought myself of what impropriety I might have been guilty, or of what I was unjustly suspected. Then the host said to me: 'Since I perceive your earnest desire to see and to hear Luther: that is he, sitting there with you.' These words I took to be spoken in jest, and said: 'Yes, landlord, you mean to impose upon me, and to gratify my desire with a fancied Luther.' He replied. 'It assuredly is he; yet do not act as if you recognised him.' I yielded to the landlord, but could not believe him, and returned to the room, seated myself at the table, and felt anxious likewise to inform my companion of what the host had revealed to me. With this view I turned myself towards the door and towards him, and secretly whispered to him: 'The host informed me, that this is Luther.' He, like myself, hesitated to believe it, and said: 'Perhaps he said it was Hutten, and you did not understand him rightly.' And as the knightly habit reminded me more of Hutten than of Luther as a monk, I suffered myself to be persuaded that the host had said: 'It is Hutten,' for the beginning of the two names sounds nearly alike. What I said, therefore, was spoken as if I had been conversing with Ulric von Hutten.

"Meanwhile there arrived two merchants, who also desired lodging for the night; and having freed themselves of all encumbrances, one of them placed beside him a small unbound book. Upon this Martin asked what kind of a book that was? Said he: 'It is Doctor Luther's explanation of several Gospels and Epistles, but lately printed and published; have you never seen it?' Martin answered: 'I shall likewise obtain it soon.' Then the landlord remarked, that he would entertain us, and give us something extra, saying: 'My good friends, now seat yourselves near that gentleman, at the table; I will entertain you well.' Martin hearing it, said: 'Only sit up; I will pay the reckoning.' Whilst we were thus sitting at table, Martin uttered many godly and friendly discourses, so that the merchants and we were filled with astonishment because of him.

being more attentive to his words than to all the food: he, among other things, observing with grief: How the princes and lords were at present assembled at the diet at Nuremburg on account of God's Word and the existing affairs and grievances of the German nation. Further he said: That he entertained the hope that the truth of the Gospel would produce more fruit among our children and posterity, (as not being poisoned with papal error, but being planted upon the pure truth and God's Word,) than with the parents, in whom error, having struck deep root, could not so easily be eradicated. Upon this the merchants likewise spoke their minds, and the older of them said: 'I am a simple, plain layman, and have no particular acquaintance with these affairs, but this I say: As I view the matter, Luther must either be an angel from heaven or a devil from hell. I have with me only ten florins, which I mean to expend for the purpose of having an opportunity to confess to him. For I believe that he might and could perhaps instruct my conscience.' As this was passing, the host stepped up and secretly said to us: 'Be not concerned about the reckoning, Martin has defrayed the expenses of the supper for you.' At this we were greatly rejoiced, not because of the money or of the food, but because this man had shown us hospitality. After the supper, the merchants arose and went to the stable to attend to their horses. During this time, Martin remained alone with us in the room. We embraced the opportunity to return our thanks to him for his hospitality and present, and gave him to understand, that we took him for Ulric von Hutten. But he said: 'I am not he.' The host coming in, Martin said: 'I have this night been made a nobleman; for these Swiss take me for Ulric von Hutten.' The host said: 'You are not he, but Martin Luther.' Upon this he laughed, jesting and saying: 'They take me for Hutten, you for Luther:' and having spoken this, he took a high beer-glass, and, according to the custom of the country, said: 'Swiss, take a friendly drink yet before we separate.' And as I was about to take the glass, he exchanged it, and instead of it offered me a tumbler full of mild wine, saying: 'Beer is an unusual article with you; drink the wine.' With this he arose, cast his knightly cloak over his shoulder, and, bidding us good night, offered us his hand and said: 'When you arrive at Wittenberg, greet Dr. Jerome Schurf from me.' To which we replied: 'We shall gladly and willingly do so; only how shall we name you, that he may know

the salutation to be from you?' Said he: 'Tell him only: He that is to come, greets you; and he will immediately understand you.' Thus he retired from us to his rest. After this the merchants returned to the room, and calling upon the host to set another drink upon the table for them, they conversed much about the stranger who had sat with them, wondering who he could be. But the host intimated that he took him for Luther, and the merchants soon suffered themselves to be persuaded; were sorry and grieved that they had spoken so improperly concerning him, and said, that they would in the morning arise so much the more early, and beg him not to be angry at them and not to be offended, as they had not recognised his person; this they did, and in the morning found him in the stable. But Martin answered: 'You did right in saying, at supper, that you would expend 10 florins in favour of Luther and confess to him: if now you confess to him, you will undoubtedly perceive, whether I am Martin Luther;' and without making himself further known, he soon afterwards mounted his horse and rode towards Wittenberg. On the same day we set out for Wittenberg. On the Saturday afterwards (as Martin on the Friday previous) the day following being the first Sunday in Lent, we came to Dr. Jerome Schurf's to deliver our letter. And being called into the room, behold there we found Martin, just as at Jena, and with him Philip Melanchthon, Justus Jodocus Jonas, Nicholas Amsdorf, and Doctor Augustine Schurf, relating what had occurred at Wittenberg during his absence. He saluted us and smiled, and pointing with his finger, said: 'This is Philip Melanchthon of whom I spoke to you.'"

Having arrived at Wittenberg, Luther, beginning with the Sunday Invocavit, and continuing to the Sunday Reminiscere, delivered eight sermons, by means of which he soon again restored everything to order.

In the first sermon he said, that, as we have all, each for himself, to contend against the devil and death, every one must likewise be well informed as to the principal points which concern a Christian, and prepare him for this serious contest. "That, namely, in the first place, we are all children of wrath, and that our works, thoughts and dispositions, are sinful, and avail nothing before God, so that we cannot venture to appear before God with them, let them have ever so good an appearance. That, in the *second* place, God has, wholly out of grace

and goodness, sent to us, into the world, his only-begotten Son, that we should believe and confide in him, so that whoever believes on him, should be free from sin, and a child of God." — — "In regard to these two points," continued he, "I perceive no deficiency or error among you; they have been preached to you in their purity. And it should grieve me exceedingly, if it should have been done in any other than the right way." — "In the *third* place, we must have love too, and through love do to one another as God has done to us through faith, without which love, faith is nothing, as St. Paul says to the Corinthians: *Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels*, &c. In this respect, my dear friends, you are very deficient, and I discover no love whatever in any one, and observe quite well, that you have been ungrateful to God, and that these true treasures and gifts, which God has sent during these few years, have been bestowed wholly in vain. Therefore let us be on our guard here, that *Wittenberg do not become Capernaum.* I perceive and observe that you know, indeed, how to speak of the doctrines which have been preached to you, as regards faith, for instance, and also as regards love; and it is not surprising that you should be able to discourse much about these things. Why, it is almost possible to teach a donkey to sing; should you not then also learn so much as to be able by rote to repeat the doctrines and the words? But, my dear friends, *the kingdom of God does not consist in the speech or in the words but in power and action. For God does not want hearers only and repeaters, but followers and doers, who keep the Word and exercise themselves in the faith which works by love.* For faith without love is worth nothing, yea, it is no faith, but only a semblance of faith: just as a face, seen in a mirror, is not a real face, but only the semblance of a face. In the *fourth* place, we need patience too. For he that has faith, trusts in God, and practises love towards his neighbour, exercising himself in these things daily. He cannot be without persecution: for Satan does not sleep or rest, but abundantly vexes and annoys men. But persecution works patience; and if I am not persecuted and annoyed, I have little knowledge of patience. Yet does patience work hope, and this then submissively yields, and raising itself up to God, does not make ashamed. And thus does faith, through the multitude of trials and persecutions, increase more and more, and daily become stronger. Such a heart, in which

faith thus increases, and which is blessed with such virtues, cannot rest or refrain itself, but must, in return, overflow in doing good to its neighbour, as it has received and experienced at the hand of God. Now here, my dear friends, we must not do everything which we have a right to do, but we must also yield up our right, and have respect to what is useful and advantageous to our brethren, as St. Paul did, who thus writes to the Corinthians: *All things are lawful for me; but all things are not expedient.* And afterwards, in the ninth chapter, he says: *For though I be free from all men, yet have I made myself servant unto all, that I might gain the more*, &c. In these words of Paul, it is prescribed to us how we, who have received faith from God, are to demean ourselves towards others, namely, to adapt ourselves to the weakness of our neighbour; for we are not all equally strong in the faith. Yea, one who is strong in the faith to-day, may be weak in it to-morrow; and he again who is weak to-day, may be strong to-morrow. Therefore we are to look not only at ourselves and our own faith or ability, but also at our neighbour, that we adapt ourselves to him, and do not offend him by our freedom." Further, he said, that "we ought not to forget how God, for a long time, patiently bore with our weakness in our unbelief, and that we ought to deal with our weak brethren in the same way, till they too become strong, and should not, therefore, fiercely assail them, but be gentle and friendly towards them, instructing and teaching them in all humility, and not think of entering heaven alone, but endeavour also to take our weak brethren with us. That he saw that they had greatly erred in this respect, and in part had grossly offended. That if he had been present, he would not have proceeded as far as they had done. That the cause was indeed a good one in itself, but the haste had been too precipitate. That there were brethren and sisters on the other side, too, who had yet to be won over. That faith indeed must be firm; but that love must yield and adapt itself to our neighbour. That those, accordingly, had all erred, who had aided in the abolition of the mass and consented to it; not as though this had been evil, but it had been done with a sinful disposition, without any order, to the offence of others. That they had not consulted the authorities in reference to the matter, and had not previously inquired of him concerning it. That they indeed possessed a superior knowledge of the Scriptures, but had not the

spirit; else they would not have made that a matter of necessity which is left free."— —" Therefore," said he in conclusion, "I declare to you and warn you, faithfully, if we do not earnestly pray God, and do what is right in this matter, I very much apprehend, that all the distress which has, through us, begun to come upon the papists, will overtake us. On this account, I could no longer remain absent, but felt constrained to come and declare this to you."

In the *second* sermon he again draws attention to the distinction between those things which are necessary and those which are left optional, and says, that in those things also, which *must exist*, love nevertheless acts so as not to use compulsion or to proceed with too much severity. That he agreed with them, that the private masses ought to be abolished. That no one, however, ought to be dragged away from them by main force, but that it should be left to God; and His Word alone should be permitted to exert its influence, without our additions or works. Since, as we cannot pour faith into the heart of any one, no one ought to be driven to it by main force. That if the abuse of the masses were violently abolished, many of those who would have to submit to such abolition, would not know what to think of it, whether it was right or wrong, and thus they would be perplexed and distressed in their consciences. That the hearts of men must first be secured, and that this is done by teaching God's Word, proclaiming the Gospel, and pointing out to them their errors. That where this is done, the Word would fall into the heart of one to-day, of another to-morrow, and that God thus with his Word accomplished more than all the world with all its power. That they would not succeed by means of storming and violent measures; and if they intended to continue in employing these, he would not stand by them. That love requires us to sympathize with the weak, till they, too, increase and become strong in the faith. That the apostles had done so; that he intended likewise to do so. He points them to his own example: "I opposed the pope, indulgences, and the whole multitude of the papists; but not with force, not maliciously, not violently: God's Word alone have I employed, preaching it and making it known with the pen, having no recourse whatever to any other means. Whilst I was sleeping, whilst I was drinking Wittenberg beer with my Philip and Amsdorf, or was enjoying myself, this same Word has accomplished so much,

that the papacy has become so weak and faint, as no prince or emperor has ever been able to render it. I did not do it; the Word alone, preached and published by me, has accomplished all this. If I, too, had resorted to force and violence, it would no doubt have proved the occasion of filling Germany with bloodshed. But what would it have availed? It would have been a piece of folly, bringing destruction upon body and soul."

In the *third* sermon, he speaks of those things *which are unnecessary, it being left optional* with us to observe them or not, no one having a right to prohibit them, and says, we ought to adopt this course: "If you can observe such things without a violation of conscience, then without hesitation observe them; but if you cannot, then omit them, lest you should fall into greater perplexity. Here we dare not give a general command, but every one must be left at liberty to receive or to reject. But to this point you must attend, that you be thoroughly prepared to stand before God and the world, when you are assailed on account of these things, especially in the hour of death, before Satan. Then it will not suffice to say: Such and such a man did so; my neighbour eats meat on Friday, on that account I likewise ate it; everybody does so now, therefore I do so too; I have followed the multitude; and other such quibbling and insufficient reasons; nor will it be of any avail, or stand the test, to say: Such and such a minister has preached thus; and Satan will not pay the least attention to it. Yea, if you are not more certain and better armed than with such weak weapons, you are already undone. Here every one must engage in the contest for himself, and be most strongly armed to war against Satan."

Concerning images, he says, that it is an optional matter to have them or not to have, though it would be better to have no images at all, because of the pernicious and accursed abuse and unbelief occasioned by them. That the emperor and pope both had erred in their dispute concerning images, in that they had given a command or prohibition in reference to that which God had left optional. That the iconoclasts did, indeed, appeal to Exod. xx.: "*Thou shalt not make unto thee any image or any likeness*," &c., as to clear and evident words, but that they forgot what follows: "*thou shalt not bow down to them or serve them.*" The bowing down was forbidden here, not the making; images we might have or make, without doing

wrong; but we were not to bow down to them. For the patriarchs certainly built altars to the Lord, and Moses himself erected the brazen serpent, so also there were two cherubims over the mercy-seat. "Therefore we must acknowledge and conclude, that we may make and have images, but dare not worship them. But if there were any images which we intended to worship, such images should be broken to pieces and removed; yet we are not to resort to violent or nefarious means, but are to leave the matter to be executed by the authorities. In this way King Hezekiah proceeded, when he broke to pieces the brazen serpent erected by Moses." — — — "There is need of a different mode of procedure, in tearing down images. It ought to have been made known that images are nothing, and that God is not served by the erection of images. If this course had been pursued, the images would of themselves have passed away and perished. In this way Paul proceeded at Athens, as you have already heard. He went into the temples and beheld all their idols and images, but he did not rashly fall to work and break them in pieces, or abuse them, but, standing forth in the public square, he rebuked the Athenians on account of their superstition, and their idolatrous worship. He thus preached against idolatry, but did not resort to violence and tear down the images. But you wish to fall to work, and, without any preaching, demolish the altars, cast down the images, and cause great excitement. But do not deceive yourselves; for in this way you will not remove the images; yea, you will place them only upon a firmer basis."

In the *fourth* sermon he, after making some additional remarks concerning images, says, in reference to the *eating of meat*, that we are free, and are lords over all food, but that we must make a proper use of this freedom. That, in the first place, if we could not, without injury, dispense with it, or if we were in ill health, we might eat what we saw proper, take offence who chose. That, in the second place, if any one should attempt to compel to abstain from, as the pope had attempted in his foolish and mad statutes, then we should, in no way, suffer ourselves to be driven from the freedom which God has given, but in defiance of men, do directly the opposite. That nevertheless, in the third place, towards such as are weak in the faith, and suffer themselves to be instructed, but are perplexed in consequence of their ignorance, we must act

differently, have patience with them, and refrain from exercising our freedom, since it occasions us no injury or danger but is much rather advantageous, and promotive of the good of our neighbour.

In the *fifth* sermon he speaks of the *highly revered sacrament*, and says that he had often preached against the foolish statutes of the pope in reference to this sacramant, and had shown that a layman does not commit sin, even if he does touch the body of Christ and the cup with uncovered hands. That they ought to have felt grateful to God for such knowledge; but that now they acted as foolishly as the pope, inasmuch as they had declared it necessary to receive the sacrament with the hands, and yet wished to be good Christians. That they had grossly offended in this respect, and had dealt far too presumptuously with this precious treasure, so that it would not be surprising if God had instantly visited his punishment upon them. That if they would not yield in this matter it would not require any emperor or king to chase him away; he would soon depart of himself. That none of his enemies, though they had greatly maligned him, had done him so much injury as they themselves, his friends, had done him, by this single movement. If by this you wish to show yourselves good Christians, and boast of it that you receive the sacrament, the body of Christ, with your hands, then the Jews, Herod and Pilate would have been the best Christians; for truly, I conceive, they did lay their hands on the body of Christ. No, my dear friends, this is not the way to proceed. *The kingdom of God does not consist in outward things, which can be touched and felt, but in faith and power.* That though they had not committed sin in this, they had not done a good work by it, as the whole world took offence at this matter. That we ought to be very careful and not introduce any innovations in opposition to established, praiseworthy customs, unless the Gospel had, previously, been thoroughly taught and explained, as also understood and believed.

Concerning *both kinds of the highly revered sacrament* he says, that it was indeed necessary to receive this sacrament under both kinds, according to the institution of Christ, but that we should not so hastily proceed to compulsion and make it a general rule, till every one had first been well instructed, since, if this were not done, it would become an outward, hypocritical work, which was the very thing Satan desired.

In the *sixth* sermon Luther shows *who are prepared for the reception of the sacrament*, and here distinguishes between the outward reception, which is accomplished with the mouth, and does not tend to make a man a Christian, and the inward reception by means of faith. But that, as all men have not faith, no general rule should be established, as had been done by the pope, in that he had made it obligatory upon all Christians once a year, at the time of Easter, to commune. "For such unspeakably rich treasures with which God has blessed us cannot be common to every one, but only to those who meet with trials, persecutions and adversities, whether bodily or spiritual, outward or inward, whether proceeding from men or from Satan. Thus, for instance, when Satan causes thy heart to become weak, timid and dispirited, so that thou art in doubt as to how thou standest with God, Satan holding up to thee thy sins and causing thee to tremble and to despair; then look to it, that thou become a participant in this precious and noble treasure, or rather be certain that thou already possessest it. For it is in such a terrified, trembling heart, that God desires to dwell and to abide, as Isaiah says, and also David in the Psalms. For who desires protection, defence, and support, but he who is afflicted and meets with opposition? He, accordingly, who does not find his sins harassing him and Satan assailing him, is not yet prepared for this food, for this food demands a hungering, longing soul, and delights in being communicated to such hungering soul, which daily contends against sin, desiring to be delivered from it. But let him who does not yet feel himself in this condition, for a time refrain from this sacrament. For this food does not wish a satisfied, full heart, and if it enters it, it proves an injury to it. If we, accordingly, experienced such urging of conscience and such timidity, we surely would approach in all humility and reverence, and not be so imprudent as to rush up like swine."

In the *seventh* sermon he speaks of the fruit of the sacrament, which is love, namely, that we act towards our neighbour as God has acted towards us, this being the characteristic by which Christians are known, and he censures those at Wittenberg for their deficiency in this respect.

In the *eighth* sermon, finally, he treats of *confession*, and here distinguishes, "firstly, a confession founded on scriptural authority. Thus when any one had fallen into open sin, so that men knew of it, he was also publicly accused before the

congregation. If he desisted from his sin, they prayed for him before God and assisted in reconciling him. But if he would not desist and refused to hear the congregation, he was excommunicated, being excluded and separated from the assembly, and no one was permitted to have any dealings whatever with him. Of this confession we have not the shadow remaining in the Church. If any one could again restore this confession, he would perform a precious and good work." . . . "Secondly, there is a confession in which we lament our sins before God alone, and confess to God himself, acknowledging unto Him all our faults. And the observance of this confession is highly necessary for us, so much so that we are to practise it every hour and every moment, it being, moreover, also enjoined upon us." . . . "Thirdly, there is a confession in which *one man confesses to another man*, taking him apart by himself, and relating to him his trials and difficulties, in order to hear from him some word of consolation with which to quiet his conscience." That the pope had enjoined this confession and made of it a matter of necessity, this he, Luther, had rejected; but yet he would not suffer any one to take from him private confession, and would not exchange it for all the treasures of the world, knowing what strength and comfort it had afforded him. "I know Satan well," says he in conclusion, "if you also had known him as well as I do, you would not have made so light of private confession. Let this suffice now, and let us pray God for his grace that we may pursue the right course and not be seduced from it."

Both the learned and the unlearned at Wittenberg—as Dr. Jerome Schurf informed the elector—were full of joy and rejoicing at Dr. Martin's arrival and sermons, "for through them," so he wrote, "he again, daily, by the help of God, is leading us poor seduced and perplexed people back to the way of truth, by incontrovertibly setting forth the error into which we have so sadly been led by intruding preachers, so that it is manifest and plain, that the Spirit of God is in him, and works through him. And I doubt not at all, but that he has come to Wittenberg at this time through the special providence of God. Gabriel has acknowledged, too, that he has erred and proceeded too far in these things. Karlstadt is not well satisfied; but I trust to God, that he will not be able to accomplish or to do anything."

Even one of the adherents of Marcus Stübner, being ques-

tioned whether he did not consider Luther an able teacher, replied: "Yea, more, it seems to me as if I had heard the voice, not of a man, but of an angel." Marcus himself was not present at that time, but he soon returned to Wittenberg to his adherents, and these again clung around him, confirming one another in their preconceived opinions, and by their persuasions encouraging Marcus to maintain and to defend them. This was done most of all and most vehemently by Cellarius. It was accordingly deemed expedient that they should meet Luther and state to him the substance of their doctrines. The latter consented to this only with reluctance; finally, however, he fixed a day and an hour for Marcus to come and meet him. He had no one to be present at the interview but Philip Melanchthon, and Marcus brought with him Cellarius and one more of his adherents. Luther quietly listened to Marcus giving a statement of his doctrines, and when the latter had concluded, he simply, because he did not deem it proper to dispute against things so absurd and wretched, remarked: "That they should look well to what they were undertaking. That nothing of all they had advanced was based upon the Holy Scriptures; that it was nothing but the conceit of impertinent minds, or perhaps even the mad and pernicious inspirations of a false spirit." Cellarius on hearing this stamped upon the floor with his feet, struck his hands upon the table, and raving in voice and gesture, exclaimed with indignation, how Luther could venture to suspect a man of God of such things. But Marcus, with somewhat more moderation. said: "Now, Luther, in order that thou mayest know that I have the Spirit of God, I will inform thee as to what, at this moment, is passing in thy heart, and that is, that thou art beginning to consider this my doctrine to be true." Luther having, as he himself afterwards stated, upon close reflection, fully comprehended this declaration, replied: "The Lord rebuke thee, Satan!" and thought that he ought not to discourse much more with them, but on their departing amidst boasts and threats, and promising all manner of marvellous things with which they meant to sustain their cause, he dismissed them with the words: "That God whom I worship and serve, will well know how to restrain your gods, that nothing of all that will happen." That same day they left town, and from Kemberg sent to Luther a letter full of reproaches and imprecations.

The elector, who was apprehensive that the presence of

Luther at Wittenberg might prove greatly prejudicial both to Luther himself and to others, caused Dr. Schurf to arrange it with him, that he would direct a letter to him, the elector, and in it state from what cause and consideration he had again betaken himself to Wittenberg, and that this had been done without his permission, that he should, moreover, indicate his willingness to abide by the decisions of justice, and declare his intention of not proving prejudicial to the interests of any one. This letter was to be drawn up in such a way as to permit the elector to put it into the hands of some of his lords and friends in order to maintain a good understanding.

Upon this, Luther, under date of the 7th March, wrote to the elector: That he had not been influenced by any contempt for the authority of his imperial majesty, or of the elector, or of any other superior, for that, although human governments were not always to be obeyed, especially not if they required anything in opposition to the commandments of God, they were yet never to be despised. But that the Church at Wittenberg had, in the first place, unanimously, and with great and earnest entreaty, given him a written call, and since the business had been begun by him and he was constrained to acknowledge himself the submissive servant of that Church, he had not at all been at liberty to refuse. That Satan had, in the second place, during his absence, entered his fold at Wittenberg and occasioned a number of disturbances, which he had not been able to counteract by means of any writing, they demanding his personal presence, living mouth and ears. That he had therefore been constrained to disregard the favour and displeasure, not only of the elector, but likewise the wrath and pleasure of the whole world. That they were his fold, committed to his care by God, his children in Christ. That here there had been no room for disputation as to whether he was to come or not. That it was his duty even to suffer death for them. That he, in the third place, was very apprehensive of a great insurrection in Germany, with which God would punish the German nation. That the common people received the Gospel carnally, saw that it was true, and yet would not make the right use of it; and that those who ought to suppress such insurrection, were beginning, by main force, to extinguish the light, and did not see that in this way they were only exasperating men and compelling them to rebel. Therefore the elector was requested, graciously to excuse his returning to

Wittenberg without his knowledge and consent: that the elector was lord only over property and body, but Christ was Lord likewise of the soul, and that he durst not forsake those to whom He had sent him. That he trusted his Lord Christ had power over his enemies, and would be able, without fail, to protect him against them if He saw proper; but if He did not see proper, then might His good will be done.

The elector was satisfied with the general tenor of this letter, only causing the words: "It is far otherwise determined in heaven than at Nüremberg (by the diet)," and several other expressions which seemed too harsh to him, to be moderated and changed by Spalatin, and Luther now wrote according to the copy set him, although he discovered in it many traces of the unbelieving fear of the elector.

Authorities.—Melanchth. Epp. in the Corpus Reform., vol. 1, No. 112, 115, 133. Let. No. 326, 321, 337, 342. The thirty-sixth Psalm of David, for the instruction and comfort of Christians against the ravings of wicked and malicious hypocrites. Martin Luther, 1521, Works, vol. 6, p. 94. Math. 4 Pred. comp., the document in Strobel's Miscellan., 5 Sammlung, p. 124. Let. No. 360, 351, 355. Works, vol. 18, p. 239. Seckend., p. 215 sqq. Works, vol. 18, p. 249. Mel. Epp. in the Corp. Ref., vol. 1, No. 170, 171, 182. Spalatin in the Historia Frid. Elect., in Seckend., p. 193. Corp. Ref., vol. 1, p. 535 sqq. Let. No. 358, 360, 356. Joachim Camerarii Narrat. de Phil. Melanchthon's Ortu, &c. p. 50, cf. Mel. Epp., No. 192. Let. 361. Corpus Ref., vol. 1, p. 559 sqq. Let. No. 362. Andreæ Poppii Historia der Stadt Eisenach, p. 165, according to a MS. The narration of Kessler first in the Helvet. Almanach of 1808, p. 119. The eight sermons, Works, vol. 18, p. 250 sq. The correspondence between the elector, Schurf and Luther, Works, vol. 18, p. 274 sq., comp. Let., No. 363–66.

Notes.—1.) Most probably the writing: "A faithful warning to all Christians to beware of insurrection and rebellion," of Jan. 19th, 1522, Works, vol. 18, p. 288. Previously already he had disapproved of a tumult which had arisen among the students at Erfurt. Let. No. 319 and 320.

2.) The author has substituted this general statement of the disturbances as found in the Works, for a detailed delineation previously drawn up by himself, because he felt assured that the general outlines here given suffice for the present purpose, and because, moreover, it is almost impossible without artificial combinations and additions, to produce a connected and distinct picture from the separate documents and in their own words. The friends of special history we direct it particular to the Corpus Reformatorum, vol. 1, in which from pages 459–563, there are found, besides those already known, many documents, which have thus far never been printed. See likewise the fragment, "News from Wittenberg," &c., in Strobel's Miscellaneen, 5 Sammlung, p. 119 sq.

3.) It is not certain whether, and when this letter, which is extant only as fragment, (Let. No. 356, Works, vol. 18,) was despatched; but be this as it may, its date falls either in January or February of the year 1522.

4.) The elector had, with just as much expense as trouble, caused to be collected for the cathedral or church of All Saints, founded by him, so large a number of relics from all parts of Europe, that it is said, there was to be found no saint in all the calendars concerning whom some memento had not been secured. See the description of this Church, for instance, by Matth. Faber, 1730, p. 282, sqq.

5.) Duke George despatched many letters to the elector concerning the innovations at Wittenberg, and called upon him to employ active measures against them.

CHAPTER III.

LABOURS AND CONTESTS IN THE YEAR 1522.

"Necessity has compelled me," Luther wrote, after his return from the Wartburg, under date of the 18th March, to Nich. Jerbelius, "to expose myself to the full rage of the emperor and of the pope, in order, if possible, to expel the wolf from my fold. And thus I am without any protection but that of Heaven, being surrounded by foes who are authorized by men to put me to death at any moment. But I comfort myself with the thought that Christ is Lord over all, and that the Father has put all things under his feet, doubtless also the wrath of the emperor and all spirits not belonging to the sheep, which the Father has subjected to the Son. If He now wishes to have me put to death, be it so in His name; but if He does not wish it, who will put me to death? Do thou and those with thee only have care, that you may help the Gospel with your prayers; for I perceive that Satan is endeavouring, not only to extinguish the light of the Gospel, but also to occasion great bloodshed in Germany." Luther feared this, because there were wanting those who were willing to oppose themselves as a wall for the house of Israel against the Lord, and because of the ingratitude for the Gospel, it being possessed more in word than in power. He complained that many monks were leaving the cloisters for no other reason than that which had caused them to enter them, namely, for the sake of good living and carnal freedom, and he feared that such men would bring great reproach upon God's Word. Finally, he

was apprehensive, too, for the life of the elector, observing: "If we do not, by means of our prayers, keep him back, I fear he will not be with us much longer."

As to *Karlstadt* and *Gabriel Didymus*, who had occasioned the Wittenberg disturbances, it must be remarked that the latter had retraced his steps and become a different man, concerning Karlstadt, however, it was not known what he would do. He felt himself aggrieved that Luther had set aside his regulations, though the latter had not rejected his doctrines, having only declared his dissatisfaction that Karlstadt had busied himself wholly with ceremonies and outward things, and on account of these had neglected the true Christian doctrine concerning faith and love. Luther was now only concerned that they might imitate the Wittenberg tumult at Erfurt, in the removal of the images, the abolition of the mass, of one kind in the sacrament, and all the other matters. He accordingly repeatedly wrote to John Lange, and it being especially the invocation of the saints about which they were at variance at Erfurt, he drew up the writing: "*Concerning the Saints.* An epistle or instruction to the Church at Erfurt, assembled in God." In it he exhorts the ministers to avoid the questions concerning the saints in heaven and concerning the dead, and to draw the people off from them, because there would be no end to questions here. That it was the object of Satan to detain them with that which is unnecessary, in order thus to hinder that which is necessary. That he did no sin who did not invoke the saints, but relied firmly upon the only Mediator, Jesus Christ, yea, that such a one was perfectly right and secure. That the others, however, should not be despised in their weakness. "Let them call upon the name of the saints if they will do so, only let them know and be on their guard that they do not put their confidence and trust in any saint but alone in Christ. For confidence is the highest honour which is due to God alone, who is the truth himself." He in particular warns them against insurrection, saying: "There are many inconsiderate men who imagine themselves able to help the cause of the Gospel by means of the sword and the arm of flesh, thinking to have attained their object if they weaken or injure priests and monks. But they do not know that our warfare is not against flesh and blood, but against the wicked spirits of the air. (2 Cor. x. 3, 4.) Satan is a spirit, having neither flesh nor bone, wherefore iron and an arm of

flesh will accomplish nothing. The hearts of men must first be torn from his grasp by means of the Word of truth; that is our sword and might which no one can resist: with it the friends of Christ divide Behemoth and cut him asunder. Behold wherewith I defeated the papacy and the spiritual power, which before was a terror to all the world, when all men acknowledged: Who can prevail against the beast? For it had power to make war even upon the saints, and to overcome them. (Rev. xiii. 4, 7.) Yet I never raised a finger against it, and Christ has destroyed it with the sword of his mouth." (2 Thess. ii. 8.) Finally, he adds: "I fear, too, that much of all the evil is owing to ourselves, because we preach a great deal of our inability to do anything without the grace of God, and yet attempt to begin and to accomplish all manner of things of ourselves, without first, in humble prayer, beseeching God that he would begin and accomplish them through His Spirit. Thus it happens then, that we journey to Egypt, and begin the work in obedience to our own spirit, never first asking at His mouth concerning it. Therefore, my dear friends, let us act as we teach, committing all things to God, and without ceasing praying Him to direct us, to counsel and to help us, both in great and small matters, and not to permit us to follow our own opinion and reason in beginning anything."

After Easter, Luther undertook a journey to *Zwickau*, for the purpose of finally calming the tumults occasioned by Thomas Münzer and his adherents. Having, on his way, preached at Borna and Altenburg, he arrived at his destination on the 28th April, taking up his abode with the Mayor, Hermann Mühlpfort. He preached four times during his stay, at St. Mary's Church, at the castle and from the town-hall. It is said that twenty-five thousand men had collected from Schneeberg, Annaberg, and the neighbouring places,[1] for the purpose of seeing and hearing him. Being clad in secular garments and escorted by the town-judge of Zwickau, he returned to Borna on the 3d May, and having preached there twice more, continued his journey to Eilenburg.

For the same purpose, Luther, in October of this year, undertook a journey to *Erfurt*, being accompanied by Melanchthon, Jacob Propst, formerly prior at Antwerp, Magister John Agricola, (commonly called Magister Eisleben,) and Magister Wolfgang Stein, court-preacher to Duke John of Saxony, who had just then, however, received a call to St. Michael's Church,

at Erfurt. At Weimar, Luther delivered a sermon concerning faith and good works, and the day after they proceeded to Erfurt. A short distance from the city Luther alighted from his carriage, in order to avoid the throng of those who wished to see and welcome him. They took up their abode at the parsonage of St. Michael's, where, in the evening, a great number of people pressed in to greet them. The next morning, Luther, in order to cause the less excitement, preached in the small Church of St. Michael's, explaining the Gospel concerning the wise and foolish virgins. On the following day he preached twice more, and the afternoon sermon being concluded they returned to Weimar, where there was less bustle and where they felt more at home. During their stay there Luther preached daily; one sermon, which also was printed, being concerning the spiritual and temporal government.

Among the writings which Luther wrote at this time must be mentioned, first of all, the epistle to the knight, *Hartmuth von Kronberg*,[2] which was published under the title: "*A missive consolatory to all those that suffer persecution on account of God's Word, written to his honour, Hartmuth von Kronberg, by Dr. Martin Luther.*" Luther had read two writings of the knight, one addressed to the emperor, the other to the mendicant orders, in which latter the knight exhorted them earnestly to consider the unspeakable grace of God, who at this time had made known the pure and unadulterated doctrines of the Gospel, thus pointing out the true way, the heavenly truth, and the transcendent, beautiful, heavenly light, and the heavenly, living bread, Christ Jesus. In connection with this he had said: "Dear brethren, the doctrines which Luther preaches are not his doctrines, but flow from the fountain, Christ Jesus. The man that follows these heavenly doctrines does not follow Luther, but Christ. We believe Luther no further than in so far as we find him sustained by the holy Gospel." . . . "Therefore I exhort you, out of Christian, brotherly fidelity and love, that you do not despise this most exalted blessing, from which may we also be preserved, that the same charges may not be preferred against you and us, which were brought against Capernaum and other cities to whom the exalted grace of God appeared, but who wickedly abused it; that we may not be numbered among those unhappy men who take offence at Christ."

"It was with great joy," Luther wrote, "that he had heard

of and read these writings, and had thanked God for the favour and the gift granted to him, the knight, for his knowledge of Christian truth, as well as for his delight and active love for the same. On this account I could not omit, in the spirit, to pay you a visit with this writing, and to make known to you my joy. For this I can, in all truth, say, that it does not grieve me so much to be condemned and persecuted by the pope and the whole world, as it strengthens and rejoices me to hear that one man receives and values the precious truth. But how much more does it comfort me to have experienced and daily to experience, that it is so cordially acknowledged and so freely confessed by you and others of your station, by which God graciously comforts me, that my faith may become the stronger, and I may not have all tribulation, He permitting me to see that His Word does not go forth in vain, as he says through Isaiah, lv. 11; again, that all the world opposes it, as he likewise says, Matt. xxiv. 9." That where the precious Word is, it naturally produces the insatiable hunger and unquenchable thirst which prevent us from being satisfied, though many thousand men should believe in it, and cause us to wish that no one might be destitute of it. But that this thirst is quenched with gall and vinegar, as happened to Christ on the cross. "Behold," he continued, "such thirst for the salvation of your brethren you also have received now, as a sure sign of a truly good faith. What remains now, but that you must expect the gall and the vinegar, that is, calumny, reproach and persecution, on account of your earnest discourse? It cannot be otherwise, but that where Christ is there also Judas must be, and Pilate, Herod, Caiaphas and Annas with him, as well as the cross; or it is not the true Christ. Therefore, also, we are not concerned because of our tribulation, but because of the wretchedness of the persecutors; inasmuch as we are well supplied, and are certain that they cannot do us any harm, but must only, the more they rave, destroy themselves and promote our interests."

Having then spoken of his enemies, especially of one of them, as also of the recent and severer trial of his faith, which Satan had occasioned him by playing his successful game at Wittenberg, and causing the adversaries to exult, to the reproach of the Gospel, he says: "I know not but this has happened as a punishment to several of my noblest patrons and myself. To my patrons, because, though they believe that

Christ has arisen, they nevertheless, with Magdalene, search for Him in the garden, and He has not yet ascended up to the Father for them. (John xx. 17.) But to me, because at Worms I, in obedience to my good friends, that I might not seem too obstinate, subdued my spirit, and did not more firmly and unyieldingly present my confession to the tyrants." He immediately adds, however: "But be this as it may, let it have been wrong or right, we will nevertheless be undaunted and undismayed; for as we place no confidence in our good deeds, so we also do not despair in our sins. But we praise our God that our faith is above good deeds and sin. For the Father of mercy has granted us to believe, not in a wooden, but a living Christ, who is a Lord over sin and innocence, and is able to raise us up and to sustain us, though we should every hour fall into many thousand sins; of this I have no doubt. And if Satan should attempt even greater and worse things, he shall yet not weary us till he begins such a game by which he draws Christ down from the right hand of God. As long as Christ remains seated above, we also intend to remain triumphant lords over sin, death, devil and everything else, and nothing shall prevent us. We know that He is powerful and faithful enough, who has raised Him from the dead (Acts v. 30, 31,) and placed Him at His right hand to be a lord over all things, without doubt, also, over sin, death, devil and hell, how much more then over our blustering and menacing papists. Of this confidence they shall not deprive us; but as long as confidence remains we shall joyfully despise them, and see if they will take from us this Christ as easily as they imagine, and place another in his stead of whom the Father knows nothing. Therefore, I trust, that this Christ will not only again regulate for us this, and any other even worse affair which might arise after this, but will also, according to the exceeding richness of His wisdom and goodness, turn it to our great advantage, especially if you also aid with your prayer and confidence. Our cause has not yet sunk as low as it sunk in the times of Christ, when even Peter himself denied Him, all the disciples forsook Him, and Judas betrayed Him and took Him prisoner. And even if it does sink as low it shall yet not perish, and our Christ shall not see corruption. But I know and am certain, that this and whatever else may happen, is permitted, that there may be a general trial and proof, by which the strong may be approved, the weak strengthened, the approved

praised, the unbelieving revealed, and the enemy and those not worthy that they should see it and consider it to be God's Word, offended and hardened, as they have deserved."

Further he says, that the sin committed at Worms was a sin of the whole German nation, because it had been committed by its rulers, and that this made it so great, that God's Word had been wholly set aside and such an offence had been occasioned, "that no one considered it to be God's Word, and thus all were justly blinded to blaspheme and persecute it as the doctrine of devils, having before, from mere wickedness, denied and condemned it." . . . "Lord, our heavenly Father, permit us to fall into all sin, if we must sin; but do Thou preserve us from being hardened, and keep us to Him and in Him, whom Thou hast made Lord over sin and innocence, that we may not deny Him or lose sight of Him; then truly, sin, death and hell combined shall not harm us. Yea, what should harm us? Yet are we, with our whole hearts, to praise God for still permitting us to see that He does not intend yet to remove His holy Word, He having much rather given you and others a humble disposition and love for it. For that is an evidence that they do not believe on account of men, but on account of the Word itself. There are many who believe on my account; but those alone are the upright, who abide in it, even though they should hear that I myself—from which may God preserve me—denied and fell off. Such are not perplexed, let them hear as much evil and as many shocking and disgraceful things concerning me and our people as they may. For they do not believe in Luther but in Christ himself. The Word possesses them and they possess the Word: Luther signifies nothing to them, be he a knave or a saint. God can speak through Balaam as well as through Isaiah, through Caiaphas as well as through Peter, yea, even through an ass. With their views mine coincide. For neither do I myself know Luther, nor do I wish to know him; neither do I preach anything concerning him, but concerning Christ. Let the devil come and take him, if he can; but let him leave Christ undisturbed, and we shall abide too. Therefore our care is to be that we be thankful to God, and in future act so, that our faith may consist not in words but in power. It does not suffice that we can speak and write well concerning it, but life and deed must testify for the truth, in that we show our love and benevolence towards friend and foe. Therefore we are to pray, in the first

place, that God would more and more strengthen us and our people, and daily cause his dear child Jesus to increase in our hearts, that we may, with all ardour and joyfulness, praise and confess Him before the hardened and blind guides of this crooked and perverse sect of the papists; then aid in bearing such guilt of the universal German nation, and pray God not to regard the iniquity of the wicked multitude, nor to visit upon the wretched souls their wickedness, and not again to withdraw the wholesome Word so long suppressed, nor to permit Anti-Christ again to establish himself, but to grant us, at least during our times, as king Hezekiah prayed, peace and truth. Truly, there is need of such prayer and care. Behold," says he in conclusion, "how I have overflowed in words. This is the result of faith in Christ, which has been thus filled with joy on account of your faith and joyful confession. John must thus leap in his mother's womb when Christ comes to him, as you perceive he has come to me through your writing. Would to God, that He might also come to you through this my writing, and cause not only your John, but also Elizabeth and the whole house to rejoice and to be full of the Spirit, remaining not only three months but forever. God, the Father of all mercy grant this. Amen."

In consequence of this writing Luther became involved in a dispute with *Duke George, of Saxony*, who applied the remarks in which Luther observed concerning his enemies: "One, in particular, is that empty bubble N., which defies heaven with his inflated paunch, having renounced the Gospel, he conceives himself able also to devour Christ, as a wolf does a gnat, imagining that he has already snapped no inconsiderable notch into his left spur, raging and raving meanwhile more furiously than all the rest. I have, with all my heart, prayed for him," &c., to himself, and in a letter under date of the 28th December, 1522, demanded of Luther whether he had published the communication to Hartmuth von Kronberg, in which he, the Duke, was so insultingly assailed, and what construction he wished to have put upon it. Luther replied, under date of the 3d January, 1523, that he felt quite indifferent what construction was put upon it. since he was prepared to answer for himself in regard to all he either secretly or openly did or spoke against the duke—whom he calls "Your princely inclemency." That he rather had cause to complain of the duke, but was silent, since Christ commanded him to be well-

disposed even towards his enemies. That he had hitherto observed this and would also observe it in future in his humble prayer, offering to serve the duke without sinister expectations. That if this were despised, he would not, on that account, suffer an empty bubble to frighten him to death. Duke George, upon this, directed his complaints to the elector, opening a lengthy correspondence with him on the subject.

A controversy of a sharper kind Luther had with king *Henry the VIII., of England*, who had written a book against Luther's treatise, *De Captivitate Babylonica*, (p. 172,) which being translated into German, was published at Leipzig, in the year 1522, under the title: "Defence and maintenance of the seven sacraments against Martin Luther." In the preface to the reader he says: That in former times, when no one had assailed the Church, there was no need of any one to defend it. But that since now an enemy had arisen, worse than any before him, who, at the instigation of the devil, pretended Christian love, whilst he, all the while, in his rage and hatred, was pouring out the poison of asps against the Church; it was highly necessary for every servant of Christ, no matter of what age, sex, or station he might be, to arise against this common foe of the Christian faith. Of Luther he says: "Oh, what an instigator of hateful pride, reproach and division in Christendem is this! What a fiendish, hellish wolf is he, seeking ways and means to destroy the sheep of Christ! What a veritable member of Satan is he, attempting to tear the believing members of Christ from their head! How corrupt is his soul, how accursed his undertaking, who not only revives the long-buried schisms, but adds new ones to the former, and again brings up to the light, like the infernal dog Cerberus, the heresies which ought to be consigned to eternal darkness, having so exalted an opinion of himself that he rejects all the Fathers, and wishes the whole Church to be governed, (or rather seduced,) solely according to his directions."

In opposition to this writing, Luther wrote, in Latin and German, "*Answer to King Henry VIII. of England's book against his tract on the Babylonian captivity.*" In the introduction he ridicules the idea, that, as it was said, the king should, as a reward, have received from Rome the title of *Defensor ecclesiæ*, or protector of the Church, and that indulgences were distributed to those who read his book. He then comes to speak of the report, that, in the estimation of many,

King Henry did not write the book himself. "That is matter of indifference to me," said he, "whether King Henry, or Conrad, or the devil himself wrote it. He that speaks falsely, speaks falsehood; therefore I do not fear him. I conceive that King Henry gave a yard or two of coarse cloth towards it, and that venomous knave and calumniator who wrote against Erasmus, or some one like him, cut out the cap and lined it. But I shall take it off for them and attach bells to it, if God permit." He now, in the first place, distinguishes two kinds of subjects as having been treated of by him in his writings: the one kind being faith, love, good works, hope, tribulation and the cross, death, baptism, repentance, the sacrament of the altar, the law of God, sin, the grace of God, free will, Christ, God, the final judgment, heaven and hell, the Christian Church, excommunication and the like; that these are the proper subjects which a Christian must know, and in which our salvation lies. "And in these subjects," says he, "as I have taught them, I shall always abide and say: Whoever teaches differently on these points than I have taught, or who condemns me in these things, he condemns God, and must remain a child of hell; for I know that these doctrines are not my doctrines. Defiance to all devils and men who attempt to subvert them!" That on these subjects he had always been of the same opinion. But that the other subjects, as the papacy, the decrees of the councils, the teachers, indulgences, purgatory, the mass, universities, spiritual vows, bishops of the present time, statutes of men, the worshipping of the saints, new sacraments and the like, were extraneous from the Scriptures, being like weeds on the field of Christianity, sown by Satan and his idol at Rome. That against these he had at first written with great moderation, having been willing to retain the papacy; that he had been anxious to have the Scriptures in their purity and certainty, but had not yet known that these things were opposed to the Scriptures. But that when the papists had despised his respect, and had endeavoured to put their idol in God's stead, he had perceived more and more of their falsehoods. "Thus it has happened," says he, "that I have been constrained to oppose and revoke my first books through the last, in such things which are extraneous from the Scriptures. I having honoured the papacy too much; and those books I still revoke. And if the King of England and all papists should be displeased at it, I say, that I regret ever having thought or

written well of the pope or the whole body of the clergy, as it now is." . . . "Further I say, I regret having so far humbled myself at Worms before the emperor, as to be willing to admit judges over my doctrines, and to hear of what error they could convict me. For I ought not to have shown such foolish humility, because I was sure of being right, and it did not, in the end, accomplish any good with the tyrants. We must be so sure of our cause, that though the whole world opposed it, every one nevertheless would remain firm."

Upon this he says, that all the arguments of the king against him might be summed up under these three heads: Firstly, that the king accused him of having written against himself, and that his doctrine could not be true because it did not agree with itself; secondly, that he had written against the pope from hatred and envy, that he was mordacious and censorious and self-conceited, and wished to be alone wise, and the like; thirdly, that the king quoted only one passage from the Scriptures in his whole book, and this falsely; his whole argumentation consisting in this: I believe, that so it is right. Again, so long has it been observed. Again, so large a number of people cannot err. Again, several holy Fathers said this and that. Having then refuted these arguments, he reviews the separate points which the king had attempted to sustain against him, namely, indulgences, the papacy, both kinds, transubstantiation, and the mass as a sacrifice. The other six sacraments he defers, "for the translation of the Bible into German, besides other matters, claim my attention, so that I cannot now further dabble in Henry's filth. I shall, however, if God permit, take time and fully answer that venomous and mendacious blasphemer, King Henry, and so depict him that he shall be convinced of Luther's having answered him, and cause him to discover whether I proceed without Scripture and faith. I conceive, however, that he undertook the composition of this book from a devotion which proceeds from his evil conscience; for he well knows with what conscience he possesses the kingdom of England, after the royal race has been murdered and the royal blood been extirpated. He fears for himself, lest that blood might be revenged upon him. Therefore he hopes by attaching himself to the pope and flattering him, to secure himself upon his throne. In this way he formerly attached himself to the emperor, and subsequently to the King of France; for thus it is customary for tyrannical and

evil consciences to act. They match well together, the pope and Henry of England. The former, I conceive, has inherited his papacy with just as good a conscience as the latter his kingdom. Therefore they flatter one another, as mules are wont to rub one another when they are together. You papists shall not accomplish," he says, finally, "what you have in contemplation. do what you may. To this Gospel, which I. Martin Luther have preached, popes. bishops. priests, monks, kings, princes, devils, death, sin and everything that is not of Christ and in Christ, shall yield and succumb, and nothing shall prevent it."

To a friend, who, to meet the objections of his adversaries, had desired of him the reason why he had replied to the King of England with so much severity, Luther wrote: That he had done so from a considerate spirit, and that he did not intend to exercise any gentleness towards those mendacious blasphemers in future; he appealed to the example of Christ, of Peter and Paul, and to the fact, that his former humble submission had accomplished no good; that none who cordially received his doctrines would take offence at his severity; but that it must be so, few only would remain firmly attached to the Gospel. "In one word," says he in conclusion, "it shall, at its proper time appear, why I am severe. Whoever will not believe that it proceeds from a good heart and is right, may have his thoughts, he will some time have to acknowledge it. My most gracious lord indeed likewise, and many other friends besides, have, by their communications admonished me; but my answer invariably has been, that I will not and shall not desist from it. My cause is not an indifferent cause which can yield and turn to the right and the left, as I have foolishly done heretofore. Herewith I commend you to God."

About this time Luther also had negotiations with the Pikards, or *Bohemian Brethren*, who had sent messengers to him to question him concerning their faith; he found everything to be pretty sound in their doctrines, only that they employed obscure and strange expressions. instead of the language of the Scriptures. He was likewise dissatisfied that they regarded the baptism of infants as productive of no fruit. and yet baptized them, yea, even rebaptized those who passed over to them, and that they received seven sacraments. The celibacy of the priests, as observed among them, pleased him, because they did not demand it as something necessary, but

left it optional. Concerning whether they taught the true doctrine in reference to faith and works, he was not yet satisfied, but he very much doubted it. He complained, that, in fact, nowhere in the world was the Gospel to be found in all its purity.

But because a report was circulated, that some among the Bohemians were labouring once more to bring them under the power of the papal see, as they would otherwise never have peace, Luther (under date of the 10th July, 1522,) wrote to the Bohemian estates: That formerly he had, indeed, been very unfavourably disposed towards the Bohemians before he had known that the pope was the true Anti-Christ; but that now he had so praised their disobedience towards the papists, that he was accused of being a native Bohemian or of intending to flee to the Bohemians. That he hoped, both Germans and Bohemians would yet, through the Divine Word, come to be of one mind and name, if they only patiently waited for the mercy of God and meanwhile bore with one another, if one or the other party was deficient in any respect. That they should not be perplexed if sects and divisions arose among them, since this would have to be so, according to 1 Cor. xi.; and that they would not, by subjection to the papal see, prevent their being further divided into sects, since there was nothing but division and sects wherever the pope's tyranny prevailed; that the true preaching of the Gospel alone makes a united people. "But if," says he in conclusion, "it should be impossible to prevent the people from rendering such assent to the Roman see, I yet pray your highnesses, reverences and honours, to grant me this request, that you firmly oppose the pernicious and blasphemous see at Rome, by the retention of both kinds in the holy sacrament, and also by your not condemning the innocent blood of your blessed John Huss and Jerome of Prague and their doctrines; for these two articles the blasphemous see, the harlot, which is intoxicated with the blood of the saints, will vigorously demand of you and require you to observe. It will not and cannot receive you without diminishing its tyrannical power, unless you abjure the above mentioned two articles. But all those that do abjure them shall know, through my testimony before God and the world, that they abjure the Lord Christ, and are children of perdition and eternal damnation. Verily, I and our people shall defend John Huss, the holy mar-

tyr of Christ, and though all Bohemia, which may God prevent, should deny his doctrines, he shall yet be ours."

Luther also dedicated the Latin edition of his writing against the King of England to *Sebastian Schlick*, count of Passun and lord of Elnbogen, because the king had said in his writing that Luther intended, in case the Germans should discover in him the wolf and expel him from their country, to flee into the country of the Bohemians, whose errors he had long since embraced. "Yes," said Luther in the dedication, "but that he meditated a different flight to the Bohemians from that which the papistical soothsayers were prophesying, a flight, on account of which they should feel a still more poignant sting pierce their hearts, according to the words of Moses: 'I will move you to jealousy with those who are not a people; I will provoke you to anger with a foolish nation.' For that he intended, with the help of Christ, shortly to accomplish it through his books, that the Bohemians would be delivered from their disgrace, but the papists become an abomination to all the world."

Among the writings which Luther published in the year 1522, belong the following:

"*Bulla Cœna Domini, that is, the bull concerning the evening meal of the most holy lord, the pope, translated into German by Doctor Martin Luther.*" This is the bull which it is customary annually to read at Rome, on Maundy-Thursday, and in which all heretics, among others Luther too, are anathematized, it being here translated and accompanied with cutting remarks. By way of appendix there is an explanation of the 9th (10th) Psalm, as "marginal notes of King David on this bull."

Faithful warning to all Christians to beware of insurrection and rebellion, (written whilst yet at the Wartburg, compare p. 230.) As arguments, for the purpose of calming the minds of the common people and inducing them to refrain even from the desires and words which tend to insurrection, and from undertaking anything for the furtherance of the cause without command from the authorities, he adduces: firstly, that God wished to be and would himself be the revenger here, that the papacy could not be destroyed by the hand of man or insurrections. Secondly, even if it were possible, it would not be a useful course and would accomplish no good. That in insurrections reason was not exercised, and that the innocent

commonly suffered more than the guilty; that, therefore, no insurrection was right, how just soever the cause which it advocated. Thirdly, that insurrection was forbidden by God. Fourthly, that insurrection in this cause was assuredly the instigation of the devil, who designed in this way to bring reproach upon the doctrines of the Gospel. But that he should not succeed in this, and therefore he prayed all who wished to be called Christians not to give cause to the adversaries to blaspheme their doctrines.

But that, if it were asked, what was to be done in case the authorities would not take the matter in hand, whether the wicked course of the enemies was to be approved; he answered: no; but that three things were to be done. Firstly, there should be an acknowledgment of sin, on account of which God's rigid justice had sent such an anti-christian government as a punishment. Secondly, there should be humble prayer against the papal government. Thirdly, each one should permit his own mouth to be a mouth of the Spirit of Christ, of whom St. Paul says: Our Lord Jesus will slay him by the mouth of His Spirit. That in this way the cause was much more promoted than by means of a hundred insurrections. That a bodily insurrection was not to be desired, Christ having already begun one with His mouth, which would be quite too intolerable for the pope. "It is not my work which is now progressing in the world. It is not possible that a man should alone begin and direct so great an undertaking. It has succeeded so far without my contrivance or design; it shall finally triumph also without my counsel, and the gates of hell shall not prevent it. It is another man who turns the wheel, him the papists do not see and they charge us with it; but they shall very soon discover the truth."

In conclusion, he also speaks against those who perhaps had read a page or two, or heard a sermon, and now were continually engaged in assailing others who were not evangelical, not considering that these sometimes were people who would willingly receive the truth if it were taught them; and that this they did, wishing to be considered as knowing something new, and as being good Lutherans. To them he says: "In the first place I pray, that all would keep silence about my name, and not call themselves Lutherans, but Christians. What is Luther? The doctrine truly is not mine. Neither have I been crucified for any one. St. Paul, 1 Cor. iii., would not permit

the Christians to call themselves of Paul, or of Peter, but of Christ. How then should I, poor filthy mass of corruption, come to the honour of having the children of Christ called by my unworthy name? Not so, my dear friends, let us extirpate party names and be called after Christ, whose doctrines we have. The papists deservedly have a party name, because they are not satisfied with the doctrines and the name of Christ, and wish to be popish; therefore let them be called after the pope who is their master. I am not and do not wish to be any one's master. I, in common with the Church, have the one universal doctrine of Christ, who alone is our Master. Matt. xxiii." That we, in the second place, are to consider with whom we speak, and make a distinction between those that are obdurate and refuse to hear, whilst they poison others with their falsehoods, and those that have not been sufficiently instructed and would learn if they were taught, or who are too weak easily to comprehend the truth. That with the former we are to have no dealings, but are to act in accordance with the declaration of Christ. Matt. vii.: "Give not that which is holy unto the dogs," &c. That with the latter we are to have patience according to the words of Paul: "The weak in the faith receive."

The "*Little book concerning the avoiding of the doctrines of men, besides an answer to the passages quoted in support of the doctrines of men*," contains what the title indicates.

And the writing: "*Opinion concerning receiving the sacrament under both kinds and concerning other innovations*," written soon after his return from the Wartburg, treats of the subjects discussed in the eight sermons. (p 245).

Finally in the writing: "*Against the falsely called spiritual station of the pope and of the bishops*," after stating why on the title page, he called himself an 'ecclesiastes, by the grace of God,' and why it was proper and necessary to rebuke those in high, especially spiritual stations, he contrasts the characteristics of a true bishop, according to 1 Tim. iii., and Tit. i., and of a papal bishop, according to 2 Tim. iii., and 2 Pet. ii., at the same time pointing out the virtues of the latter, to warn every person against them. He concludes with the words: "God grant us His grace and again send into His harvest faithful labourers, and may He rebuke the murderers and set on fire their city, since they, without ceasing, cast out of the vineyard His servants and His Son. Amen."

He likewise published the *Annotationes Phil. Melanchthonis in Epistolas Pauli ad Romanos et Corinthios*, (Annotations of Philip Melanchthon to the Epistles of Paul to the Romans and Corinthians,) without Melanchthon's knowledge, telling him that it was his own fault, because he had not published them himself, and had so often suffered himself to be prayed and urged in vain. He should not say that the Holy Scriptures were to be read without any commentaries: that might be true of other commentaries, but his annotations were not commentaries, but a direction for reading the Holy Scriptures and learning to know Christ, which had not been afforded by any commentator before.

In this year there also appeared the *translation of the New Testament.* Luther had already finished the translation of the entire New Testament at the Wartburg, and after his return to Wittenberg, he began, in company with Melanchthon, thoroughly to correct the whole, in order, with the assistance of God, to produce something substantial. Spalatin's aid he likewise invoked, in order to supply him with suitable expressions, and to ascertain the names and the colours of the precious stones mentioned in the twenty-first chapter of Revelations, and if possible, from the court or from some other sources, to obtain the gems themselves for inspection. But to Hartmuth von Kronberg he wrote: "I have undertaken to translate the Bible into German. This was necessary for me; I should otherwise probably have died in the error of having considered myself learned. All who imagine themselves to be learned ought to engage in such labour." He, at different times, transmitted single finished parts to Spalatin and Duke John; excepting these, not a sheet was given to any one. The printing seemed to him to proceed slowly, though three presses daily threw off ten thousand sheets; on St. Matthew's day at length it was completed.[3]

Luther immediately applied himself to the Old Testament. On the 3d November he was engaged in translating the book of Leviticus. Letters, business, intercourse, and many other things checked his progress, but he determined to lock himself up at home and to hasten the work, in order to have the Pentateuch ready for the press by January. For this was to be published separately, afterwards the historical books, and lastly the prophets. The extent of the labour and the price made the division and the gradual publication necessary. On the 15th

December the translation of the Pentateuch and a second edition of the New Testament were completed, and now the revision and the printing of the Pentateuch were begun.[4]

Against this translation of the New Testament there was issued, on Friday after All Saints, a *mandate of Duke George of Saxony*, in which he, with reference to the former prohibition of Luther's writings, commands all his subjects who might have "such new translated books" in their possession, to deliver them to the nearest court, and in order that no one might complain, the duke had, from abundant favour, added the injunction to pay out to every one the money expended for the books.

Upon this Luther wrote the "*Writing concerning the temporal government, how far we are to obey it*," which, under date of the 1st Jan., 1523, he dedicated to Duke John of Saxony. In the preface he speaks concerning princes whom God had made mad, so that they did not think otherwise but that they might do and command their subjects whatever they chose, and who were also beginning to enjoin upon the people to put away from them their books, and to believe and to observe what they themselves proposed. That he was constrained to resist such, and as he had not feared their idol, the pope, who was threatening to deprive him of his soul and of heaven, so he would not fear his advocates, those empty bubbles, who were threatening to deprive him of his body and of the earth.

In the first part of the treatise he demonstrates that the *temporal government is the ordinance of God*, adduces the passages upon which the same is based, explains those which seem to oppose the temporal sword, and proves that the Gospel confirms the temporal sword, and shows that both powers, the temporal and the spiritual, were to be well distinguished from each other.

In the second part he shows *how far the power of the government extends*, namely, only over the body and property and external things upon earth, since over the soul God could not and would not permit any one to rule but himself alone, and if the temporal power should presume to give laws to the soul, it would interfere with the government of God, seduce and destroy the souls of men. That the temporal government must particularly abstain from compelling any person to believe, since faith was to be a free act, yea, was a Divine work in the Spirit, and could not be exacted or produced by external

power. That men could not be constrained further than to yield obedience with their mouths and their hands, the heart it was impossible to compel; but that the effect would be to constrain weak consciences to dissimulate and to deny, and that all such dissimulation and false confessions would be laid to the charge of those who exacted them. But that God had given over to a perverse mind the temporal as well as the spiritual princes: that the latter, the pope and the bishops, instead of teaching God's Word and guiding the souls by it, had become temporal lords; the temporal lords, on the other hand, whose government was sunk as low as that of the spiritual tyrants, wished to exercise spiritual rule over the souls of men, thus bringing upon themselves the sins of others and the hatred of God and of men, till finally they would be wrecked along with bishops, priests and monks, one knave with the other. But that the temporal power had no authority to require anything in matters of faith, and if, for instance, it was commanded in Meissen, Bavaria, and the Mark, to deliver the New Testament to the government officers, it could not be done without hazard to the soul, since he that did so was delivering Christ into the hands of Herod. But that if books and property were taken away by force, it should be endured, since evil was not to be resisted but to be endured. But if any one should object that the temporal power did not exact faith, but wished only to prevent the people from being seduced into false doctrines, otherwise heretics could not be resisted at all, he answered: "This is the work of the bishops, to them such office is committed, and not to the princes. For heresy can never be prevented by means of power, there must be other means called into requisition here, for this is not a contest and a dispute for the sword. God's Word must be wielded here; if that does not accomplish anything, temporal power will not accomplish anything though it should fill the world with blood. Heresy is a spiritual thing, which cannot be cut with iron, burnt with fire, or drowned with water."

In the third part he says to those who desire to be *Christian princes and lords*, and hope also to enter into eternal life: "Whoever, therefore, wishes to be a Christian prince, must undoubtedly divest himself of a disposition to rule and to employ violence. For accursed and condemned is all life which consists in seeking one's own advantage and profit. Accursed all works which do not proceed from love. But they pro-

ceed from love, when one's own pleasure, advantage, honour, convenience and salvation do not form the object of them, but the advantage, honour, and salvation of others is earnestly sought." Upon this he draws the picture of a truly pious ruler, and in conclusion sums up the whole thus: "A prince must attend to four particulars: firstly, to true confidence in God and heartfelt prayer to Him; secondly, to love and Christian service towards his subjects; thirdly, to the exercise of sound reason and unbiassed judgment towards his counsellors and men in power; fourthly, to becoming severity and rigour towards evil-doers."

Authorities.—Let. No. 369, 379, 371, 381, 383, 403, 417. (Works, vol. 18, p. 192.) M. Tob. Schmid's Zwickauer Chronik, vol. 1, p. 385. Cyprian Urkunden, vol. 2, p. 264. Mel. Epp. in the Corp. Reff., vol. 1, No. 218, (cll. Spalatini Annales in Mencken Script. Rer. Germ., Tom. II., p. 617). Works, vol. 18, p. 215. Let. No. 375. (Works, vol. 18, p. 226.) The correspondence in the dispute between Duke George and Luther, chronologically arranged, and in part corrected and printed from the originals, in J. R. Seidemann's Erläuterungen zur Reformationsgeschichte durch bisher unbekannte Urkunden, p. 59, sq. The writing of Henry VIII., according to the German translation which appeared at Leipzig in 1522. The "Answer to King Henry VIII. of England's book," &c., Works, vol. 18, p. 193. Let. No. 428, 412, 418, 419. (The writing of Henry VIII. Djj.) The writing: Bulla Cœnæ Domini, Works, vol. 18, p. 1. The writing: Faithful warning to all Christians, &c., ib., p. 288. The writing: A little book concerning the avoiding of the doctrines of men, &c., ib. p. 18. The writing: Opinion concerning both kinds, &c., ib., p. 185. The writing: Against the falsely called spiritual station, &c., ib., p. 27. Let. No. 424, 380, 375, 376, 421, 429, 436, 444. Works, vol. 18, p. 284. The writing: Concerning the temporal government, &c., ib., p. 385.

Notes.—1.) The Zwickau Chronicle gives the much more reduced estimate of 14,000. Concerning this journey of Luther, which was not without great danger to him, since it required him to pass part of the way through the territory of Duke George, who even called upon others to execute the edict of Worms against him, compare Seckend., p. 250, sq., and Lingke, Luther's Reisegeschichte, p. 128, sq.

2.) He was a Franconian knight, possessor of the small town and castle of Kronberg, in the vicinity of Frankfort on the Maine, brother-in-law to Sickingen, and involved in the latter's feuds, in consequence of which he was deprived of his possessions. Luther comforted him with reference to this.

3.) It appeared under the title: Das Newe Testament, Deutzsch. Vuittenberg, in fol., without information of the author, printer or year, for one and a half florins, a high price for that time, and though a counterfeited edition of it was published the same year at Basle, it was never-

theless disposed of and exhausted with surprising rapidity. For further particulars examine the accounts of the translation of the Bible into German, for instance those of Schott, Leipzig, 1835, p. 38, sq.

4.) This first part of the O. T. made its appearance previously to the year 1523, being accompanied with brief marginal notes, and bearing the title: das Alte Testament deutsch, M. Luther, Vuittenberg, in folio. In the same year there were published two further editions; and from 1524–1528, besides many counterfeited impressions, four new editions. See Schott, p. 41, sq.

CHAPTER IV.

CONTESTS, SUFFERING AND SYMPATHY.—1523 AND 1524.

To the diet, which was to be held at Nuremberg, Pope Adrian VI., (since the 9th Jan., 1522,) despatched a legate, he previously, however, through one of his chamberlains, Jerome Rorarius, sent a breve, dated the 5th October, 1522, to the Elector Frederick, in order "to assure him of his favourable disposition and paternal interest in the common good," and to exhort him that he would, in accordance with his office and vocation as an elector of the holy realm and an advocate and member of the Roman Church, show all diligence in exerting himself to aid in the defence and maintenance of the dignity and majesty of the Apostolical See, yea, of the wholesome and quiet condition of Christendom and of the holy faith, and thus, in this, imitate his ancestors. He further, under date of the 25th November, 1522, transmitted a breve to the other estates of the realm assembled at Nuremberg, in which he complains, that Luther, notwithstanding the sentence lawfully pronounced upon him at Worms and published throughout all Germany, had nevertheless escaped unpunished, and with the piercing arrows of his venomous tongue was spreading abroad new books full of error, heresy, calumny and insurrection, thus corrupting the hearts and morals of the pious in Germany and other surrounding countries far and wide. It was hoped, however, that the pious and valorous German nation, among which there had been so many excellent men in doctrine and sanctity, would not suffer an apostate monk to seduce it from the path which our Redeemer and His apostles had pointed out. He exhorts them to forget all feuds which might perhaps exist between them, and with all diligence to apply themselves to the extin-

guishing of this general conflagration, and if Luther and other instigators of these errors would not be reclaimed, to employ against them the rods of severity and punishment, for that it was necessary to employ severe and cauterizing remedies against so dreadful a fistula, and wholly to amputate the injurious members from the sound part of the body. That this had often been done, and that their ancestors had thus, with deserved punishment, rewarded John Huss and Jerome of Prague, who had again been revived in Luther. That his legate, Franciscus Cheregat, bishop of Abruzzo, would make known to them what he had further to communicate.

In the instruction given to this legate there are advanced various other arguments for the purpose of inducing the estates to proceed with the execution of the papal sentence and imperial mandate. This petition, produced at the Diet, (which began on the 13th Dec., 1522,) by the papal legate, Luther translated into German and published, accompanying it with marginal notes. Among other things he observed, in connection with the passage in which the pope declared that the reformation ought not proceed rashly. but step by step, that by this was meant that one step was to be a thousand years apart from the other. But the estates of the realm replied to what had been said in reference to Luther: "That they were exceedingly grieved at the injury which the Church had sustained, and at the errors and the corruption which had sprung up in it, and that they would very willingly do whatever could be done by means of punishment, for the removal of these things. But that the papal sentences and imperial mandates against Luther had thus far not been executed, this was owing to important considerations. That all the estates of the German nation had been so insufferably aggrieved by the various abuses of the court of Rome and of the spiritual estates, and had now been so much instructed by means of Luther's writings, that if vigorous proceedings were instituted against him according to the directions of the aforesaid sentences and mandates, it would assuredly be looked upon as a tyrannical suppression of evangelical truth, and as a confirmation of unchristian and grievous abuses, from which there would then undoubtedly, result great insurrection, secession, and rebellion against the authorities." That meanwhile, and up to the free Christian council, (concerning which they likewise had negotiated,) the vicegerent of his imperial majesty, with the

electors, princes, and other estates of the realm, would obtain from the elector of Saxony, in whose principality Luther dwelt, that Luther and his adherents should not further be permitted to write or to publish anything. Besides this reply to the papal communication and the petition of the legate, the temporal estates also presented their grievances, under which they laboured from the papal see and other spiritual estates, and begged to have them redressed, adding: "But if such grievances should not be satisfactorily redressed within a specified time, which the temporal estates assuredly do not expect, they do not wish to conceal from your holiness, that they can no longer endure such insufferable and pernicious grievances, but would be compelled by necessity to think of other suitable ways and means for themselves, in order to be delivered from such oppressive and vexatious burdens of the spiritual estates."

The decrees of the diet were put together in a writing, and it was commanded under pain of punishment to obey them. Concerning this mandate, which was issued in the name of the emperor, under date of the 6th March, 1523, Luther published the writing: "*Declaration to the assembled estates of the realm, against the perverters and falsifiers of the imperial mandate.*" In this he says, that he had most humbly and with deep gratitude received this decree, and diligently made it known to the people; but that many, even among the princes and lords, were presuming to interpret it as they found it convenient. "Since they therefore wholly pervert the meaning, and, to the injury of the Gospel, give an insufferable explanation, I have found it necessary to defend myself and those of the same mind with me, and to warn those that are deceived, as well as to publish our explanation and to show how far we can submit, in which I sincerely trust nothing will be found to oppose this mandate or the intention of your highnesses. And in order not to detain your highnesses with a lengthy account, we shall include the whole under four articles." That the first article: "To preach the Gospel according to the interpretation of the teachers that are received and approved by the Church," was interpreted as signifying that the Gospel was not to be preached otherwise than it had thus far been preached in the universities, endowed institutions and cloisters, according to their teachers, Thomas, Scotus, and what the Roman Church had approved. But that nothing of all this was contained in the mandate, it speaking of the "Christian Church," and that

by the teachers were evidently meant the most ancient teachers, as Augustine, Cyprian, Hilarius and others. "Although it is well known that even those teachers did not always write and teach correctly, and we insist that the Christian Church never did receive them, and could not receive them any further than St. Augustine, that special light of the Christian Church, is accustomed to receive them, in that he teaches and says: It is only to the holy books which are called canonical that I give the honour of believing that none of their authors erred; all the rest I read so, as no matter how exalted they may seem in skill and sanctity, never to deem anything right, simply because they deem it so; but I require of them to substantiate it to me with passages from the Holy Scriptures, or clear arguments. Here, we perceive, that St. Augustine draws a boundary in receiving teachers, subjecting them all to the decision of the Holy Scriptures, as is just; that beyond this boundary no one is to be received, let him he as holy and learned as he may. This estimation of the teachers, whom the Christian Church has received and approved, we conceive also to be intended in the mandate, and we shall not and cannot endure any other, let what will befall us on account of it, whatever God may permit. And it necessarily flows from it that it is to be taken in this sense. For since the mandate was published with the view to have a free council, and meanwhile to let the matter rest, it cannot be intended that we should keep silence and with the others preach the former nonsense as they construe it. For if this were intended, what need would there be of a council? Why should it be pretended to defer the matter to a council, if this mandate, as was thought, had already pronounced a sentence far more severe than any which a future council would likely pronounce, even if it should come to the worst decision against us." Therefore he had so interpreted it to the people, that the matter should rest till the council, and that the adversaries were to desist from their scholastic disputes, which, being drawn from St. Thomas and the universities, occasioned nothing but strife, and instead were to teach only the pure Gospel. Concerning the *second* article: "That the archbishops and bishops should appoint learned men, conversant with the Holy Scriptures, who were to exercise an oversight over such preaching, and were kindly and gently to instruct those who erred therein; that those, however, that would not be instructed should be properly punished, that it

might not seem as if it were intended to hinder or to suppress the truth of the Gospel," he says: "That this article was wanting in nothing, except that no one would observe it, since it was far too good. For whence should men, conversant with the Scriptures, be taken, since none had applied themselves to them, and how should those, who had heretofore been accustomed to excommunicate, to anathematize, to burn and to rave, humble themselves so much as kindly and gently to instruct the erring!" That the *third* article: "From that time to the council, were not to publish or keep for sale any new works unless they had first been examined by intelligent men appointed by the government," had been adopted already in the previous year, by the university of Wittenberg. But that by this was not meant, that the Scriptures, or what had thus far already been published, should be forbidden to be printed or sold. That the *fourth* article: "That spiritual persons, who married and forsook their order, should be punished according to the canon law, namely, be deprived of their liberty, privileges and prebends, and that the temporal authorities should not prevent such punishment," did indeed seem severe, but if the others were observed, it could also be endured.

The pope, displeased because of the bad success of his former communication, had despatched a second and more severe one to the elector of Saxony, which menacingly concluded thus: "Pope Adrian and the pious emperor Charles, whose truly Christian mandate against the Lutheran heresy thou hast not dreaded to violate, live in perfect agreement. Therefore turn you and repent, thou and thy unhappy, seduced Saxons; unless you wish to have both swords, the papal and the imperial, put in requisition against you." The elector replied: That he did not doubt but that the pope had thus expressed himself in his communication, not of his own accord, but at the instigation of his enemies. That it had been and still was his intention so to deport himself as it became a Christian and a dutiful son of the Christian Church. His ambassador at the imperial government, however, *John von der Planitz*, he directed seriously to represent the matter to the papal legate. This Planitz informed the elector, that it was almost inconceivable what a cry the spiritual estates had raised at the Diet, as often as Luther's affair had been brought forward, that many menaces were likewise circulated against the elector, wherefore his advice was, either to remove Luther from Wittenberg, or in

time to think of help, since Luther was openly accused of destroying the prosperity of the realm. That King *Ferdinand* was aroused with zeal against Luther's cause, and had said, that he would rather his sister, the queen of Denmark, had been drowned in the sea, than that she should have conversed with Luther at Wittenberg.[1]

But Luther would hear nothing of concealing himself a second time. "Do not imagine," he wrote, on the 12th Jan., 1523, to Spalatin, "that I shall again return into a corner, let Behemoth and his supporters rave as they may." But to the elector he, under date of the 29th May, transmitted a letter, of which the same, if he saw proper, might make further use. His intention—says he in this—had never been to calumniate any one, whether of high or low degree, nor to preach or to write anything which might occasion insurrection in the realm, or error among Christians, but that he had wished to write and to preach what might conduce to the confirmation and honour of God's Word, of faith and of love to men, and thus to the salvation of Christians in general. That he had written with so much severity and earnestness against some, had not been done without cause, albeit, without hatred, that he well knew how this severity in his style of writing had displeased many of his enemies and friends, even the elector himself, who had also, on several occasions, caused him to be checked in this respect. That he had, moreover, without the advice, knowledge, and consent of the elector, at his own hazard, returned to Wittenberg during the previous year, not to prove burdensome to any one, but to attend to the little flock which God had committed to his care. That he would willingly refrain from writing, especially from harsh writing, if his enemies, especially John Faber and Emser, desisted from publishing one book after the other, with various blasphemies, not only against his Christian name, but also against the holy Gospel. Under date of the 12th October. he again quieted the elector through Spalatin, and wrote: "I very well remember what I wrote to the elector from Borna, (see p. 238,) and merely wish that you could believe that it will come to pass thus, especially since you now plainly see how the hand of God has, contrary to all expectation, preserved me for nearly two years, and the elector not only is secure, but the raving of the princes against him has greatly moderated, compared with what it was in the first year. It is an easy matter for Christ to protect the prince in

this my cause, in which he has become involved without reason, simply according to the will of God. If I knew of any mode to disentangle him from this cause without reproach to the Gospel, I should hazard my own life to accomplish it. I had hoped that in the course of a year I should be destroyed, and this I thought would be the way in which he would be delivered, if, indeed, this would have been the case even after my removal. But now, since we are not able to search and to comprehend the counsel of God, it will be most safe for us to say: Thy will be done. Nor have I any fear that the elector will be disturbed as long as he does not publicly confess and approve my cause. But why he has to bear my reproach is known to God; thus much is certain, however, that it does him no injury, but much rather proves the greatest blessing to him."

About this time, there in many places arose severe persecutions against those that confessed the Gospel. Luther thought that he, of whom it was said, that he was the first who had again brought these doctrines to light, justly considered himself last, as one who never had endured such persecutions and tribulation on account of the name and word of Christ, and perhaps never would become worthy to endure them; but that he comforted himself with the thought, that their bonds were his bonds, their prison his prison, their joy his joy! He could therefore not neglect to visit such captive and suffering members of Christ with the comfort of God's Word.

Thus he wrote to three court-ladies, *Hannah von Draschwitz*, *Milia von Oelsnitz*, and *Ursula von Feilitzsch*, who had been exiled from the court of *Freiberg*, for reading Luther's books; that they should not wish those that had been the cause of this any evil, but do as St Paul taught, 1 Cor. iv. 12: "If we are reviled, we bless," as also Christ, Matt. v. 44: "Bless those that curse you," &c. That it was a Divine cause for which they suffered, and God would not permit any one but himself to judge or to revenge this, according to the word of the prophet: "He that toucheth you toucheth the apple of mine eye." (Zech. ii. 8.)

On the 1st July, 1523, there had been burnt at *Brussels*, on account of their confession of the Gospel, two Augustine monks, *Henry Væs* and *John Eschen*, who yielded up their

lives with great joyfulness[2] Upon this Luther published a missive to the "*Christians of Holland and Brabant*," in which he congratulates them for the favour granted them, not only to hear the Gospel and to know Christ, but also to be the first that had been required to endure reproach, injury, anguish, distress, imprisonment and danger for Christ's sake, and who had bedewed and confirmed the Gospel with their own blood, that two noble treasures of Christ among them, Henry and John, had freely yielded up their lives at Brussels, that Christ and his Word might be honoured. "Therefore, my dearest friends," he wrote, "be of good courage, and be joyful in Christ, and let us praise Him for the great signs and wonders which He has begun to work among us. He has here placed before our eyes new examples of His life. It is time that the kingdom of God be not in word but in power. Here is understood what is said: *Rejoice in tribulation.* (Rom. xii. 12.) *For a small moment have I forsaken thee; but with great mercies will I gather thee.* And Psalm xci. 14, 15: *I will be with him in trouble; I will deliver him and honour him, because he hath known my name.*" He likewise composed a hymn in honour of the two martyrs, which begins with: "*Ein neues Lied wir heben an*," &c., and which concludes thus:

Their ashes fly upon the gales,
And distant lands shall view them,
Nor brook, nor pit, nor grave avails,
The foe cannot subdue them.
Those whom in life, by murderous hand,
To silence He had driven,
Now dead, break forth in every land,
In joyful songs to Heaven;
No fiendish arts assail them.

But with deceitful lips the foe
The murderous deed adorneth,
And falsely notes the tale of wo,
For conscience inly warneth.
The saints of God are with the dead,
But pois'nous tongues assail them,
And say, that in their final dread
Their constancy did fail them;
And thus they had recanted.

But leave them to their false career,
No gain shall crown them ever;
The Word of God sounds far and near;
We 'll praise our God forever.
The summer sun is hastening on,
Stern winter is retiring;
The tender flow'rets grace the lawn,
And we look on admiring.
The hand that wrought still guideth. Amen.

In the same way he honoured the pious martyr *Henry von Zütphen*,[3] who was cruelly murdered and burnt in the district of Ditmarschen, towards the close of the year 1524. He caused the history and martyrdom of the same to be investigated by credible men, and published it in the year 1525, with the addition of an explanation of the 9th (10th) Psalm, and an address to the friends in Christ at *Bremen*, in which he praises God for affording evidences of his Spirit, by great and mighty deeds wrought through his Word, and says, that these martyrs to whom were also to be added Caspar Tauber, burnt at Vienna, and George Buchführer, of Hungary, and others, would, with their blood, drown the papacy, together with its god, and that in this way they had, like the holy martyrs of old, sealed the true doctrine. "Such honour," adds he, "those never have been able to obtain who have seduced the world with their doctrines of works, human righteousness and free will. On account of such doctrines Satan does not kill any one, he can well endure them, yea, he gives their advocates great riches, honour, and power in this world, permitting them to lead a quiet and agreeable life."[4] That God had graciously visited them at Bremen through this Henry, wherefore they should not be sad, or speak evil of his murderers, but rejoice, praise, and thank God that he had made them worthy to witness such wonders of his gracious visitation. That they ought rather to weep and to lament over the murderers and to pray for them, that not only they but the whole country of Ditmarschen might be converted and brought to a knowledge of the truth, which fruit was comfortingly to be expected from these sufferings of Henry. That he, therefore, urged and advised them to sing and to read the 9th Psalm in this case, which he had briefly explained to them.

At Augsburg several friends of the Gospel had been innocently involved in difficulties, "in consequence of the marriage

of a priest," and were now, in addition to the injury done them, made also to endure reproach and disgrace. Luther, therefore, (under date of the 11th December, 1523,) wrote to them a letter of consolation, saying, that he had not been able to omit doing this, since if, through the grace of God, we were in the communion of the saints, and linked as members together, we must also relieve the necessities of the saints, and sympathize with those that suffer; if one member suffered, the others all suffered along with it; if one was honoured, the others all rejoiced. But he comforts them especially with the words of Paul: *If we wish to rule with Him, we must also suffer with Him;* and says: "For if we take delight in the Gospel, and desire to become partakers of its unspeakable riches and eternal treasures, we dare not refuse its cross or the adversity which it brings with it, not to mention that its riches and treasures are eternal, and its adversity temporal, yea, momentary."

In Miltenberg on the Maine, a town of the electorate of Mayence, the friends of the Gospel were subjected to a severe persecution: The pastor, John Draco, of Karlstadt, had fled; the deacon, who had remained behind, with difficulty escaped being put to death; he and a number of the citizens were kept imprisoned. Luther, upon, this, (in February, 1524,) issued a writing under the title: "Christian letter of consolation to the Miltenbergers, how they are to revenge themselves upon their enemies, according to the 119th (120th) Psalm." In it he says: "That it was a rich and proud comfort for them, for the sake of God's Word, to suffer such injustice and reproach, even though it were called heresy. That they had no reason to desire revenge, but that if they were joyful and grateful to God for having become worthy to hear his Word, and to suffer on account of it, they would, with such joyful spirit, praise and gratitude, injure the god of their enemies, the devil, more than by slaying a thousand of their enemies. Besides this," continued he, "I will inform you of one other thing which shall admirably vex him, and which he dreads more than anything else. He well knows that there is a little verse in the book of Psalms, (Ps. viii. 2,) which runs thus: *Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength, because of thine enemies, that thou mightest still the enemy and the avenger.* This verse threatens him, not only with distress and wretchedness, but also with utter discomfiture, and that not through great

power, which would be an honour to him, but through weak sucklings who have no strength. That vexes and grieves the mighty and proud spirit, that his great power, his terrible raving, his furious revenge, are, without power, to be cast to the ground through childish weakness, he not being able to prevent it. Here let us help and earnestly assist. We are the babes and sucklings who are weak and permit the enemy to be mighty and to exercise power over us, so that they speak and do what they choose in regard to their affair; but we have to keep silence concerning our cause, and have to suffer, as if we could not speak or do anything, being as infant children, whilst they are like mighty heroes and giants. But God, nevertheless, through us meanwhile speaks his Word, which exalts His grace. That is such a rock and foundation against which the gates of hell cannot prevail. Where this course is pursued, it finally happens, that some of the enemies who before were followers of Satan are also converted. If now he is deprived of such followers, through the Word of God, he is rendered desolate and weak; thus then it comes, that, as this verse says, there is an end made of the foe and the revenger. For that only pleases him, if he can succeed, through his followers, to excite us to wrath, revenge, impatience, and sadness. But if joy, praise to God, and the glory of his Word result from it, it forms his real hell."

But also with individual suffering members Luther cordially sympathized, and willingly communicated to them Christian comfort. Thus, at the instance of a third person, he wrote a letter of condolence to *Bartholomew von Starenberg*, who had lost his wife by death, and who was now endeavouring, by services to God and good works, especially masses and vigils, to benefit her soul; in this letter he reminds him of the word of Job, (ch. i. 21,) and says: "Thus are your grace to sing to a faithful, loving God, who gave such a dear, faithful wife to your grace, and now has taken her away. She was His before He gave her; she was also still His after He had given her; she is His even now after He has taken her away; as we all are. Therefore, although it pains us when He takes from us His own, yet is the heart to find higher comfort in His best will than in all His gifts. For just as God is immeasurably better than all His gifts, so also in this case is His will to be considered better than the best and noblest wife. Albeit, the former is not so tangible as the latter; but to faith it is tangi-

ble. God therefore grant your grace to be joyful and to receive this rich exchange and immeasurable usury, having now instead of a tender loving wife, the tender loving will of God, yea, God himself, in addition. O, how happy and rich would we be if we could engage in such exchanges with God. Yea, we could engage in them if we only understood it. For God meets us daily with them, but we cannot greet Him." As to the soul-masses and vigils, however, he exhorts him to desist from them because of their being unchristian.

Neither did Luther omit, by means of letters, to encourage and to confirm those whom he considered well-disposed towards the Gospel, or who had already made a good beginning. Thus, under date of the 28th March, 1523. he wrote to the gentlemen of the German order, a communication, which appeared in print under the title: "*To the gentlemen of the German order, to avoid false chastity, and to turn to proper conjugal chastity.*" *To Count Albrecht, of Mansfeld*, he gave Christian instruction for a good friend of his who was well-disposed towards the Gospel, and also permitted the preaching of it in its purity, but wished to refrain from having the sacrament administered in both kinds, and from observing mass according to the institution of Christ, as long as the authorities would not suffer it. To "the elect and dear friends of God," at *Riga, Reval* and *Dorpat in Livonia*, he (in August, 1523,) issued a writing in which he calls them happy, that dwelling like the heathens, (Acts xiii. 48.) at the end of the world, they received the wholesome Word with the greatest delight, "which," says he, "our Jews in this Jerusalem, yea, Babylon, not only despise, but also dislike to have others hear." He exhorts them not to receive the grace of God in vain, holds up to them the sum of all doctrine, faith in Christ and love to our neighbour, and assures them beforehand, that wolves and seducers would also come among them, and that if they firmly adhered to the true doctrine, the cross and persecution would not be wanting. So he likewise, (on the 24th August, 1523.) wrote to those at Worms to extend the hand to one another and to exhort one another, that they might not suffer themselves to become weary of the Gospel, and to long after new doctrines and questions. That they would have to cling to the Gospel of grace with especial firmness, as they were dwelling, like Ezekiel, amidst scorpions, and like the bride in the Canticles, as a rose amidst thorns. That they should by no means be sur-

prised if we had to suffer the same things on account of God's Word, which the prophets and the apostles, yea, Christ himself had to suffer. Finally, we mention the writing (of the 7th September, 1523,) to the *Duke of Savoy*, whom Luther congratulates for being, as he had heard, a great friend of true religion and godliness, which truly was a rare gift and exalted treasure among princes. He therefore gives him an account of his doctrines, explaining several of the chief points, and expressing the wish that the duke would, as he had begun, aid in the extension of these doctrines, not by means of the sword, which could not advance the Gospel, but by affording security to it in his territory, and calling teachers who preach it in its purity. He concludes: "Therefore, most serene prince, most gracious lord, may your princely grace continue thus and be of good courage, also arouse the spark of fire which has begun to burn in your princely grace, and cause a fire to proceed from the house of Savoy as from the house of Joseph; and may all France be to it as stubbles, and this holy fire of Christ also burn and flame in it, that France may again, in truth, because of the Gospel, be called the Christian kingdom, as it has thus far, quite improperly, been called the Christian kingdom, on account of its unchristian services which it has rendered to Anti-Christ, with its bloodshed. But may the Lord Jesus Christ pour out into the heart of your princely grace and the hearts of your friends His holy Spirit, that you may all do that which tends to promote the doctrines of His holy Word. Amen."

The monks who forsook the cloisters, caused him much loss of time and much expense, and he very much disapproved of their issuing forth in such large numbers, and especially of their immediately marrying, since this class of men were usually incapable of discharging the duties of domestic life. On the 7th April there arrived at Wittenberg *nine nuns*, who had, at Luther's instance, been carried away from the cloister of Nimptzsch, by two respectable citizens of Torgau, Leonard Koppe and Wolf Tomitzsch. But the names of the nuns were these, Magdalene Staupitz, Elizabeth Kanitz, the sisters Veronica, (*al.* Catharine) and Margaret Zeschau, Laneta von Golis, Ave Grossin, Catharine von Bora, and the sisters Ave and Margaret von Schönfeld. Luther himself made the matter known, and in a communication to Leonard Koppe, which was printed under the title: *Reason and answer why nuns may piously leave the cloisters*, mentioned the nuns by name, doing

so firstly, "because," said he, "what we do we do in God, and do not dread to come to the light with it;" secondly, for the sake of the honour of the unhappy young women and of their relatives, that they might not be reported to have been carried away by reckless knaves; thirdly, to warn the lords of the nobility, and all pious, honest people, who might have children in the cloisters, to attend to the matter themselves and to take them out, seeing that the way had been honourably opened. He then, in this communication, gave account before God and all the world, that all Christians might perceive "how we have sought, not our own interest, but first of all the honour of God and the good of our neighbour." But Luther now also took steps to provide for the refugees who had escaped in so remarkable a manner: in the first place he wished to inform their relatives to discover if they would receive them; if they would not, he intended to make other arrangements for them, promises having already been extended to him from several quarters with regard to the matter; he also intended, if possible, that several of them should enter the state of matrimony. Meanwhile it became necessary to provide for them for a week or two, and for this purpose he besought his friend Spalatin to beg some money for him of his rich courtiers; he also applied to the elector to contribute something. "Be assured I shall keep it very secret," added he, "that he has himself given me something for the apostate nuns." On this occasion Luther complained of his Capernaitans, (as he called the Wittenbergers,) that they had become so satiated with the daily and important supply of God's Word, that he had himself, a short time previous, not been able to obtain the loan of ten florins in his own name for a poor citizen. That his own salary was only nine marks annually; that aside from this, he and his brethren did not receive one farthing from the town. Notwithstanding this, he could say that he had never begged of his lord of Saxony one penny *for himself.* He so much the oftener, however, entreated the court *for others:* at one time he requested the grant of salary to Dr. Pommer, (Bugenhagen,) who was under the necessity of taking fees for his lectures; at another, wild-game for a banquet in honour of some newly-created doctor, or for the nuptials of a colleague: now he interceded for a poor man who would like to have become bridge-overseer at Wittenberg, or for a poor fisherman who had trespassed upon the rights of his gracious lord, and had

been fined too severely; now for an office for one of the nobility who had lost the court's favour, or for travelling money for some poor litteratus, &c. He, indeed, sometimes feared that his petitions might prove annoying to the prince, and he intended to refrain from presenting any more, as he did not wish to compel any one to do good, and because, besides, he did not well like to have dealings with the court; but still he could not prevail over himself, although he had to complain that he was so overburdened with a multitude of outward and little affairs, that he nearly sunk under the weight of them. One of his petitions to the elector (probably of the year 1522,) reads thus:

"Grace and peace in Christ, Amen; and my most humble service, most serene, highborn prince, most gracious lord. It is only with reluctance that I trouble your electoral grace with petitions for other people; the pleasure which this affords me I would also willingly forego. Necessity compels, and love urges me to this task. I previously wrote to your electoral grace from my solitude concerning Christopher N., whose wants urged him to request this of me, and now he has come to me again, and beseeches me so earnestly, that I am overcome, and his wretchedness excites my heartfelt commiseration, so that it has, as it were, excited a thirst in me to write to your electoral grace, for I had not supposed his wants to be so great. I shall not go to law with your electoral grace on his account, it may be that he has deserved this and even worse; I well know the sincere wish of your electoral grace to wrong no one. But I also know that there is no prince so pious or prudent, as that no one should ever be unjustly dealt with by himself or his officers. David was the worthiest of princes upon earth, and he did, at the information of Ziba, do wrong to the unhappy Mephibosheth, thinking, nevertheless, that he had not done wrong. (2 Sam. xvi.) A prince must remember that his government is tinctured with unrighteousness; well for him who has least of it: wherefore it is also necessary to show so much the more mercy and kindness, that mercy may rejoice against judgment, as St. James says, (ch. ii. 13). Therefore I cast myself at the feet of your electoral grace, and submissively pray your electoral grace to show mercy to the poor man, and to support him in his old age for the remainder of his life. It will never do to permit him thus to perish and to seek alms; for I perceive that his poverty so

greatly distresses him, that he might, perhaps, ultimately become deranged. And your princely grace can easily relieve him by affording him board, food and drink, or by making some other arrangements for him. God has more Schneebergs,[5] so that there need be no apprehension of the dominions of your electoral grace becoming poor in consequence of too great liberality; nor have they become poor, thus far, in consequence. Quia verum est, date et dabitur vobis, (because it is true—give and it shall be given you); where *date* (give) is in abundance, there *dabitur* (is given) will be in yet greater abundance. And let your electoral grace be assured, that I shall not suffer the man to depart thus unprovided for, I will sooner myself go a begging for him, and if I do not succeed in this way, even rob and steal, most of all from the elector of Saxony, whatever I find most convenient; for I trust I should even escape being rewarded with the gibbet by your electoral grace, though I should, in such distress, rob every saint of a treasure.[6] I humbly pray your electoral grace, graciously to receive this my anxious or foolish communication. My heart is with God as far as I can feel. May the almighty God preserve your electoral grace in health and happiness, according to his mercy. Amen."

Authorities.—Works, vol. 18, p. 319, 324, 327, (I. Sleidani comm. de statu relig. etc., Lib. IV.,) 330, 335, 474, 476, 370. Seckend. Lib. I., Sect. 56, par. cxlvii. Let. No. 463, 497, 540, 576, 504, 512. Works, vol. 18, p. 481. Let. No. 660, 3 vol., No. 764. (Works, vol. 19, p. 324,) 2 vol., No. 559. Seckend. p. 278, sq. Let. No. 580, 527. Works, vol. 18, p. 405. Let. No. 501, 516, 524, 528, 505, 508, 484–486, 490. Table Talk, p. 71. Let. No. 458, 388, 406, 518, 520, 382, 495, 378.

Notes.—1.) Queen Elizabeth, of Denmark, who was at Nuremberg at that time, had received a number of Luther's books from Duke Albrecht, of Prussia, and when her brother gave utterance to this expression, it had become known that she adhered to Luther's doctrines. She suffered no inducement to draw her aside, and died firmly believing.

2.) A third person, Lambert Thorn, is said to have been burnt three days afterwards; there is extant, however, a consolatory letter of Luther's to him, of the 19th January, 1524, (Let. No. 576,) in which he is regarded as a prisoner. This contradiction has not yet been solved.

3.) Magister Henry Müller, of Zütphen, formerly prior of the Augustine order at Antwerp, was exiled thence on account of the Gospel, arrived at Bremen in 1522, with the intention of proceeding to Wittenberg: there he was detained, and he preached for two years with much success. Being persecuted by the prebendaries and other ecclesiastics,

he obeyed a call to Meldorf, in the district of Ditmarschen: here it was that he was taken captive to gratify the bishop of Bremen, and where he suffered the death of a martyr at the hands of drunken peasants, on the 11th December, 1524.

4.) Evidently an allusion to Erasmus, whose controversy with Luther began at that time.

5.) The silver mines at Schneeberg were just then most productive.

6.) Luther frequently in a half jesting tone refers to the relics, which the elector, with so much trouble and expense, had collected for the church of All Saints, at Wittenberg. See above, p. 235.

CHAPTER V.

FRESH STORMS.—1524 AND 1525.

Pope *Adrian VI.* had departed this life on the 14th September, 1573, and Clemens VII., of the house of Medices, who had succeeded him, had despatched Cardinal Laurentius Campeggius to the Diet at Nuremberg, which had again been resumed in November, and had also, by him, transmitted a very friendly letter to the elector of Saxony. The legate insisted that before anything else could be determined, it was necessary to consider how the Edict of Worms might be executed; the (absent) emperor also, through his ambassador, complained of it, that the Edict of Worms had not been observed, and commanded that its requisitions should be better observed in future; but the princes replied that they would do what they could. In the *concluding address of the Diet*, of the 18th April, 1524, it was said that the pope would, as soon as possible, in accordance with the wish of the emperor, appoint a free council to be held at some suitable place in Germany, but that the estates should, on the 11th November, again assemble at Speier, and take into consideration what ought, meanwhile, to be done. To simplify the transactions, if a council should be summoned, the princes were to cause learned and upright men to put together, from the writings of Luther and others, what was to be discussed, and to bring this with them to the next assembly. After the final adjournment of the Diet, archduke Ferdinand and a number of other estates, chiefly bishops, betook themselves to *Ratisbonne*, where they, in a special conference, agreed among themselves rigidly to carry out the Edict of Worms in all their dominions, and if any one should meet with difficulties, to render active assistance to one

another. The emperor, however, in a rescript from Spain of the 15th July, severely rebuked the estates because of the Nuremberg decrees, and commanded that all should, forthwith, as much as at all possible, conform to the Edict of Worms, threatening the severest proscription of the realm in case of disobedience. Of Luther, the rescript says: "That inhuman and unchristian Luther endeavours, by means of his pernicious and fiendish poison, to bring destruction upon the bodies and the souls of all, and through his craft and wickedness to attain to greatness and respectability before men, like Mahomet."

During the progress of the Diet, Luther wrote that he was not much concerned about the Diet, but was much rejoiced, on the other hand, at the progress of the Gospel in Livonia and Prussia, where at least one bishop, namely, of Samland, had, at length, confessed Christ. From this the foolish princes and bishops might truly learn that it was not Luther, that insignificant man, but Christ, the Almighty, who was accomplishing this. The Nuremberg Edict of the 18th April, 1524, he published in connection with the Edict of Worms, under the title: "*Two imperial, discordant, and contradictory Edicts concerning Luther.*"

In the preface he says, that he had published these Edicts out of sympathy for the poor Germans, if God, perhaps, through them, would make several princes and others, sensible of the blindness and obduracy of the course they were pursuing. "It is disgraceful," continues he, "that the emperor and princes publicly deal in falsehood; but it is more disgraceful, that they at one and the same time publish edicts in direct opposition to each other, as you here perceive, that it is commanded, to deal with me according to the proscription issued from Worms, and rigidly to enforce this command, and still also to receive the opposite edict, according to which, it is first to be ascertained at the future Diet of Speier, what there is good or evil in my doctrine. Here I am at one and the same time condemned and reserved for future judgment, and the Germans are at the same time to consider me condemned and to persecute me, and also to wait and to see how I may be condemned. Surely, these must be intoxicated and mad princes.—Well, then, we Germans must be Germans, and be the asses and martyrs of the pope, and although we were pounded like pealed grain in a mortar, (as Solomon says,) yet will folly not forsake us.

Nothing will avail, no complaint, no teaching, praying and entreaty, not even personal and daily experience, to show us how we have been flayed and devoured. Well, my dear princes and lords, you are hastening to death with me, single, insignificant man, and when this is accomplished, you will have won the game. But if you had ears to hear, I would tell you something strange. What, if Luther's life were of so much moment with God, that, if he did not live, none of you would be secure of life or dominion, and his death would be the destruction of you all? There is no trifling with God. Only proceed, slay and burn; I shall not yield, I trust, by the help of God. Here I am, and pray you beseechingly, that you will not, when you shall have killed me, again raise me from the dead, and kill me again. I perceive that God has not given me dealings with rational men, but German beasts are to kill me, (if I am worthy of it,) just as if wolves or wild boars tore you in pieces. Yet, I advise every one, who believes that there is a God, to refrain from rendering obedience to this command. For, although God has given me the grace that I do not fear death, as I formerly did, and will enable me also willingly and joyfully to die; yet shall they not succeed, before my hour has come and my God calls me, and if they should rave and rage more than ever. For He that has, against their wishes, and contrary to all my expectation, preserved me alive for nearly three years, can surely still preserve me, albeit, I do not greatly desire it." . . . "But I pray you, my dear princes and lords, both gracious and ungracious, (I wish you no evil, the Lord knows; neither can you do me any injury, of that I am certain). I pray you, I say, for God's sake, to have God before your eyes, and to proceed differently about this matter. There is, most assuredly, some calamity in store for you, and God's wrath is kindling, which you will not escape if you continue thus. What will you do, my dear lords? God is too wise for you, and it is but a small matter for him to turn you into fools; He is also too powerful, and can easily destroy you. Do you, then, fear his wisdom a little, whether, perhaps, he has not, from displeasure, put such thoughts into your hearts, to confound you, as he is accustomed always to deal with great lords, causing the glorious song to resound throughout the world concerning him, Ps. 33.: *God bringeth the counsel of the princes to naught.* And Exod. 9, to King Pharaoh: For this cause have I raised thee up, for to show in thee my power; and that

my name may be declared throughout all the earth. One item of his praise is: DEPOSUIT POTENTES DE SEDE. (He hurls the mighty from their thrones.) That is meant for you, dear lords, even now, if you make a misstep."

Bishop Benno, of Meissen, (who died in the year 1106,) having been canonized by Pope Adrian VI., in a bull of the 31st May, 1523, Luther took occasion, in the year 1524, to publish the writing: "*Against the new idol and the old devil, that is to be exalted at Meissen.*" He here premises, that he did not wish to be considered as in any way passing sentence upon the deceased bishop Benno, because he had his judge, like all the other departed souls; but that he was writing against the living satan, who, not knowing how else to revenge himself at this time, in which the Gospel, by the grace of God, had again arisen and was shining brightly, was amusing men with such artifices, to the mockery of God and the dishonour of his Word. "And I do this," continues he, "the more readily and joyfully, since I know and am fully assured, that if Benno is truly holy, he will not regard it a favour to be canonized; as no true saint was ever delighted at having been canonized by the pope. And, indeed, there are but few of such, for they are generally only papistical saints, not Christian saints. This is evident from the fact, that, through the canonizing of the saints, the confidence of men in the grace of God and in Christ, is destroyed, and they depend upon the merits and intercession of the saints, and so much good is done to their church, that the good works of love towards men are wholly neglected, and thus the saints take the place of God, and wood and stone, the place of our neighbour; whilst only indolent gluttons and idle, fattened swine are pastured in the churches, endowed institutions, and cloisters. But true saints delight in nothing more than in seeing faith, pure and unadulterated, and fervent and constant love among men." Further he says, that it most admirably became pope Adrian to exalt this satan at Meissen, since he had caused those true saints, John and Henry, to be burnt at Brussels. That this was the proper office of the popes: to destroy true saints, and to fabricate false ones: to condemn God's Word and to confirm their own doctrines, and afterwards to say, that it was done for the honour of God and his dear saints. He then reviews the grounds which the bull adduces for the canonization, the first in order of which is, that Benno had sided with pope Gregrory VII. against the emperor Henry

IV., though the pope had acted as a traitor and a knave towards the emperor, upon which he concludes: That the good Benno should be permitted to sleep on in the judgment of God, who alone knew what was true or false with regard to him, for that the marks adduced did not prove anything, and that his doctrine, faith, love, and tribulation, nowhere appeared. That the proper canonization of the saints was the one of which the Scriptures speak: *Distribute to the necessities of the saints;* for that they said little or nothing of the saints in heaven, but only of those upon earth. That all splendour, expense, and trouble, which were now directed to the honour of Benno, were not as good and acceptable to God, as when a poor Christian was clothed or supplied with food, yea, that it was all displeasing to God, because he had not enjoined it. Finally, he explains those passages, which were adduced to justify such juggling, and to cast dust into the eyes of the people.

Against the papal theologian, *John Cochleus*, who had, at Worms, made Luther the offer to dispute with him, provided he would previously decline the imperial safeconduct, and who afterwards had published a writing against Luther, the latter had, in the year 1523, at the instance of William Nessenus, written the essay: *Adversus Armatum virum Cochleum*, which also appeared in German, under the title: Against the armed man Cochleus, or an Answer concerning Faith and Works. Afterwards he did not feel disposed to reply to any further writings of Cochleus, because of having more important things to attend to, and he remarked, that very many of such books were daily perishing, without any effort on our part towards it.

To another opponent, however, he deemed it necessary to reply, not on account of him, individually, but on account of those who employed the influence of this man, with it to adorn their opposition to Christ. This was *Erasmus*. What Luther thought of him, he stated in a letter. (of the 20th June, 1523,) to John Œcolampadius: "Although I here and there perceive his pointed words, yet, as he pretends not to be a secret foe, I again, in return, act as if I did not perceive his craftiness, although I see through his conduct much better than he imagines. He has accomplished that for which he was called: he has introduced the languages, and drawn away the attention from those wretched studies. Perhaps he will also, with Moses, die in the plains of Moab; for to better studies, which are profitable for godliness, he will scarcely attain. I wish

very much, that he would desist from the explanation of the Holy Scriptures, and from his paraphrases, for he is not the man for such a work, and he only prevents his readers from rightly understanding the Scriptures. He has done enough in exposing what is evil; but also to reveal that which is good, and to conduct into the promised land, this, I perceive, he does not understand." And in another place: "I shall not give Erasmus cause to enter the lists against me; and though he should assail me once or twice, I shall, out of respect for him pass it by. Yet it would not, in my estimation, be advisable for him to try the power of his eloquence against me. But if he does mingle in the game, he shall, by the grace of God, learn that Christ fears neither the gates of hell, nor the mighty ones that rule in the darkness of the world, and I, stammering mortal, by the help of God, shall joyfully meet the most eloquent Erasmus, not dreading either his great influence, name, or favour." Many, namely, had sought to prevail upon Erasmus to write against Luther, and pope Adrian himself had written a very flattering letter to him on this subject, to which he, however, replied with various excuses. Luther was anxious to continue at peace with him, and for this purpose wrote to him, (in the year 1524): "I have not taken it in very bad part, that thou, in order to preserve a good understanding with the papists, hast, in some parts of thy books, dealt rather harshly with me, since I well perceive, that thou hast not received from God the courage and the disposition, freely and confidently, with me, to meet the monsters with whom I have to deal; and I do not wish to demand of thee, what transcends the measure of the power given thee of God; yea, I bear with and respect thy weakness, and the measure of the gift granted thee of God." In conclusion he says: "This, dearest Erasmus, I wish thee to consider, as having been said in evidence of my upright intention towards thee, and I wish, that God would give thee a spirit worthy of thy name: but if God should delay giving this to thee, I pray thee, meanwhile, that thou wouldest, if thou canst not do anything else, merely sit as spectator at our tragedy, and not suffer thy troops to pass over to those of the enemy, especially not to publish any books against me, as I shall not publish anything against thee." Erasmus replied to this, (under date of the 5th May): That, although he might have gained great favour with the princes by it, he had yet so far not written anything against Luther, because he had seen

that this could not have been done without injury to the Gospel; that he had merely warded off the charge of being in league with Luther. That what Luther wrote against him, could not disturb him, yea, in a worldly point of view, there could be nothing more advantageous to him. That he was desirous of delivering his soul to Christ free of guilt, and wished that all might be so disposed. "If thou art prepared," continues he, "to give an answer to all, concerning the faith that is in thee, why art thou dissatisfied, when any one, for the sake of information, disputes with thee? Perhaps Erasmus, if he wrote *against* thee, would better promote the interest of the Gospel, than some foolish people who write *for* thee, on whose account it will not do to remain a spectator of this tragedy. If it does not really, after all, take a tragical end!" In the same year Erasmus published, against Luther, his treatise: *Delibero arbitrio*, (concerning free will). It was especially through the king of England that he had been induced to this step; he himself acknowledged, however, that in writing this treatise, he had not moved in his proper sphere; and in another place: That in writing the treatise concerning free will, he had lost his own free will.

Luther did not reply till the close of the year 1525, when he wrote the treatise: *De servo arbitrio*, it being at the same time published in the German translation of Justus Jonas, under the title: "*That free will is nothing*," concerning which delay he explains himself in the introduction. He observes here that he highly esteemed Erasmus, calls him a great and dear man, and praises his distinguished talents; he unreservedly, however, tells him, that he had been displeased at that ambiguous book, in which Erasmus rocked to and fro so much that it was impossible to get any firm hold on him, that he, upon the whole, in all his writings was more slippery than an eel, wishing to walk on eggs and yet not to break them, to assert and yet not to assert, to conclude and yet not to conclude. That it was very difficult to deal with such men in matters so important and spiritual, which concern the conscience and the soul. Indeed, he plainly says: "Thou adducest grounds and arguments so wretched that I have scarcely, in all my life, met with a more wretched weak and feeble book concerning free will, and have only to except the elegant and flowery language, which does little good here."

But much more than at the assault of Erasmus, was Luther

grieved at the disorderly proceedings of *Karlstadt* and the *fanatics*, the error of the *Sacramentarians*, and the disturbances caused by *Münzer;* although he comforted himself with the thought that that part of the cross also was to be borne, that he who eats the bread of Christ, tramples Him under his feet, and that his Word in this way proved itself to be God's Word, by passing through the ordeal, not only of power, but also of heresy.

Karlstadt had betaken himself to *Orlamünde*,[1] and there had, after the removal of the regular vicar, suffered himself to be made their pastor by the citizens, who adhered to him; he now proceeded to cast the images out of the church, spread his doctrine concerning the Lord's supper, lived on intimate terms with the new prophets who had come into those parts from Zwickau, and was suspected, in particular, of making common cause with Thomas Münzer, who was at Allstädt at that time. He also had established a printing-press at Jena, from which he issued his books. Having in vain been admonished by the university and the chapter of Wittenberg to return to the discharge of his duties, Luther, at the command of the elector, proceeded to *Jena*, where the adherents of Karlstadt and Münzer were numerous. Luther arrived there on the 21st August, took up his lodging at the inn of the Black Bear, and on the following day, early at 7 o'clock, delivered a sermon against the fanatics and their fruits, insurrection, and the destruction of images. Karlstadt, who had been present and heard this sermon, considered some portions of it as applying to himself, and wrote to Luther, desiring a conference with him. This took place at Luther's lodging, in the presence of many witnesses.

Karlstadt complained that Luther had put him in the same catalogue with seditious and murderous spirits, in that he had said, that the murderous spirit at Allstädt and the spirit which broke the images and laid hands upon the sacrament were *one* and the *same* spirit. That the spirit at Allstädt had nothing in common with his doctrine on the sacrament; that no one after the apostles had taught on this subject as he had done, adopting the same manner, views and arguments. Luther replied, that he had not made the least mention of any one, especially not of him, but that, if he considered it as applying to himself he might apply it to himself in the name of God. After they had sharply conferred with one another, Luther

said: You are, after all, on the side of the new prophets. Karlstadt: As far as they have right and truth on their side; as far as they are in the wrong let the devil side with them. Luther: Write against me openly and not clandestinely. Karlstadt: If I were assured that you are so anxious for it, you might have your wish. Luther: Only do so. Karlstadt: It shall be done. Luther: Do so, I will present you a florin for the purpose. Karlstadt: A florin? Luther: If I don't do so, call me a knave. Karlstadt: Give it to me then, and I shall verily accept it. Luther accordingly put his hand into his pocket and drawing forth a gold florin, he gave it to Karlstadt and said: Take it, and only boldly assail me, don't spare. Karlstadt took the florin and holding it up to all present, said: Dear brethren, that is Arrabo, a token that I am authorized to write against Doctor Luther, and I pray you all to be witnesses of it for me. Luther: There is no need of it. And Karlstadt bent it and put it in his purse, reached his hand to Dr. Luther, and Dr. Luther toasted him, and Karlstadt, returning the compliment, said: Doctor, I pray you therefore not to prevent me from printing, neither to cause me any persecution or hinderance as to my livelihood, for I intend to maintain myself with the plough, and whatever the plough shall yield, you, no doubt, will learn. Luther: How should I wish to prevent you when I desire you to write against me? and I give you the florin as an evidence that you are not to spare me. And the more boldly you attack me the better I shall be pleased with you. The court-preacher, (Wolfgang Stein, who had accompanied Luther on his journey,) also said to Karlstadt: The Doctor shall not prevent you from gaining your livelihood, nor do you any injury. Upon which Karlstadt said: Well then, if I miss you, it shall be my damage. Thus Karlstadt returned home, and Martin having preached, afterwards drove to Kahla.

In *Kahla* he was to deliver a sermon. But on his ascending the pulpit, he found a broken crucifix lying scattered about in it; this at first grieved him, but he arose, pushed the pieces aside, and delivered an instructive sermon and faithful warning, with all submission to preserve faith and a good conscience, and did not make the least mention of the nefarious deed.

Upon this he proceeded to Neustadt, and thence to *Orlamünde.* The council of the congregation at Orlamünde had written and despatched a letter to him to Jena, in which they

stated that they had heard, how he, from his pulpit, had imprudently pronounced them to be heretics, erring and fanatical spirits, although he had never tried or inquired into their spirits. That they were prepared to render an account before him or any one else. Luther refused to preach at Orlamünde, but treated with them concerning the letter, especially concerning the authority from the Scriptures, for the removal of images;[2] but he accomplished nothing with them, and could rejoice, as he says, that he was not pelted with stones and mud, as some of them did salute him with a blessing in this wise: "Go, and depart in the name of a thousand devils, and may you perish before you leave the precincts of the town."

Karlstadt having, by an order of the elector, been compelled to leave Orlamünde and its vicinity, wrote two letters to the congregation, one to the men, the other to the women, which were publicly read, and bore the signature: Andrew Bodenstein, exiled through Martin Luther, without having been heard or vanquished. Upon this he directed his course to *Strasburg*, and there endeavoured to gain adherents to his doctrine concerning the Lord's Supper, that bread and wine, namely, are not the body and blood of Christ; he also issued a large number of books from Basle, in which he called Luther a two-fold papist, and friend of Anti-Christ. Luther, on receiving information of this, first of all wrote a letter of admonition (on the 15th December, 1524,) to the Strasburgers, in which he thanks God for so richly bestowing upon them His grace, and exhorts them daily to increase in the knowledge and grace of Jesus Christ, to continue of one mind, and to evince their brotherly love by their actions, that faith might not be false, indolent or idle, and that the exiled foe might not again return, and finding the house empty and garnished, enter in with seven worse spirits, and thus the last case become worse than the first. That if they were calumniated or persecuted on this account, they were blessed. But that it was a dangerous state of things when divisions, sects, and errors rose among Christians. That these, nevertheless, would follow too, that there would have to be heresies in order that the faithful might be revealed. That Christ must have not only Caiaphas among his enemies, but also Judas among his friends. That he wrote this because of the new prophets who were arising in several places, and because he had heard that Doctor Karlstadt was exciting disturbance among them, as well as elsewhere, with

his fanaticism in regard to the sacrament, images, and baptism. That he was not their pastor, but was allowed to admonish them, and that they knew how he had taught all the principal points which a Christian must necessarily know, in their purity and with certainty; that Karlstadt, however, so impetuously insisted upon outward things, as if these constituted the very essence of Christianity. "This I acknowledge," he then continues, "if Dr. Karlstadt or any other person, could have demonstrated to me five years ago, that there is nothing but bread and wine in the sacrament, he would have done me a great service. I had severe trials and conflicts to encounter on this subject, so that I would gladly have been delivered from them, because I well perceived, that in this way I would have been able, most sucessfully, to assault the papacy. There were two, also, who wrote to me concerning the subject, with more ability than Dr. Karlstadt, and who did not thus torture the words to suit their own fancy. But I am captive and cannot escape: the text is too mighty on this point, and will not suffer itself to be erased from the mind by means of words. Yea, if any one could this day demonstrate to a certainty, that there is nothing present here but mere bread and wine, it should not be necessary to assail me with such rage. I am only too much inclined that way, as far as I perceive from my natural man. But the dreamings of Dr. Karlstadt on this subject disturb me so little, that I am only the more confirmed in my views through them."

Against Karlstadt, Luther, in January and February, 1525, wrote the treatise: "*Against the Heavenly Prophets*," in two parts. After the introductory remarks, he speaks first of *iconoclasm*, and says, that the images must first, by means of the Word, be torn from the heart, before the hand is laid on them; afterwards they might also be outwardly abolished, though in an orderly way, without fanaticism and violence; whereupon he further treats of prohibited or idolatrous images. He also replies: "*To the complaint of Dr. Karlstadt in reference to his having been exiled from the country of Saxony*," that this had been done because he had attempted to invest the rabble with the regular power of the government, and was making common cause with the heavenly prophets, who pretended that they had conversed with God and God with them, and that they were called to preach, and who moreover endeavoured to reform Christendom by putting all princes and wicked men to

death, that then they might be lords upon the earth and live among mere saints. That Karlstadt was aware of their murderous spirit and yet did not avoid them. But that all was to be ascribed to his having forsaken his regular vocation, and intruded himself uncalled into Orlamünde. He then speaks of the *mass*, because Karlstadt had reproached the Wittenbergers for employing this term in reference to the sacrament and for elevating the latter.

In the second part, in which he treats of the *sacrament* in particular, he firstly exposes the artifice of Satan, in that, through the false prophets he assailed the Gospel, which he hated. That God, through His Gospel, dealt with us in two ways, the one outward, the other inward: outwardly, through the oral word of the Gospel, and through the bodily signs, baptism and the sacrament; inwardly, through the Holy Ghost and faith, and other gifts; but in such a way that the outward things must precede, and the inward follow through the outward, and that God gave the inward things to no one except through the outward. That the sectarian spirits reversed this order. That what God outwardly connected with the Spirit inwardly, they scornfully and mockingly discarded, wishing first to be in the spirit, and saying: Yea, should a handful of water cleanse me from sin? The Spirit, the Spirit, the Spirit, must accomplish it internally. Should bread and wine help me? Should the breathing over the bread bring Christ into the sacrament? No, no, the flesh of Christ must be eaten spiritually. That if they were asked, however, how we obtain this same high spirit, they would direct us, not to the outward Gospel, but to the elysian fields, and say: "Patiently continue in meditation as I have continued,[3] and you will experience it; then will come the heavenly voice, and God himself will hold converse with thee." That, on the other hand, with regard to what God did not outwardly ordain, they proceeded like madmen and established outward order without any command of God, and invented various things in regard to humility and demeanour; and that, what God ordained inwardly as faith, they did not allow, but applied all the Scripture passages which insisted upon inward faith, to some outward new mode, to modify the old man; and thus they invented terms like refining, studying, admiration, meditation, and other such nonsense, of which not an iota was contained in the Scriptures. To this he adds the admonition: "Therefore do thou, my brother, cling firmly to

the order of God, considering the mortification of the old man, in which we follow the example of Christ, as Peter says, not to be the first thing, as this devil teaches, but the last, holding, that no one can mortify his flesh, bear the cross, and follow the example of Christ, unless he first become a Christian, and through faith receive Christ in his heart as an eternal treasure. But Him we do not obtain by works, as these prophets madly teach, but by the hearing of the Gospel, the order being this: Firstly, before all works and all other things, God's Word is heard, in which the Spirit rebukes the world on account of sin, John xvi. Then, when a knowledge of sin is obtained, the grace of Christ is made known. In this Word the Spirit appears and gives faith to whomsoever he will. Then follow mortification, the cross, and works of love. Whoever proposes to thee a different order, be assured that it is the spirit of the devil, as this Karlstadtian spirit is."

He then reviews the arguments with which Karlstadt endeavours to prove that the body and the blood of Christ are not in the sacrament, and shows, firstly, how he rends and tortures God's Word, and then what is to be thought of the arguments which dame Grace, that is, Karlstadt's sage reason advances against the sacrament. He finally concludes with the words: "Lastly, I herewith faithfully and fraternally warn every one to be on his guard against Dr. Karlstadt and his prophets, and this for two especial reasons: the first is, that they roam about and teach without being called, which God rebukes through Jeremiah, and says: They ran and I did not send them, they spoke and I did not command them. Therefore Christ also, John x., declares them to be thieves and murderers, who do not enter in at the door, but climb in some other way. They boast of having a high measure of the Spirit, even higher than the apostles, although they have, now, for more than three years, clandestinely sneaked about and cast around their filth. If it had been the right spirit, he would have come forth boldly and have proved his vocation with signs and words; but it is an insidious, clandestine devil, that sneaks about in corners till he can do injury and spread abroad his poison. The other reason is, that these prophets avoid, flee, and suppress the principal part of Christian doctrine; for they nowhere teach how we may be delivered from sin, obtain a good conscience, and a peaceful, joyous heart towards God, upon which everything depends. This is the true sign that their spirit is of the

devil, who, with strange and new words, does indeed excite, terrify, and confuse the consciences of men, but does not afford them rest or peace, nor can it do so; but rashly teaches a number of strange works, with which they are to exercise and torment themselves. But as to what constitutes a good conscience, with regard to this they know nothing whatever; for they have never either felt or known it, and how indeed should they know or feel it, when they, uncalled, come of themselves and teach; such a course certainly cannot be productive of good. The grace of God be with us all. Amen."

Karlstadt having afterwards desired to have a conference with Luther, the latter prayed the elector to extend to him a safe-conduct. The elector refused this, and Luther was satisfied that he did so. In September, 1525, however, on Karlstadt's offering to submit to an investigation in order to clear himself from the charge of insurrection, and also transmitting a revocation of his error, Luther prayed the elector John, to permit Karlstadt, if he should have justified himself, to abide at Kemberg or some village in the vicinity, since he had at any rate, firmly resolved, never in his life to preach any more, nor to write, but forever to keep silence, and to gain his livelihood by his labour. "This I write," added he, "because I deeply commiserate with the poor man, and your electoral grace knows that we are to exercise mercy towards those in distress, especially towards the innocent." He likewise published two treatises, one being: "*Karlstadt's little book in which he answers the charge of insurrection brought against him,*" the other: "*In reference to Karlstadt, besides Karlstadt's declaration, how he understands his doctrine concerning the highly revered sacrament, and other points, and wishes to have it understood.*"

In reference to *Münzer*, Luther had, on his journey to Jena, written from Weimar to the council and congregation of *Mülhausen*, he having heard of *Münzer's* intention to betake himself thither, and had warned them against this false spirit and prophet, who went about in sheeps' clothing, whilst he was inwardly a ravenous wolf. That he had already, at many places, especially at Zwickau, and now at Allstädt, shown by his fruits what kind of a tree he was. That they should cite him and demand of him, who had sent him to preach to them, and if he should say that God and his Spirit had sent him, as the apostles, they should require him to substantiate this by signs and miracles, or forbid him to preach. He, at the same

time, also wrote to the Elector Frederick, and to Duke John, of Saxony, praying them, in the first place, by no means to let present occurrences disturb them, that there would have to be sects, in order that those who are faithful might be revealed, and then expresses his joy, "that our people are not the authors of this confusion, and they themselves do not wish to be considered of our number, or as having learned or received anything from us, for they come from heaven and hear God himself speak with them, as with the angels; and it is an unimportant matter that we at Wittenberg teach faith, love, and the cross of Christ. Thou must hear the voice of God," say they, "and suffer God's Word in thee, and feel the weight of thy talent; with the Scriptures thou canst accomplish nothing; yes, Bible, Babel, Babel, &c." He then exhorts the princes to have regard to the matter, and to arrest such disorderly people, by virtue of the power committed to them, and thus to prevent insurrection; and warns them not to listen to their fine speeches, when they say that the spirit constrains them, since that was a wretched spirit, which could give no other evidence of its fruits than the destruction of churches and cloisters, and the burning of relics.

To this communication, Münzer opposed his treatise: "Highly-called-for defence and answer against the spiritless, meek, living flesh at Wittenberg," &c.; in which he calls Luther the chaste Babylonian woman, virgin Martin, arch-heathen, arch-knave, Doctor Ludibrii and Doctor Liar, the Wittenberg pope, the tricky raven, dragon, lion, basilisk, &c.; and reproaches him, saying, that, whilst he enjoyed his good malmsey, and other carnal pleasures, and deceitfully and knavishly flattered the princes, he denounced only poor monks, priests, and merchants, no one being permitted to condemn and to rebuke the ungodly rulers, although they trampled Christ under their feet, and would not in the least desist from their flaying and their taxations.

When, in the following year, (1525,) the insurrection of the peasantry broke out, and extended also to Thuringia, Münzer being connected with the movement, Luther, on publishing the *compact between the Suabian league and the peasantry*, gave utterance to his deep grief at the course of the heavenly prophets, who were seducing the poor multitude into such destruction of their souls, and perhaps also loss of body and property, and exhorted the peasants to desist; since, whether

they gained or lost, revenge would have to overtake them, God would endure it no longer. In the month of May, there appeared Luther's "*Exhortation to peace, in reply to the twelve articles of the peasantry in Suabia.*" In this he says, that what had pleased him best in the twelve articles of the peasants, was their offer, in the twelfth article, of receiving better instruction, where there was a deficiency and need of it. That if they were sincere in this, there still was hope that things would end well. And that, as they also appealed to him, he had the more readily and confidently, as brotherly love required, published his instruction. He, in the first place, directs his exhortation to the *princes and lords*, and says, that to them, especially the blind bishops, mad priests and monks, such confusion and insurrection were to be ascribed, because they did not cease to rave and to rage against the holy Gospel, and in the temporal government did nothing but flay and exact, to maintain their splendour and pride, till finally the poor common people could no longer endure it. That the sword was already upon their necks, and yet they imagined themselves to be so firmly seated in the saddle as if no one would be able to raise them out of it. That such security and obdurate presumption would prove their destruction, as they would discover. "This you are to know, dear lords, God directs affairs so that your tyranny neither can be, nor will be, nor should be endured forever. You must become other men and yield to God's Word. If you do not do so in a friendly, ready way, you will have to do so through violent and destructive ways. If the peasants do not do it, others will have to do it. And though you should slay them all, they will yet not be extirpated, God will raise up others. For he intends to slay you and will destroy you. It is not the peasants, dear lords, that resist you; it is God himself that resists you, to visit upon you your tyranny. There are some among you who have declared, that they would risk dominions and people, to exterminate the Lutheran doctrines; what think you? If you had been your own prophets, and dominions and people were already staked? Do not trifle with God, dear lords. The Jews also said, we have no king, and it has become so fearfully true, that they have to be forever without a king." He then guards himself against the charge, that all is owing to the Gospel and that it is a fruit of his doctrine, and refers to the fact, that he had always contended against insurrection, and inculcated obedi-

ence even towards tyrannical governments, and says, that if he were inclined to revenge himself he might now have his revenge, by witnessing the proceedings of the peasants or even siding with them; but that God would preserve him from that. He prays them to listen to his admonitions, not to despise the insurrection, not indeed to fear the peasants, but so much the more God, and on his account to exercise a little forbearance and reason towards the peasants, as towards intoxicated and erring men; therefore not to employ force against them, since the issue of such a course could not be foreseen, but first to deal kindly with them, as kindness would occasion no loss.

Upon this he turns to the *peasants*, and assures them that there is no trifling here, that it effects the eternal weal or wo of body and soul, and that they should, most of all, consider, not how powerful they were, or how unjust the others were, but how good and just their own motives were. That they employed the name of God, called themselves a Christian community, and pretended to have a disposition to act in accordance with divine right. Whether they did not know that the name of God was not to be unnecessarily and uselessly employed, and that God would not hold him guiltless who used his name in vain? that they however did this, would not be difficult to show. That Christ said: *He that taketh the sword, shall perish through the sword;* and Paul: *Let every soul be subject to the higher powers with fear and honour.* That in opposition to these passages and rights of God, they nevertheless proceeded and took the sword and withstood the government; therefore the sentence of God would be pronounced upon them: *He that resisteth the ordinance of God, shall receive unto himself damnation.* That though they said, the government was wicked and unjust, this did not excuse any plotting or insurrection, since revenging of one's self was not only opposed to Christian right and the Gospel, but also to all natural right and justice. This he further explains to them, and shows how the right of the Christian is suffering and the cross, and from this draws the conclusion: "I permit your cause to be as good and right as it may; but because you attempt to defend it yourselves and will not suffer violence or injustice, you may do or not do whatever God does not forbid you. But the Christian name, I say, lay aside, and do not make it a cloak for your impatient, turbulent, and unchristian undertaking; this name I shall not leave nor allow you, but both by means of my writ-

ings and my words, tear from you, as far as I am able, and whilst an artery beats in my body." . . . "For Christians do not contend for themselves with the sword, nor with rifles, but with the cross and suffering; just as their leader, Christ, does not wield the sword, but hangs on the cross. Therefore their victory does not consist either in superiority, or ruling, or power, but in inferiority and weakness, as St. Paul says, 2 Cor. x.: *The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God.*" Having then also informed them how true saints make known their distress to God, and seek help of Him, how they, however, had not such comfort and confidence to pray, he proceeds to speak of the articles and shows them, how they falsely boasted and excused themselves in the preface, as desiring to teach and to live according to the Gospel, and how their own word and work rebuked them, since not one article taught any part of the Gospel, but that their only aim was to obtain freedom for body and property. Concerning the first three articles he makes some remarks, the rest he commits to those conversant with law, and then also prays them to hear his argument from the Scriptures, and not instantly to exclaim: "Luther hypocritically flatters the princes, he speaks in opposition to the Gospel," and concludes: "I am excused before God and the world. I well know the false prophets among you; do not listen to them; they will assuredly seduce you. Their object is not the peace of your conscience, but they would like to make Galatians of you, in order, through you, to obtain property and honour, and thus afterwards be, together with you, forever condemned in hell."

In conclusion, he then addresses an admonition both to the *government and to the peasantry*, and assures them, that as there is nothing Christian on either side, and their contention was only about heathenish or worldly right and injustice, and temporal property, God also was opposed to both sides; wherefore they should, for God's sake, receive advice and help, and proceed about the matter with justice and not with violence; that they might not occasion bloodshed in Germany, otherwise God would destroy them on both sides and chastise one knave with the other. The *lords* he reminds of the fact, that the tyrants upon the earth had usually met with a violent end, by which God had shown that he was judge upon the earth and would suffer no injustice to go unrebuked; they should beware, lest they might perish in like manner if they did not reform. So

he likewise declares to the *peasants*, that the Scriptures and experience demonstate, that no factious proceedings ever ended well, and that God always strictly enforces the Word: *He that taketh the sword shall perish through the sword.* "That grieves me and excites my commiseration most of all," continues he, "and I would willingly yield my life to prevent such a result—that on both sides two inevitable injuries follow. For as neither part contends with a good conscience, but both parts strive in order to maintain what is wrong, it must follow, in the first place, that those who are slain are lost with body and soul forever, since they die in their sins without repentance and grace, in the wrath of God, here there is no help whatever. For the lords would contend for the maintenance of their tyranny, the persecution of the Gospel and their unrighteous oppression of the poor, or else assist those of this class to confirm and to maintain those things. That truly is shocking and against God, whoever is found in it must be lost forever. The peasants, on the other hand, would contend for the purpose of defending their factious proceedings and abuse of the Christian name, both which are also highly displeasing to God; and he that dies in and on account of them, must also be eternally lost, here nothing will help. The other injury is, that Germany will be laid waste, and where such bloodshed once begins, it scarcely will cease till everything is destroyed. For strife is easily begun, but it is not in our power to stop it when we wish. What injury now have you sustained from so many innocent children, women, and aged people, whom you fools draw into such danger, in order to fill the land with blood, robbery, widows and orphans." "Therefore," says he in conclusion, "my faithful advice would be, to select several counts and gentlemen from among the nobility, and from the cities several counsellors, and to have them, in a friendly way, investigate and settle the affair; and you lords here should come down from your haughtiness, which you will, at any rate, be constrained to do at last, whether you will or not, and you should yield a little in your tyranny and oppression, that the common people also might gain air and space to breathe. The peasants, on the other hand, likewise should receive instruction, and yield several articles which demand too much, so that the matter, if it cannot be arranged in a Christian way, may yet be settled according to human rights and compacts. If you will not follow such advice, which may God forbid, I

must leave you to yourselves; but I am innocent of your souls, blood, and property, you shall bear all yourselves. I have declared to you that you are in the wrong on both sides, and strive for what is wrong. Do, therefore, what you wish, as you are resolved not to follow, in order to preserve body and soul. But I and mine will pray God either to bring you on both sides to agree and to unite, or graciously to prevent your designs from being carried out; though the terrible signs and wonders which have happened this while past, sadly distress me, and I fear that the wrath of God has begun to burn too violently, as he says in Ezekiel, (xiv. 14.) *Although Noah, Job, and Daniel were in it, I would still have no pleasure in this people.* Would to God *you* dreaded His wrath and repented, that the calamity might at least be delayed. But do as you may, I, as my conscience testifies to me, have, in all Christian and brotherly fidelity, sufficiently advised you. God grant that it may be of avail. Amen."

But when the peasants forgot the offer they had made in their twelfth article, and resorted to force, robbed and raved; Luther thought that as they acted differently from what they said, he would likewise have to write differently concerning them, and hold up to them their sin, wherefore he wrote the writing: "*Against the rapacious and murderous peasants.*" In it he says: That the peasants had deserved death as to body and soul by three shocking sins. That, in the first place, having sworn fidelity and allegiance to their government, they had wickedly and nefariously violated this obedience, and risen up in arms against their lords. That they, in the second place, were causing insurrection, and, like public highway-robbers and murderers, were pillaging the cloisters and castles. That they, in the third place, mantled this terrible, shocking sin with the Gospel, called themselves christian brethren, and compelled others to engage in such wickedness with them. That it did not either avail them anything to pretend, that, according to Genesis i. and ii., all things were created free and common, and that we were all baptized alike; since Moses was not the authority of the New Testament, but Christ stood there and subjected our bodies and property to the emperor and temporal right, and baptism did not set free the body and property, but the souls of men, and the Gospel made property common with those only who voluntarily made it common, as the apostles and disciples did, Acts iv.

That he therefore, as the peasants resisted both God and man, was constrained to instruct the government how it should proceed in this case, and preserve a good conscience. That if the government should resolve, without previous offer of right and equity, to discomfit and to punish such peasants, he would not withstand it, even if it did not receive the Gospel, because it had right on its side, since the peasants no longer contended for the Gospel, but had manifestly become faithless, perjured, disobedient, rebellious, murderers, robbers, blasphemers, whom even a heathen government has the right and power to punish. But that a government, which was christian and received the Gospel, should proceed with fear: that it should, in the first place, commit the matter to God, and confess that we have well deserved this, then humbly pray for help against Satan; and when the heart was now so disposed towards God, as to permit his divine will to have its course, then it should, out of mercy, offer the mad peasants a redress of all just grievances; then if this would not avail, boldly to seize the sword. For that a prince and lord was to remember here, that he was the steward of God and servant of his wrath, Rom. xiii., to whom the sword was committed against such knaves, and that he would sin just as grievously against God, by not punishing and warding off, and by not discharging the duties of his office, as one who committed murder when the sword was not committed to him. That the government should only proceed without hesitation, and strike boldly, since there was the advantage here, that the peasants had an evil conscience and an unjust cause; the government, on the other hand, a good conscience and a just cause, so that he who was slain on the government side, if he contended with such a conscience, was a true martyr before God, because he acted in obedience to God's Word. And that one other important consideration for the government was, that the peasants were not satisfied with being of Satan themselves, but that they also compelled many pious people, who yielded with reluctance, to engage in their devilish proceedings, and thus made them partakers of their wickedness and condemnation. That the government should be merciful to such captives among the peasants, and if there were no other cause, on this account boldly draw the sword against the peasants, and itself stake life and property. "Therefore," says he in conclusion, "dear lords, deliver here, rescue here, be merciful to the poor people, stab,

strike, slay here who can. If thou fallest among the slain, well for thee, a happier death thou never canst die; for thou diest in obedience to the word and command of God, Rom. xiii., and in the service of love, to deliver thy neighbour from the bands of hell and of Satan. I, therefore, pray every one who can, to flee from the peasants as from Satan himself. But those that do not flee, I pray God to enlighten and to convert; and may God grant, that those who cannot be converted, may meet with no prosperity or success. Here let every pious christian say: Amen; for this prayer is right, and good, and acceptable to God, of this I am convinced. If any one conceives this to be too severe, let him remember, that fearful insurrections and the destruction of the world are hourly to be expected."

Luther himself had, at the instance of Count Albrecht, of Mansfeld, on the first Easter holyday, (the 16th April,) after sermon, hastily proceeded to Seeburg, and there preserved order and quiet among many of the miners, by his admonitions.[4] Hereupon he also preached in the earldom of Stollberg, as likewise at Nordhausen, Erfurt, Weimar, Orlamünde, Kahla, and Jena, doing all in his power to check the insurrection, (and being repeatedly in imminent danger of losing his life,) he would have proceeded further, if the *death and the funeral of the elector Frederick* had not suddenly recalled him.

The latter had, on the 5th May, after having received the sacrament in both kinds, most gently fallen asleep, so that the attending physician had exclaimed: "He was a son of peace, and in peace he has died." At his interment in the castle-church, on the 9th and 10th May, Luther delivered two sermons on 1 Thess. iv. 13–18; and in his letter of condolence to Duke John Frederick, he says concerning the deceased: "It seems as if God had removed him, like king Josiah, that he might not witness such evil in the world, because he, all his lifetime, conducted his government in so peaceable, noiseless, and quiet a way, that he was justly called Frederick, for his actions were conformable to his name, and we may well wish too that such peaceful souls should not live amidst such strife and insurrections, and perhaps we would only have been grieved the more to have seen his last days cast amidst such confusion."

After his return from his journey, Luther wrote the above-mentioned admonitory writing (p. 308), and when the madness

THE ELECTOR FREDERICK THE WISE.

of the peasants daily increased, the other writing (p. 312). On account of the latter writing he was greatly censured, as if it were unchristian and severe, and as if he inculcated the shedding of blood without all mercy. He justified himself in a letter to the Mansfeld chancellor, Caspar Müller, which was published under the title: *A missive concerning the severe book against the peasants.* In it he, among other things, observes, that he had perhaps written and taught more concerning mercy than any one for a thousand years; but that he had also often enough written how we must make a distinction between the government of God and the temporal government. That the kingdom of God was a kingdom of grace and mercy, and not a kingdom of wrath and punishment; for that in it there was nothing but forgiving, forbearing, loving, serving, doing good, having peace and joy, &c.; but that the temporal government was a government of wrath and severity, since in it there was nothing but punishing, rebuking, judging, and condemning, for the purpose of constraining the wicked, and protecting the pious. "Whoever, therefore," continues he, "should attempt to mix up these two governments, as our false and factious spirits do, he would place wrath in the government of God, and mercy in the temporal government: but this would be placing the devil in heaven, and God in hell; and both these things these peasants would do. Formerly they wanted to employ the sword, and, as christian brethren to contend for the Gospel, and kill others when they ought to have shown mercy and forbearance. Now that the temporal government exercises its power against them, they desire mercy in it; that is, they will endure no temporal government, nor are they willing to allow God's government to any one;—what greater perverseness could be imagined? Not so, dear friends; if any one has deserved wrath in the temporal government, let him submit to it, and suffer the punishment, or humbly beg pardon. But those in the kingdom of God are to show mercy to all, and pray for them, but yet not hinder the just exercise and operation of the temporal government, but assist and further them." Finally, he says, that when he had written in his book that the sword should be drawn against the rebels without any mercy, he by this had not taught that mercy was not to be exercised towards the captives, and those that surrendered, and adds: "Neither do I, by this, mean to sustain the furious tyrants, or to praise their raving; for I understand that some of

our manikin knights deal most cruelly with those poor men, and are audacious and haughty, as if they had triumphed and were already secure. Behold, they do not seek the punishment and reformation of the rebels, but give loose reins to their savage disposition, and gratify their insolence, which, perhaps, has for a long time tormented them, thinking that they have now found a fit opportunity. But especially do they now boldly oppose the Gospel, attempting again to establish endowed institutions and cloisters, and to preserve the crown for the pope, mixing up our cause with that of the rebels. But they shall likewise soon reap what they now sow, for He that sits above beholds them, and will come before they imagine it. I am convinced that they will fail to accomplish what they design, as they have failed hitherto."

After the suppression of the insurrection, Luther wrote an "*Opinion as to how the present Insurrection may be suppressed,*" which was translated into German by Spalatin, and in which he says: That as the present insurrection had taught a lesson of wisdom, and it had with great injury been experienced what resulted from a want of diligence in quieting the multitude, and preserving them contented, as far as possible; it was necessary not only to employ violence, as in the present instance, but also reason, since mere violence could not succeed, but had a tendency to keep alive in the subject an eternal hatred towards the government. And now he draws attention to the fact that this distress had arisen principally from the disorderly life of the clergy, and from the neglect of reformation here, wherefore it would be necessary to begin by first reforming this station, otherwise the poison could never be extracted from the heart.

In the year 1525, a Polish Jew, a doctor of medicine, was arrested at Wittemberg, concerning whom Luther's friends had written to him, that he had been bribed with 2000 florins in gold *to poison him.* The hope was entertained that it might be ascertained from him by whom he had been despatched, but he would not give the information voluntarily, and Luther not being willing to have him subjected to the rack, but succeeded in having him set free, although he was fully convinced that he was the very individual whom his friends had designated to him, the descriptions being all verified.[5]

Authorities.—Sleid. lib. IV. Let. No. 578. Works, vol. 19, p. 303. Writing: Against the new idol, &c., vol. 18, p. 5.1. Writing: Against the armed man Cochleus, &c, ib. p. 460. Let. No. 578, 631, 505. Works, vol. 19, p. 1. The letters of Erasmus here quoted, in Seckend. lib. I, § CLXXIX. Let. No. 592, 593. Answer of Erasmus in Seckend. l. c. Writ. De Servo arbitrio, German Works, vol. 19, p. 2. Let. No. 586, 601. Seckend. lib. I., p. 302, lib. II., p. 28. Let. No. 624. Works, vol. 19, p. 148. Mathes. Let. No. 627, 642, 643. Writ. against the heavenly prophets, vol. 19, p. 156. Let. No. 678, 684, (cll. Seckend. l. c.) 616, 617. Münzer's Writ. against Luther in Seidemann's Thomas Münzer, p. 47. Compact between the Suabian League, &c. Works, vol. 19, p. 246. Writ. Exhortation to peace, &c., ib. p. 253. Writ. Against the rapacious and murderous peasants, ib. p. 246. Seckend. lib. II., p. 9, according to Spalatin's relation, (Comp. Works, Hall. ed., vol. 16, p. 1935.) Ibid. p. 33, 34, (the sermons at the interment of the elector,) Works, vol. 12, p. 209. Let. No. 701. Seckend. lib. II., p. 9. Letter to Caspar Müller, Works, vol. 19, p. 267. Writ. Opinion as to how the present insurrection may be suppressed, ib. p. 551. Let. No. 664, 674.

Notes.—1.) K. did so under the pretence that the parish of Orlamünde, with its incomes, was assigned to the university of Wittenberg, which maintained a vicar there. See Seckend. lib. II., p. 28.

2.) These transactions, as well as those at Jena, were published, (see Works, vol. 19, p. 152 sq.,) but this relation is designated by Luther as only half true and as partial, (see let. No. 620,) and there has been only so much extracted from both as is confirmed by other statements.

3.) Concerning the mystical terminology of Münzer comp. Seidemann's Thom. Münzer, p. 58.

4.) Luther himself, in a letter to Spalatin, (No. 693.) gives as the occasion of this journey: This hour I depart for Eisleben, in company with Philip and M. Eisleben, we being called thither for the purpose of establishing a christian school. Both objects, however, can well be united.

5.) In letter No. 664, there is mentioned only one, in No. 674, several Jews; he probably had companions. The whole account is given more circumstantially according to Luther's own narration in the Works, vol. 17, p. 379; some particulars, nevertheless, remain obscure.

CHAPTER VI.

LUTHER'S MARRIAGE.

In the year 1524, on the 20th Sunday after Trinity, Luther had laid aside his cowl and begun to wear a black gown, the Elector Frederick having presented him the cloth for it, with the words: To have a preacher's gown or a monk's hood made of

it for himself; or, if he chose, a Spanish hood, with which words the elector had secretly ridiculed the monks. He also already, in the year 1524, together with the prior Eberhard Brisger, negotiated with the elector concerning the consignment of the cloister to him; for they were the only two yet remaining in the cloister, (excepting several who had been exiled on account of the Gospel, and whom they had with them from Christian love,[1]) and the prior likewise was anxious to depart, and then, Luther thought, it would no longer be proper for him to remain there; he would, therefore, be compelled to look for an occupation, where God would maintain him.[2] At that time, however, he did not yet think of marrying, as is evident from a letter to Spalatin, (of the 30th Nov., 1524,) in which he commissions the latter, in his name, to thank *Argula von Stauffen*,[3] who had written that he should enter into the marriage state, and to inform her: that he undoubtedly was in the hand of God, as his creature, whose heart he could change, and change again, kill and make alive, every moment and hour. "But," added he, "as my heart has thus far been inclined, and is still inclined, it will not come to pass, that I shall take a wife. Not as though I do not feel my flesh or my sex, for I am not of wood or stone; but my thoughts are not directed to marrying, because I daily expect to be put to death, or to be executed as a heretic. Therefore, I shall not set God a limit for his work in me, neither persist in my own views; I trust, however, that God will not suffer me to live long."

It was ordered otherwise. On the 2d June, 1525, Luther wrote to the Elector Albrecht, of Mayence, exhorting him, in view of important considerations, to enter into the marriage state, to convert the bishopric into a temporal principality, and to lay aside the false name and appearance of the spiritual station. And to his brother-in law, Dr. John Rühel, at Mansfeld, (who also was counsellor to the elector of Mayence,) he wrote at the same time: "And if his electoral grace should again say, as I understood he did before, why I myself do not marry, whilst I exhort every body to do so; you are to answer, that I have always still feared, that I was not fit to take such a step. If my marriage, however, should be an encouragement to his electoral grace, I will be quite prepared, to precede, and to set his electoral grace the example, as I, at any rate, intend, before I depart this life, to be found in the marriage state, which I consider as demanded of God; even if it

should be nothing further than a betrothed Joseph-marriage."[4] And, behold, on the 13th June, Luther, without previously consulting any of his friends with regard to the matter, took *Catharine von Bora to wife.* She was one of the nuns, that had fled from Nimptschen, and had till then resided in the house of the town-clerk, Philip Reichenbach, in Burgomaster-street, at Wittenberg, having demeaned herself quietly and becomingly. "If it had been my design thirteen years ago to marry," said Luther once, subsequently, at table, "I would have chosen Eve Schönfield. My Kate I did not love at that time, for I suspected her of being proud and haughty. But it pleased God thus, who wished that I should take pity on her, and, thanks to God, I was fortunate, for I have a pious, faithful wife, upon whom the heart of a man can depend, as Solomon says: She is a frugal housewife." Abraham Scultetus relates: "Luther having endeavoured to betroth the former nun, Catharine von Bora, to Dr. Glatz, she came to Amsdorf and complained, that Luther wished, against her will, to give her in marriage to Dr. Glatz; and knowing Amsdorf to be Luther's intimate friend, she begged him to prevail upon Luther to desist from this project. That if he or Luther desired her for a wife, she would not refuse; that Dr. Glatz, however, could not have her. Luther being informed of this, and having, moreover, heard Dr. Jerome Schurf remark: 'If this monk should take a wife, the whole world and the devil himself would laugh, and his cause would be utterly ruined,' he, in order to vex the world and the devil, as well as to comply with the wish of his father, who had advised him to marry, took said Catharine to wife." On the 13th June, (as stated,) Luther, in company with Dr. Bugenhagen, Lucas Kranach, the painter, and the jurist, Apellus, unexpectedly proceeded to the house of the town-clerk, and sued with him for lady Catharine von Bora, who, at first, did not know whether he was serious, but on perceiving him to be so, gave her consent. (Bugenhagen performed the marriage ceremony.) And because, perhaps, they were not then prepared to entertain more guests, they on the following day instituted a respectable and public feast in honour of the betrothment, for which the council of Wittenberg, besides the usual congratulation, sent fourteen measures of various kinds of wine.[5]

Luther designedly celebrated his marriage without delay and ado, because he considered the postponement of the marriage, after the betrothment, as imprudent, since Satan was al-

ways ready to cause difficulties, through malicious tongues and calumniators, as he had seen it to be the case at Melanchthon's and Agricola's marriage, and as he presumed, it would likewise have been at his own, his best friends having exclaimed: Not this one, but another. On the 27th of June, however, he instituted a solemn marriage feast, to which he, among others, invited his Mansfeld friends, Dr. *John Rühel*, *John Thü-*, *Caspar Müller*, in the following letter: "Grace and peace in Christ. What a clamour, dear sirs, have I not occasioned by my little book against the peasants! Here all the good is forgotten, which God has granted the world through me. Now, lords, priests, peasants, all oppose me, and menace me with death. Well, then, as they are mad and foolish, I also shall prepare myself, that, before my departure, I may be found in the station created by God, and, as far as possible, lay aside everything of my former papistical life, thus rendering them yet more mad and foolish, and all this by way of a final adieu. For I myself have a presentiment, that God will yet bestow upon me his grace. So I have also, in compliance with the wishes of my dear father, entered the married state, and, in order to prevent these malicious tongues from putting obstacles in the way, without delay consummated the marriage; and intend, in a week from Tuesday, the day following St. John the Baptist's day, to prepare a little enjoyment in honour of my entrance upon domestic life. This I did not wish to conceal from you, as good friends and lords, and I pray that, you would aid in pronouncing the blessing upon our union. But as the times are so unpropitious, I shall not urgently insist upon and demand your presence. But if you would come of your own accord, and could also bring my dear father and mother with you, you may easily conceive yourselves that it would afford me special joy; and whatever good friends you might bring with you to my humble entertainment, would be welcome; only I pray you to inform me of anything in this respect, through this messenger. I would also have written to my gracious lords, the Counts Gebhard and Adelbrecht, concerning this matter, but did not venture to do so, as their highnesses have more important things to attend to than to busy themselves about me. If, however, it should seem necessary to you to do anything in this respect, I pray you to inform me of your opinion."

To the marshal, *John von Dolzig*, he wrote: "The strange

CATHARINA von BORA.

cry, no doubt, has reached your ears, with regard to my having been married. And although this is rather a curious piece of news to me, and I can scarcely credit it myself, the testimony of the witnesses, nevertheless, is so overpowering, that I must, out of becoming respect for them, give credit to it, and accordingly intend, on next Tuesday, with my father and mother and other friends, to seal and to confirm it by a collation. I therefore respectfully pray you, if it be not inconvenient, kindly to provide me with some wild game, and to be present yourself, and, augmenting our joy, help to impress the seal, and the like."

Finally to AMSDORF: "It is true, therefore, that I have suddenly been joined in marriage to Catharine, without allowing the clamour about it to break out, as is usual on such occasions. For I trust I have but a short time to live; and I could not refuse this last act of obedience to my father, who desired this of me in the hope that God would bless me with offspring. I at the same time wished, by my example, to confirm what I have taught, since I find that many, notwithstanding the light of the Gospel, still are timorous. God has thus willed it and accomplished it. I am neither in love, nor fervent, nevertheless I love my wife."

Luther's marriage not only gave occasion for much calumny to his enemies, but some of his friends also were perplexed by it. *Melanchthon* wrote to Camerarius concerning it: "It may perhaps surprise some, that in these unhappy times in which all pious and upright men everywhere mourn, Luther seems not only not to take to heart the present sad state of things, but even not to be at all concerned about it." He then endeavours to explain and to justify the step Luther had taken, and adds: "But if there is anything rash and inconsiderate in this matter, we will not let that disturb us. For there is, perhaps, a hidden design of God connected with it, concerning which we are not impertinently to inquire, and on account of which we are to be unconcerned about the buffooneries of several mockers and calumniators, who exercise themselves neither in a pious life before God, nor in an upright life before men."

Luther himself was undisturbed by the clamour, and among others quieted the apprehensions of his friend, *Mich. Stiefel*, saying: "If my marriage is the work of God, what marvel is it that the flesh takes offence at it; does it not even take offence that God, the Creator, offers his flesh as ransom and

food for the salvation of the world. If the world did not take offence at us, I would take offence at it, and fear that what we do is not of God. Now that it is offended and displeased at me, I edify and comfort myself through it. Do thou do likewise."

Of his wife he could say: "That he valued her more than the kingdom of France, or the wealth of the Venetians, for that a pious wife had been bestowed upon him by God, so he also to her. Again: That he heard of many greater failings and defects everywhere among married people, than were to be found in her. Again: That it was superabundant cause for loving and esteeming her, that she was faithful in her conjugal relation as became a pious, modest wife." And on his informing the above-mentioned friend, a year afterwards, that God had (on the 7th June, 1526,) blessed him with a healthy son, (John,)[6] he adds: "Kate, my rib, greets thee, and thanks thee for having honoured her with so amiable a letter. She herself is well, God be praised, and is obedient to me, and ready to serve me in all things, being more useful to me than I had ventured to hope, God be thanked, so that I would not exchange my poverty for the treasures of a Crœsus."

Authorities.—Aurifaber's Narration in the Works, vol. 19, p. 302. Let. No. 645, 637, 710, 712. Mel. Epp., No. 344. Consil. Viteberg, Tom. IV., p. 16. Tischreden, ed. of Stangwald, p. 665. Abr. Scultetus. Annal. Evang., p. 80. Cons. Vit. l. c. (comp. M. Richter, Genealogia Lutherorum, p. 266.) Tischr., p. 663. Let. vol. 3, No. 715, 721, 723. Mel. Epp. l. c. Let. No. 742. Tischr. p. 666. Let. No. 816.

Notes.—1.) L. nearly always had persons with him in his house, who had elsewhere been exiled on account of the Gospel, some even of noble rank. The actual consignment of the cloister occurred in the following year, (Let. No. 730.) L. nevertheless, continued to reside in it as a private person, (No. 742,) and subsequently received it as a present from the elector.

2.) The straitened circumstances of L. at that time are learned from Let. 646, and 647.

3.) Of the respectable family of the Stauffens, in Bavaria, espoused to the Franconian knight, von Grumbach. She had defended Luther against his enemies, in reference to his translation of the Bible. Seckend. lib. I., p. 205.

4.) Compare with this the passage in the Tischreden: "Before I took a wife I had fully resolved to honour the marriage state, so that if I should have been called unexpectedly to die, or had now been lying upon the bed of death, I would have had myself joined in wedlock to a

pious young woman, and would have given her two silver cups as her portion."

5.) The investigations concerning the chronology and other particulars, see in the monographs concerning this subject, for instance, of the most recent "History of Catharine von Bora," by Beste. Halle, 1843, p. 34. sqq.

6.) We will here at once give a statement of Luther's children in order:

1. *John*, born on the 7th June, 1526, died as Dr. jur., at Königsberg, on the 28th October, 1575. Karl Reinthaler, the deserving superintendant of the Martin Institute, at Erfurt, in the year 1830, discovered impoverished descendants of his in Bohemia, and took them under his care; some, however, yet doubt the genuineness of the genealogy which traces their origin to Luther.

2. *Elizabeth*, born on the 10th December, 1527, died 3d August, 1528.

3. *Magdalene*, born on the 4th May, 1529, died 20th October, 1542.

4. *Martin*, born on the 7th November, 1531, died in private life on the 3d March, 1565.

5. *Paul*, born on the 28th January, 1533, private physician at different courts, died on the 8th March, 1593.

6. *Margaret*, born 1534, died, (wedded name von Kunlheim,) 1570.

CHAPTER VII.

CONTESTS AND BUILDING UP.—1525 AND 1526.

LUTHER complained that after the death of the Elector Frederick, and the suppression of the insurrection of the peasantry Duke George conceived himself able to do everything, being nearly insane and teeming with rage; but that Christ had completely frustrated his designs thus far, and would frustrate them still further. To this was added the abduction of thirteen nuns from the territory of Duke George, which caused a new commotion to burst upon Luther's head; several noblemen at the court of the elector even being very much enraged against him, so that he could not venture, without incurring danger, to proceed to Altenburg, to Spalatin's nuptials, but suffered the tears of his Catharine to keep him back.

He, nevertheless, again experienced the joy to behold how Christ rules in his might, and how that which had seemed as if it would involve the Gospel in ruin, turned out to its advantage. There were also gradually introduced various good new regulations. In the beginning, Luther always had rested satisfied with turning the hearts of men away from their un-

christian conceits, in regard to outward worship, and had hesitated to introduce anything new. But because he hoped that the hearts of men were enlightened and strengthened through the grace of God, and because the situation of affairs demanded that something should be hazarded in the name of Christ, he had, in the year 1523, published his *Formula missae et communionis pro Ecclesia*, Vitebergensi, (German, by Speratus, under the title: "A form to celebrate Christian mass, and to go to the table of the Lord.") This was succeeded in the year 1526, by his "*German mass, and order of divine worship*," on publishing which, however, he expressly observed: "Yet I do not herewith desire, that those who already have their good regulations, or who through the grace of God can make better ones, should reject them and yield to us. For I do not entertain the view that Germany must entirely adopt our Wittenberg regulations."

Inasmuch as there was a want of German hymns suited for Divine service,[1] Luther, in imitation of the prophets and ancient father's of the church, undertook the composition of German psalms, or spiritual songs, for the benefit of the common people, that the Word of God might be preserved among them, if by nothing else, by the singing; and he called upon Spalatin to assist him in this, to try his muse upon some psalm; he however, at the same time expressed the wish that new and polished expressions might be avoided, so that simplicity and intelligibility be not lost sight of, still that the language must be uncorrupted and adapted, the thoughts expressed clearly, and, as far as possible, faithfully, according to the psalms. Thus, then, (in the year 1524 and 1525,) there appeared *the first collection of Spiritual Songs and Psalms*,[2] with a preface by Luther, in which he says: "They have also been set to four parts, for no other reason, than that I am anxious that the youth, who ought by all means to be instructed in music, and other useful arts, might have something to engage them, that they might cast aside wanton and carnal songs, and in their stead learn something profitable, so that what is good might be acquired with pleasure, as it should be by the young. I am not of the opinion, that through the Gospel all arts are to be crushed and destroyed, as some silly spirits imagine, but I would very much wish to see all arts, especially music, made use of in the service of Him who has given and created them."

Luther further, on perceiving how the endowed institutions,

cloisters, and chapels were declining, it seeming as if God and the world were weary of monasticism and false spirituality, was anxious, by timely christian advice and admonition, to prevent "the property of these pernicious institutions from being seized by every one at random." He accordingly, as early as the year 1523, published the *order of the common treasury*, which had been established at *Leissnig*, whither he himself had twice proceeded, and also an "*Advice how the spiritual property is to be applied*," in the hope that God would add his blessing, so that this order might become a general example, which many other congregations would imitate. So he likewise, in the year 1524, published a writing: "*To the burgomasters and counsellors of all the cities in Germany, that they should establish and maintain christian schools.*" In the beginning thereof he complains, that everywhere in Germany schools were now permitted to decline, and because it was no longer possible to banish children into the cloisters and endowed institutions, no one was willing further to have his children learn or study, through which the devil was occasioning greater injury than through the Turks. "Therefore," says he, "I pray you all, my dear friends, for God's sake, and the sake of the poor youth, not to esteem this matter so lightly, as many do who do not perceive what the prince of this world designs. For it is a serious and important matter, which greatly concerns Christ and all the world, that we help and counsel the poor youth. In this way, indeed, we help and counsel ourselves. And consider that it is necessary to meet this quiet, secret, artful temptation of Satan with great christian seriousness. Dear sirs, do ye not annually expend great sums for rifles, roads, bridges, dams, and innumerable other things of the kind, in order that a town may enjoy temporal peace and prosperity? Why not much rather expend at least equally as much upon the necessitous and poor youth, so that at least one or two efficient men be employed as school-teachers?" That vast sums of money and property had heretofore been wasted upon indulgences, masses, vigils, &c.; that now, inasmuch as through the grace of God, they were delivered from such robbery, a part of the same might, in gratitude to God, and to His honour, in future be expended for schools, for educating the unhappy youth, which would be a most excellent investment. That God the Almighty had verily graciously visited Germany, and granted a truly golden year, since

Germany had perhaps never been so well supplied with God's Word as it was then. "If now for all this we return ingratitude and dishonour, it is to be feared that we will be subjected to yet more terrible darkness and calamities. Dear Germans, purchase, whilst you may, an opportunity; gather whilst the weather is fair and pleasant; embrace God's Word and grace whilst you can have them. For this you are to know, that God's Word and grace may be likened to a passing shower, which does not return where it has once been. It was with the Jews; but gone is gone; now they have nothing. Paul brought it to Greece; gone is also gone; now they have the Turks. Rome and the country of the Latins also had it; gone is gone; now they have the pope. And you, Germans, are not to imagine that you will have it for ever; for this ingratitude and contempt will not suffer it to remain. Therefore reach forth and take a firm hold, whoever can reach forth and hold: indolent hands will have an unproductive year." As the chief of all considerations, however, he set forth the commandment of God, which Moses so often inculcated, requiring parents to instruct their children; that it was a sin and a shame, however, to suffer themselves first to be urged to this duty, whilst nature itself ought to urge them, as was abundantly exhibited in the examples of the heathens.

Hereupon he replied, firstly, to the objection that this concerned only parents, and not counsellors and governments; and to the other objection: "Although we ought to have, and must have schools, what does it benefit us, however, to teach the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, and other liberal arts? It suffices for salvation to teach the Bible and God's Word in German," he answers: "Yes, alas! I know that we Germans must always be, and continue to be, beasts and senseless brutes, as the surrounding nations also call us, and we well deserve to be called so. I wonder, however, why we don't likewise say: what need we the silk, wine, spices, and the merchandize of foreigners, whilst we ourselves have wine, grain, wool, flax, wood, and stone in Germany, not only in abundance for sustenance, but also in such quantity and quality as to afford choice and selection, for honour and ornament. The arts and the languages, which do us no hurt, and are a greater ornament, honour, advantage and benefit to us, both for understanding the Holy Scriptures, and for conducting the temporal government, we venture to despise, but with foreign

merchandize, which we do not need, and which benefits us nothing, and only flays us to the bone, with it we are unwilling to dispense: are those not truly German fools and brutes?" He then further says, that although the Gospel had come, and daily came, only through the Holy Ghost, it had, nevertheless, come through the medium of the languages, had increased by their means, and would also have to be preserved by their means, for that the languages were the sheath in which the sword of the spirit was contained. That experience had shown, how, after the times of the Apostles, when the languages had ceased, the Gospel also, and faith, and all christendom had more and more declined, and that if the Fathers had often erred in regard to the scriptures, it had been in consequence of a want of acquaintance with the languages. That an ordinary preacher of faith was a very different personage from an expositor of the scriptures, or, as St. Paul called him, a prophet. That an ordinary preacher had so many clear passages and texts in translations, that he could learn to know and teach Christ, as well as lead a holy life and preach to others: but that it was impossible without the languages to explain the Scriptures, and to combat the errors of those who perverted the Scriptures. That the languages, therefore, were absolutely needed in Christendom, just as well as the prophets or expositors, even though every christian or preacher was not such a prophet as St. Paul said 1 Cor. xii. 8 and 9; Ephes. iv. 11.

"But even if there were no soul," he adds, "and we had not the least need of schools and of the languages, for the sake of the Scriptures and of God, this one reason should suffice to cause the establishment of the very best schools everywhere, both for boys and girls; that the world needs accomplished men and women also, for maintaining its outward temporal prosperity, so that the men may be capable of properly governing the country and the people—the women to superintend the house, children, and servants. Now, such men must come of boys, and such women of girls; therefore the object must be rightly to instruct and to educate boys and girls for these purposes. Now I have said above, that the common class of men do nothing towards this, nor can they, if they were so disposed, because they do not know how. Princes and lords should take it in hand; but they are busy with

sleigh-riding, drinking, and running the rounds of their mummery, being burdened with the lofty and important affairs of the cellar, the kitchen, and the chamber. And even where some would willingly engage in the work, they must fear the rest, lest they be taken for fools and heretics. Therefore it devolves wholly upon you, dear counsellors; you also have room and vocation for it, more than the princes and lords."

In the year 1526 Luther endeavoured to be reconciled with King Henry the VIII. of England and Duke George of Saxony. With regard to the *King of England*, King Christian of Denmark had given him a very favourable representation, and had earnestly entreated him, humbly to write, that it would be productive of good, so that Luther thought to himself: "Who knows, there are twelve hours in a day, if thou couldst hit upon a favourable hour in the name of God, and gain the king of England, it certainly would be thy duty to do so; and if thou shouldst be wanting, thou wouldst commit sin." He accordingly, under date of the 1st September, 1525, wrote to the king and said: that he had acted foolishly and rashly in publishing his book against him, (see above, p. 265,) and assailing him so severely in it; and since he had now through credible witnesses learned, that the book which had appeared against him, under the king's name, was not the king's book, he felt ashamed to lift up his eyes before him, that he had permitted himself to be excited against so great a king by such men. That he, in addition, had heard how the king had begun to be favourably disposed towards the Gospel, which had been joyful news to his heart. That he therefore with this letter cast himself at the feet of the king, and begged forgiveness, for the sake of the love of Christ, of his cross and of his glory, would also, if the king desired it, publish a revocation, and again honour the name of the king, hoping to God, that it would prove of no little advantage to the Gospel, if he should have occasion to write to the king of England on behalf of the Gospel. That he meanwhile prayed God, to permit him to abound more and more, as he had begun, so that he might obey the Gospel with all his heart, and not suffer his royal ears and senses to be captivated by those pernicious siren voices, who merely wished to decry Luther as a heretic. He then briefly vindicated his doctrines, and concluded with the wish: that God would grant,

that the king of England might soon become just as faithful a disciple of Christ and confessor of the Gospel, as he hoped he would be Luther's gracious lord.

So, under date of the 22d December, he also wrote an humble letter to *Duke George*, having been persuaded to this by the urgent representations of several noble lords, subjects of the duke, they having encouraged Luther with the hope that it would prove advantageous to the Gospel. After remarking in the introduction, that he, in accordance with the examples in the Scriptures, had severely and sharply attacked the duke in his writings, but had also sincerely prayed God to dispose the duke to be his gracious lord, and had, moreover published many approved sermons and books, from which every one could learn that he was not ill-disposed towards any one. He continued: "As I, however, perceive, that your princely grace does not in the least turn from your inclemency, but without ceasing pursues the same course; I have been induced once more humbly and earnestly, through this writing, to beseech your princely grace, perhaps for the last time. For it seems to me, that God designs soon to take some of us hence, and it is to be apprehended, that Duke George and Luther may be of the number. But for what I do, I can appeal to God, as my heart testifies to me, that I do it for the good of your electoral grace, under a sense of duty and obligation, which urges me to have care for the salvation of the soul of your princely grace, as I acknowledge myself in duty bound to have even for my enemies. Whether now your princely grace accept, (which may God grant!) or not, (which may God forbid!) your princely grace shall nevertheless shortly learn, that, notwithstanding my severe writing, I have been better disposed and am still better disposed, than all those, who now so highly exalt and admirably flatter your princely grace. I therefore sincerely cast myself at the feet of your princely grace, and most humbly pray that your princely grace would at last desist from the inclement project of persecuting my doctrine." He added, that he did not say this, from fear of sustaining great injury from such persecution, since he had nothing further to lose than his vile body, which was daily hastening to the tomb. That he, moreover, had a much greater enemy opposed to him, namely, Satan; that he had so far been greatly benefitted by being persecuted; but that because he knew his doctrine to be the Word of God, he could not, without endangering the salvation

of his own soul, cease to be concerned, pray and entreat for the soul of the duke, if perhaps by his admonitions he might accomplish something. He then entreats the duke not to regard his humble person, and says, that neither the duke nor any other man would be able to crush his doctrine, because it was not his own, and warned the duke not to run against the corner-stone, Jesus Christ, especially since God had, in other respects, granted the duke much virtue and ability. That he would gladly seek to please the duke in everything except in swerving from the wholesome doctrine. "In other respects," says he, "I submissively pray and seek forgiveness, if in anything I have wronged your princely grace, either through my writings or my words. I heartily forgive every thing that your princely grace has enacted against me, and shall pray for and undoubtedly obtain forgiveness from my Lord Jesus Christ for all that your princely grace may have done against His Word." The duke, he continued, should yield in this one respect, to permit the Word of Christ to be free; that all the angels in heaven would rejoice at this. That he had diligently prayed and would continue to pray for the duke, and wished also, by this writing, to prevent his being necessitated to pray against the duke; since though he and his friends were but a small flock, the duke would, nevertheless, not succeed, if they were necessitated to pray against him; for they knew that what their Lord Christ had promised, He would fulfil, and the duke might perhaps learn, that it was not one and the same thing to strive against Münzer and against Luther. "This, therefore," says he in conclusion, "I have (God grant, not finally,) most humbly and faithfully written to your princely grace, and may God dispose your princely grace to answer me in a gracious and Christian way, more with the living act than with dead letters. Amen."

But Luther was disappointed in his expectations. The King of England and Duke George both manifested great hostility in their replies,[3] and he observed: "I am and remain a sheep, that I suffer myself so easily to be persuaded and guided and led about, to make my court to such grandees, and do not much rather follow my own opinion, so that, where I might have given a tyrant or highly-learned personage one stab, and he grew displeased on account of it, I would follow it up by thirty additional stabs, to show my sorrow and repentance, then they would know how I retract my doctrines,[4] since I at any

rate know that the tyrants cannot deprive me of anything more than this filthy mass of corruption, my body, and the highly-learned may deprive me of my honour, which, however, are never for a moment my own. The world is resolved to be despised and bantered, or it banters itself. Nevertheless, what I have done in this case does not grieve me, because I did it to serve the Gospel, to serve which I am prepared to suffer, and shall do even more."—"And why should I not bear with him,"—says he elsewhere concerning Duke George,—"when I must bear with the children of my own household, my Absaloms, who so furiously oppose me? Those Sacramentarians, I mean, compared with whose rage, that of the papists must be considered gentleness; so severely does Satan, through them, assail me." (Comp. ch. 10, below.)

Luther was involved in new difficulties with the duke, in consequence of the (pretended?) league for crushing the Evangelicals, concerning which *Otto von Pack* had given the Landgrave of Hesse information. It was Luther's intention to publish a writing in reference to this subject, under the title: "*Instruction and warning in view of the hateful, seditious and treacherous design of the collective body of the priesthood of Mayence;*" but in obedience to the wish of the elector, he refrained. Duke George, nevertheless, having obtained a part of the work, entered complaints on account of it, and Luther was constrained to defend himself against him.

In the years 1525 and 1526, Luther also published the following didactic and consolatory writings: *Deuteronomium Mose ex Hebræo castigatum cum annotationibus*, (the book of Deuteronomy, corrected from the Hebrew, with notes.) It was the result of a course of lectures which he had delivered at home to his fellow monks; and when he, at their request, published it, he dedicated it to the bishop of Samland, *George von Polenz*, by way of congratulating him, that God had chosen him alone from among all the bishops, and delivered him from the jaws of Satan, since he not only had publicly confessed God's Word, but was also zealously striving to have it taught in his diocese.

The explanation of the book of Exodus, from the 1*st to the* 19*th chapter*, concerning which he had delivered sermons at Wittenberg, in the years 1524–1526.

The explanation of the prophet Habakkuk, concerning whom, as well as concerning the prophet Jonah and Ecclesiastes, he

had lectured in the year 1526, and which he had proposed to himself to explain, that he might likewise be brought to the light, and that it might be seen what was contained therein, and what the Holy Ghost said and taught through him.

The explanation of the four consolatory Psalms, (38th, 62d, 94th and 109th,) *which he dedicated to Queen Maria of Hungary*, who, he had heard, was favourably disposed towards the Gospel, and whose husband, King Louis, had fallen in the war against the Turks.

Finally, the writing: "*Whether military men can be in a state of grace*," which Luther dedicated to the knight *Assa von Kram.* The latter had also been in the train of the new elector of Saxony on his entrance into Wittenberg, and among other things, had inquired of Luther, whether a person could, with a good conscience, be a military man: and when Luther had stated his views, had entreated him, at some future time to bring them to paper, and to publish them for the benefit of others, that alarmed and weak consciences might be comforted, those in doubt be counselled, and the reckless reclaimed. The first time this little book was separately printed at Wittenberg, it was arranged, that the names of Dr. Luther and of the town of Wittenberg, as well as the preface and some few words, were omitted in several of the copies, of which one was then transmitted to Duke George of Saxony, as if it had come from some distant quarter. Having therefore read the book, he was exceedingly well pleased with it, and highly praised it, especially to the painter, Lukas the elder, who at that time worked for him at Dresden, and to whom he said: "Behold, Lukas, thou art always holing up thy monk, Luther, at Wittenberg, as being so learned, and as alone being able to speak good German and to write good books; but thou art in error here, as well as in some other things. Behold, here I also have a little book, which is as good and better than your Luther could ever have made it." With these words he drew it from his bosom, and threw it to the painter, who, having examined it, said: "Gracious prince and lord, it was Luther who wrote this little book, only that his name does not appear on the title-page, for I also have one here with me, which he himself gave me, and upon which his name stands printed." The duke having examined it, and finding it to be truly Luther's work, became quite enraged with himself on account of it, and at last broke forth into imprecations and

said: "It is truly to be lamented that so abominable a monk should have produced so good a book," &c.

AUTHORITIES.—Let. No. 733, 742, 756, 746, vol. 2, No. 555. Writ. A form for the observance of Christian mass, &c., Works, vol. 22, p. 232. Writ. German mass and order of Worship, ib., p. 241. Let. vol. 2, No. 654. Works, vol. 22, p. 283. Writ. Order of the common treasury, &c., ib., 251. (Comp. Let. No. 433, 518, 519.) Writ. To the Burgomasters and Counsellors, &c., vol. 19, p. 333. Ib., p. 563. Let. vol. 3, No. 735. Works as cited. Let. No. 760, 761. Works, ib., No. 564. Let. No. 774, No. 784, (cll. Sleid. lib. vi. p. 164,) 771, 811. Deuteronomium Mose, &c., Opp. Latt. len., t. iii., p. 76, (cll. Let. vol. ii. No. 694.) Writ. Explanation of the book of Exodus, &c., Works, vol. 3, p. 470. Writ. Explanation of the prophet Habakkuk, vol. 8, p. 462, (cll. vol. 19, p. 532.) Writ. Explanation of the four consolatory Psalms, vol. 5, p. 609, (cll. Lett., vol. 3, No. 826.) Writ. Whether military men, &c., vol. 22, p. 316. Spangenberg, Adelsspiegel, vol. 2, fol. 586, vol. 1, fol. 131.

NOTES.—1.) This was sensibly felt, for instance, at the interment of the elector Frederick. See Seckend., lib. ii., p. 34.

2.) Luther's first hymns were: Nun freut euch lieben Christen Gemein, &c. Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein, &c. Es spricht der Unweisen Mund wohl, &c. Aus tiefer Noth schrei ich zu dir, &c. Concerning the probable chronological order of Luther's hymns, as well as concerning the whole subject, compare *Rambach*, Luther's Verdienst um den Kirkengesang, &c.

3.) The answer of the King of England, by way of extract in Sleid., lib. vi., p. 145. The communication of Duke George in the Works, vol. 19, p 361. The latter, though severe and full of misconception and mistrust against the evangelical doctrine, is nevertheless manly, as Duke George, upon the whole, is advantageously distinguished from the other opponents of Luther; and one cannot repress the thought that Luther should from the beginning have been more gentle towards him.

4.) The King of England had, in a writing published by him, interpreted Luther's communication as a revocation, at which the latter was most of all provoked, and on account of which he, in the year 1527, published his book: *Against the King of England's slanderous publication.* (Works, vol. 19, p. 561.)

CHAPTER VIII.

A YEAR OF SUFFERING.—1527.

THE year 1527 was a year of intense suffering for Dr. Luther. He sincerely sympathized with those who were made to suffer on account of the Gospel. Thus, for instance, *Leonhard Kaiser*, (formerly vicar at Waitzenkirchen, who had once before been arrested,) after he had spent two years at Wittenberg and had

returned home in order to visit his father, who lay ill beyond the hope of recovery, had been cast into prison on account of his doctrines. To him, Luther, (on the 20th May, 1527,) wrote a letter of consolation, and said, among other things: That he was indeed afflicted on his account and was making efforts for his release,[1] and prayed that he might again be set free and live for the honour of God, and the good of his fellow-men; but that if this should not be the will of God, then he should, being free in the spirit, strive, in firmness and constancy to overcome the weakness of the flesh, or at least to bear it through the power of Christ, who was with him in his imprisonment, and would sustain him under every trial. And when Kaiser had (on the 16th August,) been burnt, Luther published a history of him and wrote to Michael Stiefel: "Oh, wretched man that I am, how unequal am I to our dear Leonhard Kaiser. I do nothing more than teach and preach the Word, speak and write a great deal about it; but he has shown himself a true and faithful doer of this Word. Oh, that God would deem me worthy, not of a double portion of the spirit of this Leonhard, but only of the half of it, to overcome Satan, I would willingly and joyfully yield up this life. Praised be God forever, that among so many monsters, He has, in this blessed man, granted us unworthy beings so noble a view of the splendour of His grace, from which we may surely perceive that He has not yet wholly forsaken us. Pray for me, my dear friend Michael. May Christ our Lord grant us to become followers of this our dear Leonhard. His name is not only king but properly Kaiser (emperor,) for he is fully worthy of the appellation; since he has overcome him, whose power is greater than any on the earth which may be compared to it. He is not only a priest but a true bishop, yea, pope, since he has thus yielded up his body as a living and holy sacrifice, agreeable to God. Therefore he is very proper called Leonhard, that is, Lionheart. For he has shown himself a strong and undaunted lion. Both his names were pre-ordained of God, he is the first that has fulfilled and confirmed the name of his family."

So Luther also, in the year 1527, issued a *writing of consolation to the Christians at Halle, concerning the death of their pastor, M. George Winkler, of Bischofswerda,* who had there begun to preach the Gospel and to administer the Lord's supper, in both kinds, but in consequence had been summoned to

Aschenburg by the Archbishop Albrecht, of Mayence, and was assassinated on his journey thither. For he said, that as far as it was in his power he would take pains to prevent this murder from ever being forgotten, till God, the merciful Father and righteous Judge would hear the cry of it as he had heard the blood of the holy Abel, and execute justice and vengeance upon the murderer and seducer, the old enemy, who had wrought this deed.

But it was sickness especially, which severely afflicted Luther during this year. In the beginning of the year he had a severe attack, the flow of the blood being suddenly checked in the region of the heart, causing him great anxiety, and nearly destroying him. But far severer were those spiritual and bodily trials, concerning which *Dr. John Bugenhagen* and *Dr. Justus Jonas* have transmitted a detailed account. "On Saturday before *Visitationis Mariæ*," (9th July.) the former writes, "Dr. Martin Luther, our dear father, was subjected to a severe spiritual trial, similar to those frequently referred to in the Psalms. He had before endured many such trials, but none so severe as this, as he on the following day declared to Dr. Jonas, Dr. Christian and myself, saying: That it had been much more severe and dangerous than the bodily weakness, which had befallen him on the same Saturday, about five o'clock in the evening; although he afterwards intimated, that even this bodily weakness had not been natural, but probably something like the sufferings which Paul endured, being buffeted by Satan. 2 Cor. xii. This spiritual trial leaving him early on Saturday morning, the pious Job was apprehensive that if the hand of God should come upon him so heavily again, he would not be able to bear it, and perhaps the apprehension was added also, that the time had arrived when our Lord Jesus Christ would take him hence, wherefore he, about eight o'clock in the forenoon, sent his servant Wolf and desired me hastily to come to him. His employing the word "hastily," somewhat affrighted me; I, however, found the Doctor in his customary attitude, standing by the side of his wife, as he was able then, with a calm and reserved mind, to commit and to commend everything to God. For he was not accustomed to make known his distress in complaints to men, who cannot help him, and whom his complaints could not benefit, but he was used so to demean himself towards men as those who seek comfort of him desire to see him. If he at times was too

joyous at table, he himself did not approve of it, and no pious person will be displeased, much less take offence at such a thing, for he was an affable man and an enemy to all deceit and hypocrisy. But to proceed, I inquired of the Doctor why he had caused me to be called? He replied: For nothing bad. We having then proceeded up-stairs and stepped aside to a particular place, he, with great earnestness, committed himself and all that he had to God, and began to confess and acknowledge his sins, and the teacher desired of the pupil comfort from God's Word and an absolution from all his sins, besides exhorting me earnestly to pray for him, which I also desired of him. He further desired me to permit him to receive the holy sacrament of the body and blood of Christ on the following Sunday, for he expected to preach on that Sunday, and was not, as far as I could perceive, apprehensive of the fatality which befell him in the afternoon; he nevertheless said: If the Lord intends now to call me, his will be done. This and other remarks of his affrighted me. When he had confessed, and had afterwards spoken of the spiritual trial which he that morning had experienced with such terror and trembling that he could not express it in words, he continued: Many conceive, that because I at times assume a joyful appearance in my outward deportment, I walk upon roses; but God knows what is the true state of the case as regards my life. The world does not discover in me any vice with which it can justly reproach me; nevertheless it takes offence at me, and perhaps God designs to mock the blind, ungrateful world by me, that it perish through its contempt, and be not deemed worthy to behold the noble gifts which He has refused to many thousand other men, but which He well knows and has graciously bestowed upon me, that I with them should accomplish good, so that the world, because it does not greatly esteem the word of salvation, which God through me, His weak, insignificant vessel, offers to it, might find that in me at which it might take offence and fall. What the object of God is in such His judgment, I leave to Him. I daily earnestly pray and call upon Him to grant me grace, that I may not, by my sin, give any one cause to take offence at me. Such account I, with interest, heard from him."

"After we had thus conversed together, it was now nearly time to take dinner. And because several of the nobility (Marx von Wellefels, John Löser, &c.,) had sent us invitations

to dine with them, I besought him to comply with the wish of the guests, and by no means to remain absent. He, however, refused; I therefore admonished his wife to induce him to come, and not to suffer him to remain at home alone, hoping that it would be beneficial to him to be out among men, and to converse with them about temporal affairs, &c. He accordingly came to dinner, ate and drank indeed but very little, of which I alone of those at table took notice. He, nevertheless, as was his habit, was joyful among the guests, enlivening them as much as possible, for he had not yet forgotten the great danger in which he shortly before had been. About twelve o'clock, however, he arose from the table and went into the little garden of Dr. Jonas, which is behind his house. But I, having to preach at Vespers, returned home."

"Dinner being over," Doctor Jonas now continuing the narration, "he went into my little garden, to free himself from his melancholy and sadness, and to divert himself somewhat, sitting there and conversing with me on various subjects for some two hours. And as he stepped out of my house, he requested me and my wife to come and sup with him that evening. As it was now about five o'clock, we went up to the cloister, when the lady of the doctor said: That he had lain down to rest and refresh himself, as he had come home weak, and she prayed that I should content myself meanwhile, and, if there should be a little delay, ascribe it to his weakness. After tarrying some time, the doctor arose from his bed, with the intention of supping with us, but complained of a great, troublesome, and unusual sounding noise in his left ear, (which, physicians say, commonly precedes a swoon.) But because this sounding noise continually became greater and more violent, he said: "That weakness prevented him from remaining at table with us, and he therefore again went up into his chamber, in order to return to bed. I quickly followed after him alone, (not knowing what the lady of the doctor commanded the maids at the foot of the stairs, before she came up stairs,) and as he stepped over the threshhold of the chamber he fainted, and hurriedly said to me: O, Doctor Jonas, I feel sick, quickly bring water, or what you have, or I perish. I accordingly, quite affrighted, quickly seized a pitcher with cold water, which I partly poured into his face, partly into his neck, as well as I could. Meanwhile he began to pray: O, my dear Lord, if it be thy will, that this shall be the hour which thou

hast appointed for me, may thy gracious will be done. Lifting up his eyes, he further, with great fervency of spirit, prayed the Lord's prayer, and the whole of the sixth psalm. In the meantime the lady of the doctor came up, and perceiving that he was so exceedingly exhausted, and seemingly inanimate, she was greatly affrighted, and called aloud to the maids. The doctor then desiring that his small-clothes should be taken off, I hastily took them off and cast them aside. Whilst he was thus lying upon his back, anxious to have some rest, he complained that he was so exhausted and destitute of strength. We rubbed and cooled him, giving him restoratives, and doing what we could till the physician arrived. Shortly after he again began to pray, and to say: O Lord, my most precious God, thou knowest how gladly I would have shed my blood for the sake of thy Word, but perhaps I am not worthy of it; thy will be done. If it is thy will, I shall willingly die, if thy holy name may thereby be praised and magnified, then be it through my life or my death; but gracious God, if it were possible, I would wish to live longer for the sake of thy people and elect. But if my hour has come, do thou as it seemeth good unto thee, thou art Lord over life and death. My most gracious God, thou thyself hast caused me to engage in this matter, thou knowest that it is thy Word and thy Truth, do not permit thy enemies to exult and to rejoice, and boastingly to ask, where now is their God? but magnify thy holy name in opposition to and to the vexation of the enemies of thy blessed and wholesome Word. My most adorable Lord Jesus Christ, thou hast graciously granted me the knowledge of thy holy name, thou knowest that I believe in thee, together with the Father and the Holy Ghost, thou only and true God, and that my comfort is in thee, our Mediator and Saviour, who hast shed thy precious blood for us sinners, stand by me in this hour and comfort me with thy Holy Spirit. Again he said; Thou knowest, Lord, that many of those to whom thou hast granted it, have shed their blood for the sake of the confession of thy Gospel. Thou knowest, Lord, that Satan has in various ways assailed me, attempting to destroy my body through tyrants, kings, princes, &c., and my soul through his fiery darts and frightful, devilish temptations. But thou hast thus far marvellously sustained me against all their rage and raving, sustain me in future, thou faithful Lord, if it be thy will. He then also made mention of the bodily physician, inquiring whether Dr. Augustine would soon arrive?

We replied, that he would, and shortly afterwards he came; he placed upon him warm pillows, cloths, and other articles serviceable for the purpose, and comforting him, encouraged him to hope, that, by the help of God, there would be no danger this time. Meanwhile Dr. Pommeranus, the pastor of the church at Wittenberg, to whom the doctor had early that day confessed, also arrived."

The latter now relates: "I did not at the time know in what state the doctor was, and being called to him, about six o'clock in the evening, when I found him lying in bed, and heard him in distinct language, sometimes in Latin, sometimes in German, calling now upon God the Father, then upon the Lord Jesus Christ, and especially, with great earnestness, committing to God the office of the Holy Gospel, which he had so far confided to him. I have not been worthy, said he further, to have shed my blood for the sake of Christ, as many among my brethren have done for the sake of the confession of the Holy Gospel. But this honour was not granted to St. John the Evangelist, who certainly wrote a much severer book, (this was the language he employed,) against the papacy, than I ever shall or can write. But as I stood before him, greatly terrified in the distress of my soul, I finally addressed him thus: Dear doctor, do you also pray with us, that you remain longer with us, for the comfort of us wretched people, and of many others. He replied: As to my own person, to die would be gain; but to abide longer in the flesh would be necessary for the sake of many. Dear God, thy will be done. He then turned himself towards me and Dr. Jonas, and said: Because the world delights in falsehood, many will say that I retracted my doctrine before my death; I therefore earnestly desire you to be witnesses of my faith and confession. I say, with a good conscience, that I have taught the truth from God's Word, according to the command of God, to which he also, without my wish, drew and constrained me; yes, I say, I have taught rightly and wholesomely concerning faith, the cross, the sacraments, and other articles of Christian doctrine. Many accuse me of being too unsparing and severe when I write against the papists, sectarians, &c., rebuking their false doctrine, ungodly life, and hypocrisy. I have, indeed, at times, been severe, and sharply assailed my adversaries; yet, so as never to have repented of it. Whether now I am severe or moderate, I have not sought the injury of any, much less the loss of a soul, but

rather the good and the salvation of every one, even of my enemies. I had proposed to myself to treat of and write concerning the holy baptism of Christ, also against Zwinglius, and other sacramentarian fanatics; but it seems a gracious God has determined differently concerning me. He then, with great earnestness, spoke to us against the sacramentarian fanatics, and lamented, with tears, that so many factions and sects had now arisen, who would falsify and pervert God's Word, and not spare the flock, which he has purchased with his blood. A gracious God, said he, has conferred upon me, unworthy being, many noble gifts, which to many thousand other men he has refused, and which I would willingly longer use for his honour, as well as for the advantage and comfort of the pious, if it were his will. But you will be unequal to the task of meeting so many fanatics who are now everywhere creeping in; yet I comfort myself with the thought, that Christ is stronger than the pernicious Satan, (with all his advocates,) yea, he is a powerful Lord."

"But when the swoon again increased somewhat," continued Dr. Jonas in his report, "he, in his prayer, repeated comforting words and passages from the holy Scriptures, which he spoke from a fervent heart and a firm faith, and an unwavering reliance upon God's mercy, shown us in Christ Jesus. My most adorable God, (said he,) thou surely art a God of the sinner and the wretched, who feels his anguish, need, and distress, and earnestly seeks the comfort and the aid of thy grace; as thou sayest: Come hither to me all ye that are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Lord, I come, relying upon thy promise, I am in great anguish and need, help me, for the sake of thy grace and faithfulness. Amen.

Not long afterwards he said to his wife: My dearest Kate, I pray thee, if our dear God takes me hence this time, to resign thyself to his gracious will; thou art my lawful wife, of this be fully persuaded, and have no doubt of it, let the blind and ungodly world say in opposition what it may, do thou guide thyself by God's Word, and cling firmly to it, then wilt thou have a sure and enduring comfort against the devil and all his blaspheming emissaries. Soon he again began to pray: O, my dear Lord Jesus Christ, thou hast said: Pray, and ye shall receive, seek, and ye shall find, knock, and it shall be opened unto you; according to this promise, Lord, give me, who pray, not gold or silver, but a strong, firm faith, let me, who seek,

find, not the pleasure or joys of the world, but comfort and refreshing, through thy blessed, wholesome Word; open unto me, who knock, I desire nothing of what the world calls great and high, for before thee, it does not profit me the breadth of a hair; but give me thy holy Spirit, to enlighten my heart, to strengthen and comfort me in my anguish and distress, and to preserve me in the right faith and reliance upon thy grace to my end. Amen."

"Whilst warm cloths and pillows were placed upon him to restore warmth to his cold body, he inquired after his little son: Where is my dearest John? The child being brought, it smiled to the father, who said: O, thou good, poor little child, I now commend my dearest Kate and thee, poor little orphan, to my dear, faithful God; you have nothing: but God, who is a father of orphans, and a judge of widows, will, without fail, sustain you and provide for you. He then further spoke to his wife concerning the silver cups: excepting which thou knowest we have nothing else. At this and other discourses of Luther, the lady of the doctor became quite terrified and sad; she, however, concealed the great distress which she experienced at seeing her dear husband lying before her in so lamentable a condition, and assuming confidence, she said: My dearest doctor, if it is the will of God, I would rather know you with our dear Lord God than with me, it is not alone I and my child, but many pious Christian people, who yet need you. I pray you, my dearest, not to be concerned on my account, I commend you to His divine will; I hope and trust to God, he will yet graciously preserve you.

"Whilst they were thus rubbing the doctor with warm cloths, and placing warm pillows upon his breast, and around his feet, he said: 'I feel better; thank God, the swoon is passing off, and strength is gradually returning; if I could only perspire, I trust there would be no danger this time.' Then Dr. Augustine said: 'Let us leave, and suffer him to remain alone, perhaps he may perspire and rest.' We accordingly bid him good night, and in God's name departed from him, commanding those that remained with him to keep quiet, &c."

"When we visited him the next day," Bugenhagen says, "we found that the physician had judged correctly, only that the patient yet kept his bed on Sunday, and said, that 'he was still not wholly free from that excessive sounding noise in his head.' In the evening of that day, however, he arose and

supped with us, being perfectly restored again, praise and thanks be to Christ." But to Dr. Jonas he observed: "Jonas, yesterday I must note; it was a day of severe suffering and trial to me. The Lord conducts into hell and out again. The Lord killeth and maketh alive. For he is Lord over death and life. To him be praise, honour, and adoration, for ever. Amen."

But it was not ended yet: through the whole of that year Luther was subject to the severest trials, concerning which he complains in all his letters to his friends, commending himself to their prayers. "It is now nearly three months that I am afflicted," he wrote on the 8th October, to Michael Stiefel, "not so much in body as in spirit, so that I have written little or nothing at all, so severely has Satan winnowed me. Pray the Lord for me, that he may strengthen me, as he also does." So likewise to Melanchthon, who was absent at that time (see the fol. p.): "Pray for me, poor forsaken worm, who am wofully tormented by a spirit of sadness, according to the holy will of the Father of mercy, to whom be the praise also in my distress. My only glory is this, that I have taught God's Word in its purity, and have neither from a desire of praise, nor from avarice, ever falsified it. I trust that he who has begun to be merciful, will continue to be so to the end, for I seek nothing but a gracious God. Greet all the brethren, and commend me to their prayers." And to Amsdorf, on the 1st November: "As it pleases God, so it happens, my dear Amsdorf, that I, who have hitherto been accustomed to comfort everybody, am in need of the greatest comfort myself. This one thing I pray, and do thou pray with me, that Christ may do with me what pleases him, and that he may preserve me from becoming ungrateful or his enemy, who have hitherto with so much zeal and diligence preached him, even though otherwise also through many and great sins offended him. Satan desires to have a new Job given him in me, and a Peter whom he may sift, together with the brethren. But may Christ in mercy say to him: Spare his life! and to me: I am thy salvation! as I still hope that he will not be angry with me for ever on account of my sins. I would like to reply to the Sacramentarians, but if I do not become stronger in the spirit I cannot do so." Melanchthon, who in November met Luther at Torgau, in reference to a dispute with Agricola,[2] was quite amazed at the latter's trials, and wished to spare him in every possible

way. These trials had not yet ceased even at the close of the year: they were indeed somewhat more moderate, but at times returned with greater violence.

To this must be added a *pestilence*, which during this year raged at Wittenberg, and in consequence of which the university, at the command of the elector, was transferred to *Jena*. The elector, under date of the 10th August, had also caused Luther to be admonished to betake himself to Jena, with his wife and children, as the rest had done; but he, together with Dr. Pomeranus and the deacons, alone remained at Wittenberg: "and yet not alone," he wrote to a friend, "Christ and your prayer, and the prayer of all the saints are, together with the holy angels, invisibly, yet mightily present with us." During this time he also wrote "*An answer to the question: Whether one may flee from death?*" to Dr. John Hess, pastor at Breslau, and to his colleagues. In it he firstly lauds those who have so strong a faith as not greatly to fear death, and who willingly submit to the rod of God, as far as this can be done without tempting God; but that because the strong were few, and the weak many, the same burden could not be imposed upon all. That no one durst flee in opposition to God's Word and command; that preachers and pastors were in duty bound to remain at their posts in cases of death, since the spiritual office was most of all needed here, unless there should be so many preachers at one place, that some might betake themselves away, and the office be still sufficiently supplied. That those in temporal offices were just as much required to remain, and not to leave the community without superiors and government, or else adequately to supply their places, that the commonwealth might be well provided for. And that the same was applicable to all other persons who were obligated to one another by service and duty; yea, that one neighbour could not flee from the other, unless there were others present to take charge of the sick, since in such cases the declaration of Christ was to be dreaded: I was sick, and you visited me not, &c.; but that where such need did not exist, it was optional either to flee or to remain. "If any one is so bold and strong in the faith," says he, "let him remain in the name of God, he surely does not commit sin by it. But if any one is weak and timid, let him flee in the name of God, since he does not do so to the neglect of his duty towards his neighbour; for God has implanted it in our nature, that we flee death and save our

life, and he has not forbidden it when it is not against God and against our neighbour, as St. Paul says, Ephes. 5, "No one hateth his own flesh, but nourisheth and cherisheth it." Having then adduced various examples from the Holy Scriptures, he from them draws the conclusion: "We are to pray against all manner of evil, and guard ourselves against it as well as we can, only we should not in any way act against God, as above observed. If God is resolved to overwhelm and to destroy us, our caution will avail nothing, so that the heart of every one must be thus disposed. Firstly, he is under obligation to serve his neighbour in case of death, therefore let him commit himself to God, and say: Lord, I am in thy hand, thou hast placed me here; thy will be done, for I am thy poor creature, thou canst destroy or preserve me in this case as well as if I were placed in fire, water, miasms, or other dangers. But if he is at liberty, and can flee, then let him again commit himself, and say: "Lord God, I am weak and timid, therefore I flee the evil, and do what I can to guard against it; but, nevertheless, I am at thy disposal in this and all other evils that may befall me, thy will be done, for my flight will not avail anything of itself, since nothing but evil and misfortune are everywhere, for Satan is not idle and does not slumber, he is a murderer from the beginning, and is at all times intent upon nothing but murder and distress.

He then further exhorts all to make provisions for the sick, counsels those that remain how they are to prepare and to comfort themselves, shows those who visit and nurse the sick how they are to console themselves with the favour of God and his promises, but also rebukes the presumption of those who neglect all means by which they are to counteract death or the pestilence, refuse to take medicine, &c., pretending in this way to evince their joyful confidence, and saying that it is the punishment of God; if he wished to preserve them, he could well do so without any medicine or effort on our part. That this was not relying upon God, but tempting God, since God had created the medicine, and given reason to superintend the body and to nurse it, that it might be healthy and live. In an appendix he then yet gives an instruction: "*How in times of great mortality men are to be prepared also as regards their souls.*"

At Wittenberg the pestilence was tolerably mild in its effects, but the fear of the people was excessive. In November,

Luther himself had his house full of sick. He wrote to Amsdorf in reference to this: "My house has begun to be a hospital; Hannah, Dr. Augustine's wife, bore the pestilence about with her, but she is able to be up again. Margaret Mochina caused us fear by a suspicious bile, and other indications, although she is in health again. With regard to my Kate, I am very much concerned, since she is near her accouchement. My little son also has been sick for three days already, does not take any food, and feels himself ill; it is said that teething is the cause, and it is supposed that both are in great danger. May the Lord Jesus graciously assist us! Thus there are contests without and fears within, and these violent enough truly. Christ visits us. The only consolation which we oppose to the rage of Satan is, that we have God's Word to rescue the souls, even if he swallows up the body. Therefore commend us to the prayer of the brethren, and to thy own, that we may with constancy endure the hand of the Lord, and overcome the power and craft of Satan, whether through death or life. Amen. At Wittenberg, on the day of All-Saints, in the tenth year after indulgences had been assailed, in memory of which we have this hour celebrated the day, comforted on both sides." Many a letter of lamentation was Luther constrained to write to his absent friends; but on the 10th December, he could inform Dr. Jonas that Kate had presented him with a little daughter, and that his three patients had recovered. "We have given five animals for those," added he, "which we have lost. Christ, our consolation, grant that the pestilence may be satisfied with this contribution. I myself am, as I have been heretofore, namely, like the Apostle, as dying, and behold I live." On the 28th December, finally he could inform his friend, that he might now return, that the pestilence was gone; the citizens, who had fled, were returning in crowds; that on the following day the magistrates would return, and the university also would shortly again be there, as Philip wrote. "God," added he, "has in a great and wonderful manner visited us with his mercy, and thus has demonstrated that our preaching of the Gospel is acceptable unto him, although we are sinners."

Authorities.—Works, vol. 19, p. 561 and 581. Let. No. 875, 908. Works, vol. 19, p. 567, (cll. ib. p. 560.) Let. No. 845. Works, vol. 22, p. 498. Let. No. 904, 909, 910. Mel. Epp. T. I. No. 486, 487. Let. No. 936. Seckend. lib. II., p. 85, 86. Let. No. 891.

Writ. Answer to the question, &c. Works, vol. 22, p. 331. Let. No. 889, 927, 933.

NOTES.—1.) The elector of Saxony (at Luther's request, it seems) interceded for Kaiser with the bishop of Passau. Works, vol. 19, p. 584, 590.

2.) It was the first beginning of the antinomistical dispute afterwards occasioned by Agricola. Comp. let. No. 909, 927, and Mel. Epp. T. I. No. 486.

CHAPTER IX.

THE WORK OF VISITATION AND THE CATECHISMS.

ALREADY in the year 1525, (on the 31st October,) Luther complained to the new elector: that the state of things in the parishes was a very sad one everywhere, since no one contributed to the same. That the contributions for saying mass had been abolished, rents there were either none at all or too few; the common people, moreover, did not respect either preacher or pastor, so that if good regulations and adequate support of the parishes and pulpits were not provided by the elector, neither parsonages nor schools would in a short time be of any account, and thus God's Word and service would fall into utter neglect. That the elector should, after having regulated matters with regard to the university, exert himself further as an instrument for the Almighty. That means could be obtained. That there were cloisters, endowed institutions, fiefs, stipends, and the like things enough, if the elector would only give orders to investigate, calculate, and regulate matters. That God would also add his blessing and increase. Luther further, at the elector's request, gave his opinion as to how the matter should be prosecuted.

In the following year, (on the 22d November,) Luther again wrote to the elector, that the complaints of the pastors nearly everywhere were excessive, since the peasants were wholly unwilling to render any contributions, and that there existed among the people such ingratitude towards God's Word, that some great calamity was undoubtedly in store for them with God. That since the excommunication of the pope had been abolished, there was no longer any fear or discipline, and every person did what he saw proper. That it was enjoined

upon the government, however, to educate the poor youth, to train them up in the fear and admonition of God, and that for this purpose there were needed schools and preachers. That if the parents would not comply, they might have their will and perish; but if the youth were suffered to grow up uneducated, it would fall to the charge of the government, and the land would be filled with wild and rude people, so that not only the commandment of God, but even our common interests, required us to prevent this. "But now," continued he, "that papal and spiritual compulsion and regulations have been abolished in the principality of your electoral grace, and all the cloisters and endowed institutions come into the possession of your electoral grace, as being chief ruler, you at the same time with them have devolving upon you the duty and obligation of regulating affairs with regard to them, for no one else takes the matter in hand, even if they could. Therefore, after deliberating upon the whole subject with the chancellor of your electoral grace, and his honour Nicholas, I conceive it necessary that your electoral grace, who is required by God to exercise the supervision in this case, should as speedily as possible despatch through the country four men, two conversant with rents and property, two with investitures and persons, that they may, upon the authority of your electoral grace, cause schools and parishes to be established and provided for, wherever it is necessary. Where there are towns and villages which have the ability, your electoral grace has the power to compel them to maintain schools, pulpits, and parishes. If they will not do it from a consideration for their salvation, then your electoral grace, as highest guardian of the youth, and all others needing supervision, is to compel them to do so, just as they are compelled to render contributions and services towards bridges, paths, and roads, or other matters pertaining to the public interest. Those that enjoy the privileges of a country, are to contribute towards everything that the common interests of the country require. Now, there is nothing more necessary than to educate men who are to succeed us and to govern. But if the ability be wanting, and there are too many burdens already, then the property of the cloisters, which were established for this very purpose, can still be employed for this object, in order as much as possible to spare the common people. For your electoral grace can readily imagine that it will finally cause evil reports, and

would be inexcusable, if the schools and parishes were neglected, and the nobility permitted to take possession of the property of the cloisters, as it is asserted that some are doing already. Because, therefore, such property does not in any way benefit the treasury of your electoral grace, and, moreover, has been designed for the service of God, as it is justly to be applied to this first. Whatever afterwards remains, your electoral grace can employ for the interests of the country, or the poor."

The seizure of the property of the cloisters greatly grieved Luther, so that he could not rest satisfied with merely writing, but, on the elector being at Wittenberg, he, regardless of all remonstrance, pressed into the cabinet of the elector, in order to converse with him alone on the subject, (none but Riedesel being present,) thus unexpectedly soliciting the prince, and giving him a full statement of the case, he having previously before the door complained of the matter to the electoral heir, and the latter having expressed his great dissatisfaction with it. He received as answer, that care should be taken to have all things conducted properly. But he feared that, regardless of the excellent prince, they would put him off with fair speeches, and said that it exceedingly vexed him to behold men, who under the elector Frederick had always been inimical to the Gospel, now that an opportunity offered to obtain rich booty, laughing in their sleeves, that under the appearance of the Gospel they could be the worst enemies of the same, and yet enjoy all its privileges. That he knew of no other method but in a public writing to warn the prince, besieged as he was on all sides. That the same, being an upright man, was exposed to every species of cunning, since he conceived all to be like himself, honest and true.

The visitation, nevertheless, began, and in July Melanchthon set out on a mission in this work. The "*Instruction of the visitors to the pastors in the electorate of Saxony*," drawn up by Melanchthon, Luther and Dr. Pomeranus examined, but changed little in it. Luther wrote: "For the whole of it pleases us quite well, since it is drawn up in the most popular and simple style. That the opponents, however, boast, as if we were again retracing our steps, is not to be much regarded; it will all subside again. He that undertakes any godly work must leave Satan the liberty to speak all manner of evil against it, as I have been constrained to permit him heretofore." He,

however, at the instance of the elector, wrote a preface to this instruction and published them together, "in order to let it be seen, that we do not manage our affairs in a corner or in the dark, but joyfully and confidently seek the light, and are willing to endure it." In this preface he appeals to both the Old and the New Testament, to show what a godly, wholesome work it is, to have the pastors and Christian congregations visited by intelligent and able men, says, that the ancient fathers, also the bishops, had diligently observed this; yea, that from this practice the bishops and archbishops had originally sprung; and complains, that these, after the episcopal office had become invested with temporal power and splendour, had committed such office of visitation to a provost, vicar, or dean; and these again, having also become indolent squires, to the officials; who, likewise preferring their warm rooms at home, had sent some villain or knave, who had run about in the country and the towns, and had reported, what he had gathered up in the taverns, to the official, who then exercising his office of flayer, had flayed and exacted money even from the innocent. How to teach, believe, love, lead a Christian life, supply the poor, comfort the weak, rebuke the rude, and what else belongs to such office, had never been thought of. This genuine episcopal office of visitation, continues he, he would, on account of the utility and need of it in Christendom, gladly have seen re-established at this time, in which the Gospel, through the grace of God, had become known again; but as none of them had received commission or command for this purpose, no one had been authorized to undertake it, in preference to the other. That he had, therefore, entreated his gracious lord, that he might, from Christian love, as he was not obligated to do so as temporal ruler, appoint and commission several suitable men for such office. That the same had done this, and now may God grant, that it might become a blessed example, for useful imitation, to all other German princes, which Christ would also richly requite in the end. That these rules of visitation, however, were not published as a command, since the object was not to give new papal decretals, but a historical statement, as well as a testimony and confession of faith; that it was nevertheless hoped, that all pious and peaceful pastors, who received the Gospel, would willingly, without compulsion, in obedience to the dictates of love, submit to such visitation. But that if obstinate persons, without just cause, opposed this, they

should be permitted to separate themselves as chaff from the wheat, that in such a case, however, the advice and aid of the gracious ruler would be sought: for that, although he was not commanded to teach and to exercise authority in spiritual affairs, he was, nevertheless, required, as a temporal ruler, to endeavour to prevent dissension, faction and insurrection from arising among his subjects.

In November, 1528, Luther himself took part in the visitation. To him were assigned the electorate of Saxony proper and the districts of Meissen, which were subject to electoral Saxony, and Dr. Jonas and Dr. Pomeranus were to supply his place, if he should be prevented. In his letters from this time he complains: "We everywhere find poverty and want; may the Lord send labourers into his harvest!" Further: "Our visitation progresses: Alas, what wretchedness do we witness!" And: "On our visitation in the Wittenberg district, we have found all the pastors and their peasants still living at peace with each other, but the people indifferent to the Word and the sacrament." Mathesius relates: "Dr. Luther also permitted himself to be employed in this wholesome and episcopal work, examining the poor peasants with regard to prayer, and with great kindness and patience questioning them on the catechism and instructing them; in reference to which I have heard a pleasing anecdote concerning him. A poor Saxon peasant, namely, being desired to repeat the creed in his own language, and saying: I believe in God Almighty, the Doctor asked him what Almighty meant. The good man said: I do not know. Yes, my good man, said the Doctor, I and all the learned, are equally ignorant of what the almighty power of God is. But do thou firmly believe that God is thy loving and faithful father, who will and can, and as the wisest Lord knows how to help thy wife and thy children in all cases of need?"

The distress and wretchedness which Luther had witnessed on his visitation, had constrained him, in the year 1529, to publish his *two catechisms.* "Alas," said he, in the preface to the "*Enchiridion or smaller catechism for ordinary pastors or preachers,*" "what a sad state of things have I witnessed! The common people, especially in the villages, are so utterly ignorant of the Christian doctrine, and even many pastors quite unprepared and unqualified to teach, who yet all are called Christians, are baptized and partake of the holy sacrament, know

neither the Lord's prayer, nor the creed, nor the ten commandments, live and act like the brutes and irrational beasts, and now that the precious Gospel has again appeared, have, nevertheless, well learned admirably to abuse all freedom. O you bishops, how will you ever answer Christ for having so shamefully neglected the people, and not for one moment exercised your office that you might escape all evil? you enjoin the sacrament in one kind, and insist upon your human traditions, but do not, meanwhile, concern yourselves whether they know the Lord's prayer, the creed, the ten commandments, or aught of the Word of God. Alas, eternal wo will be your portion. Therefore I pray you all, my dear friends and brethren, who are pastors or preachers, for God's sake, faithfully to discharge the duties of your office, and to commiserate your people who are committed to you, and to aid us in making them, especially the youth, acquainted with the catechism, and let those who cannot do better, take these tables and forms and dictate them to the people word for word."

In the first place he advises the preacher, above all things, to avoid employing a variety of texts and forms of the ten commandments, the Lord's prayer, &c.; and to take up one form, and always make use of that. "When you preach to the learned and the intelligent," says he, "you may exhibit your skill and adorn and turn these matters as variously and as skilfully as you can; but with the youth, continue in a certain, unchangeable form and mode, and teach them, in the first place, these points, the ten commandments, the creed, the Lord's prayer, &c., according to the text, word for word, that they may be able also to repeat it thus from memory. But let those who refuse to learn be assured, that they deny Christ and are not Christians, and let them not be admitted to the sacrament nor become sponsors at baptism, or enjoy other Christian privileges; but suffer them to be delivered to the pope and his officials, yea, to the devil himself; further, let their parents and superiors refuse them food and drink, and inform them that the prince is resolved to drive such rude people from the country, &c. For although we cannot and should not compel any one to believe, the mass is still to be constrained to learn what is right and wrong among those with whom they wish to dwell and to gain their livelihood; for he that wishes to dwell in a city, must learn and observe the laws of the city,

the privileges of which he wishes to enjoy, whether now he believe or in his heart be a villain and a knave."

"In the second place, when they have well learned the text, then afterwards also teach them to understand it, that they may know what it means, and again adopt the form of these tables or any other short invariable form which you prefer, and continue in it without changing a single syllable, as has just been said of the text, and take your time to it; for it is not necessary to take up everything at once, but one thing after the other. After they thoroughly understand the first commandment, then take up the second, and thus proceed; otherwise they will be overloaded and not retain any."

"In the third place, when you have thus made them acquainted with the smaller catechism, then take up the larger one, and afford them further and more abundant instruction, thoroughly explaining each commandment, petition and point, with its various works, uses, advantages, dangers and injuries, as you will find all this in abundance in so many books on the subject. And especially inculcate that commandment or point most of all, which is especially needed among your people," &c.

Finally, he says: That since the tyranny of the pope was now abolished, the people were no longer disposed to come to the sacrament, wherefore he gives this direction: "We are to compel no one to believe or to partake of the sacrament, nor to fix the time and place, but are so to preach that they may come of themselves without our compulsion." "Behold," says he in conclusion, "ye pastors and preachers, our office has now become a different thing; therefore it now brings with it much more trouble and labour, danger and trial, but little reward and gratitude from the world. But Christ himself designs to be our reward if we labour faithfully. This may the Father of all grace grant to us, to Him be praise and gratitude forever, through Christ our Lord. Amen."

In a later preface to the larger catechism he speaks against the contempt of the catechism, and says: "But this I say for myself, I also am a Doctor and a preacher, yea, as learned and experienced as any of those may be, who are so presumptuous and secure; yet I proceed as a child which learns the catechism, and read in the morning and when I have time, also repeat, word for word, the ten commandments, the creed, the

Lord's prayer, the Psalms, &c. And though I daily, in addition to this, read and study, I can still not maintain the stand which I would like to maintain, and must remain a child and a pupil of the catechism, and do so willingly. But these delicate, fastidious gentlemen, after one perusal, instantly presume to be doctors above all doctors, to know everything, and to have no further need of anything. Well, this is a certain evidence that they despise both their office and the souls of the people, yea, God himself and His Word, they having no need to fall, for they have fallen too sadly already, and would well need to become children and to make a beginning by learning the alphabet, which they think long since to have forgotten." He then extols the various advantages and fruits which result from the catechism, "when it is daily read, reflected, and spoken upon, namely, that the Holy Spirit is present in such reading, reflection and speaking, and continually adds fresh and new light, so that it is daily relished more and more as Christ also promises, Matt. xviii.: *Where two or three are assembled in my name, there I am in the midst of them.* It, moreover, is so efficient an aid against the devil, the world, the flesh, and all evil thoughts, when God's Word is observed, spoken and thought of, that the first Psalm also praises those happy who day and night are engaged with the law of God." . . . "And if this were not a sufficient inducement daily to read the catechism, God's command of itself should sufficiently constrain us, who, Deut. vi., solemnly commands us, whether we sit, stand, walk, lie, or arise, always to remember His Word, and to keep it for a continual sign before our eyes and in our minds." "Therefore," says he in conclusion, "I again pray all Christians, especially pastors and preachers, not to become doctors too fast, neither to imagine themselves to know everything, (extended and stretched cloth shrinks greatly,) but daily faithfully to exercise, and unremittingly to apply themselves here, guarding with all care and diligence against the poisonous infection of such secure and dangerous spirits, and to continue constant in reading, teaching, learning, reflecting and judging, not ceasing from this till they to a certainty learn, that they have killed Satan by their teaching, and have become more learned, if it were possible, than God himself and all His saints. If they thus diligently apply themselves, I will promise them, and they shall experience it also, what advantages they will derive from it and what upright people God

will make of them, so that they themselves will have to acknowledge at last, that the longer and the more diligently they study the catechism, the less they know of it, and the more need they have to learn it; and not till then will they, as hungry and thirsty men, relish what now, from great fulness and satiety, they cannot endure. God in mercy grant this. Amen."

AUTHORITIES.—Let. No. 750, 757, 838, 885, 906. Instruction of the visitors, &c., Works, vol. 19, p. 632. Seck. lib. II., p. 101. Let. No. 1046, 1047, 1049. Mathes. 6 Pred. The Catechisms, Works, vol. 22, p. 42 and 51.

CHAPTER X.

THE DISPUTE CONCERNING THE SACRAMENT, AND THE MARBURG CONFERENCE.

THE erroneous doctrine which *Karlstadt*[1] first taught concerning the Lord's Supper, spread extensively, and found many supporters, for also *Zwinglius*, *Œcolampadius*, *Krautwald*, and *Caspar Schwenkfeld* adopted this view, and published several books in its defence. Others wrote in opposition to it, especially the Suabian theologians, of whom *John Brentius*, *Erhard Schnepfius*, *John Isemannus*, and others, some fourteen in number, assembled at Halle, in Suabia, where they wrote and published a noble book against Œcolampadius, (the Syngramma Suevicum,) in which the pure Christian doctrine concerning the Lord's Supper is vigorously sustained.

The preachers at Strasburg had despatched Professor *George Chaselius* to Luther, and prayed him not to mingle in this dispute, but to draw the congregations away from this question, as this matter might cause great disturbance. He (on the 5th November) replied to them: That they should well take to heart this apprehension as a warning of the Spirit; that he desired nothing more than peace; that he had not begun this sad dispute, but had been constrained by necessity to reply; that it was not allowable to observe silence always, whilst Zwinglius and Œcolampadius were exciting men by means of their books, unless it were desired of him that he should desist from discharging his duties as preacher and pastor. "It is insufferable," continues he, "that we are to

observe silence always, whilst they speak, and that we are to yield to them, whilst they confuse our congregations and diminish our influence. That we should refrain from reviling, is just; but how can we reply or oppose, if we are not permitted to condemn, or if condemning is forthwith to be interpreted as reviling? But is not this reviling, that these modest men denominate us devourers of flesh, and in their books accuse us of worshipping an eatable and breaden God, and of denying the salvation wrought out on the cross? It is bad advice, to draw believers from this question of the presence of the body and blood, and to exercise them only in the Word and faith. We have no Word and no faith, without the thing upon which they are based, since in the words themselves, the question concerning the presence of the body and blood is embraced. Neither can the multitude be drawn away from it now, after the opponents have published so many books: they ought to have observed silence before; now they desire silence too late."

At first Luther, being burdened with writing and business, could not prepare a book of his own, published the *Syngramma* of the Suabian preachers, in Latin and German, with a *preface*, in order to declare his faith, and faithfully to advise all who would take warning, to be on their guard against this false prophet. He ridicules this sect, "for within one year gaining," as he says, "five or six heads. The first was Dr. Karlstadt, with his Τουτο. The second, Ulric Zwinglius, with his *Significat*. The third is *John Œcolampadius*, with his *Figura Corporis*. The fourth subverts the order of the text. The fifth is coming, who transposes the words. The sixth is not yet fully born, and casts the words as dice. The seventh, perhaps, will also come, and mix the cards. Every one wants to be master here." That their image was to be looked for among the animals of the Apocalypse, who have one body and many heads: that each sect had its own heads, and its own way of stating its reasons and arguments; that all, however, aimed at blaspheming the one Christian truth. Having then further spoken of the weakness of their arguments, and of the fleeting and hovering nature of their spirit, which abode upon no point, lest it might be detected in its falsehoods, he draws this conclusion: "I therefore declare my opinion, although it highly displeases them, I nevertheless know it to be true. I know faith and Satan well in this case. There are

two grounds of their error. The one is, that it is unpalatable to reason, the other, that it is unnecessary, that the body and blood of Christ should be in the bread and wine, that is: *absurditas et nulla necessitas.* Upon these two points they have seized, and the temptation of Satan has caused said points to enter into them, like oil enters into the bones, Ps. 109. Having now placed such coloured goggles before their eyes, they come running to the Scriptures, seeking how they may introduce their own ideas into them, and contort the Scriptures to favour their own meaning. Thus, then, it is plain, the words dare not be taken in their simple natural import; they must be stretched and bent, here there must be a *Touto*, there a *Significat*, here a *Figura*, there the words must be subverted, here the text must be transposed, there it must be mixed like a pack of cards. Behold here the origin of sects. If they abode firmly in the words as they stand there, and proved from the text and deductions from it, or from some other solid argument, that the words are to be understood differently from what they naturally signify, they would occasion no divisions." He concludes: "I herewith also admonish all pious Christians to be on their guard against these sects, and to abide in the pure, unadulterated Word of Christ. We truly have the advantage, that we need not, like them, to stretch and bend the words. I also pray, that you would diligently read this little book. If God grants me time, I shall write a particular treatise on this subject."

This was accomplished in the writing: "*That these words of Christ: This is my body, still stand firm against the fanatics,*" which he finished in the month of May, of the year 1527. In it he says, by way of introduction, that the very same devil, who always had occasioned heresies, now also assailed us through the fanatics, with their blasphemies against the holy and highly revered sacrament of our Lord Jesus Christ, of which they attempted to make mere bread and wine, and a mere distinguishing sign of Christians, according to their own dreams and fancies. That he was resolved again to oppose himself to this devil and his fanatics; not on their own account, but for the sake of the weak and the simple: To convert the teachers of any heresy and fanaticism, he had no hope, but that he would not fail, with the permission of God, to set forth the truth before their eyes clearly and distinctly, and to tear from them some of their pupils; and that if he did not succeed in

this, which might God forbid, he would, nevertheless, before God and all the world, testify and confess, that he did not side with these fanatical blasphemers of the sacrament, never had, and never would side with them, and would wash his hands of the blood of all the souls, which they robbed with such poison from Christ, misled and destroyed. That he intended, however, to despise the devil, and for this time to take up nothing further than the single declaration: *this is my body.* That it was known that there was a dispute concerning these words: one part saying, that according to these words the true body and blood of Christ are present; the other, that mere bread and wine are present. That he who here believed and taught what was false, blasphemed God, and charged the Holy Ghost with falsehood, betrayed Christ, and misled the world. That one party must belong to the devil, and be the enemy of God; there could be no neutral ground. That God's Word was not to be trifled with. "Neither does it avail them anything," added he, "to say: that they, in all other respects, highly and greatly esteem God's Word and the whole Gospel, this only point being excepted. My dear friend, God's Word is God's Word, that does not need much discussion. He that charges God with falsehood, and blasphemes him with regard to one word, or says: that it is a trifling matter that he is blasphemed or charged with falsehood, he blasphemes the whole God and makes light of all blasphemy of God. He is one God, and does not suffer himself to be divided, or to be praised at one place and reviled at another, to be honoured at one place and despised at another."

He then takes up the declaration: *this is my body,* which, he says, remained fixed in the hearts of the adversaries as an arrow, of which they could not rid themselves, and shows how they endeavoured to destroy the true sense of it, and to substitute their own ideas in its stead; how their best arguments, moreover, amounted to nothing, and were destitute of all substantiation, naked and bare. He then demonstrates that it is not contrary to the Scriptures and the articles of faith, that the body of Christ at the same time is in heaven and in the sacrament, in order to leave the words their simple and natural import. He further attacks their other corner-stone, the verse John 6. *The flesh profiteth nothing,* which Œcolampadius called an iron bulwark, and gives the proper interpretation of

it. Finally, he reviews the passages from the Fathers, of which Œcolampadius treats.

From this he draws the conclusion, that the fanatics failed wholly in this, that they did not distinguish the body of Christ from other flesh, as St. Paul said, 1 Cor. 11. So likewise that it would be better, if they ventured wholly to abolish these words in the Lord's Supper: *This is my body given for you;* "for," says he, "as they believe and observe the Lord's Supper, they have no need of these words in it whatever, but it is quite sufficient for them to observe the Lord's Supper with these words: *Christ took the bread, thanked and brake it and gave it to his disciples, and said: Take, eat, do this in remembrance of me.* For these words abundantly teach that this bread is to be eaten, and Christ to be remembered in connection therewith. But this is the sacrament of the fanatics, wholly and entirely." He then rebukes Œcolampadius for his blasphemy in asking, of what use or need it was that the body of Christ should be in the bread, and for concluding, in case this was not shown, that there was no use, and says: "But if they only in any way understood what faith is, and had ever experienced the least spark of it, they would know, that the highest and only virtue, characteristic, and honour of faith is, that it does not wish to know, of what use or need that is which it believes. For it does not wish to prescribe limits to God, or to demand of him why, for what purpose, and from what necessity he enjoins and commands such and such a thing, but willingly remains ignorant, gives God the honour, and believes his plain word." That he would nevertheless point out some uses: "This, firstly, then is a use of it, that haughty wise spirits and reason are blinded and rebuked, in order that the haughty may take offence and fall, and never enjoy the Supper of Christ; that the humble on the other hand may support themselves by it, and arise and alone enjoy the Lord's Supper." "In the second place, we have heard above how Irenæus and the ancient Fathers have indicated as the use of our body being nourished with the body of Christ, that our faith and hope may be confirmed, that our body is nourished with the body of Christ, in order that our body may also eternally live, from the same eternal food of the body of Christ, which it eats bodily." "The third use, I trust, can be powerfully sustained. For they will certainly have to concede to us, that we have the Word

of God in the Sacrament, namely, this: *This is my body, given for you, this is my blood, shed for you, for the remission of sins.* I therefore now, in return, ask them, whether God's Word is not of any use? If it is not profitable, why does the prophet Isaiah, 55, declare *that God's Word does not return void, but produces good?* Why does St. Paul, Rom. 1, call it, *the power of God, which saves all those that believe it?* Why does he call it *the word of life, the word of grace, the word of salvation, the word of wisdom,* and the like? Are life, grace, salvation, wisdom, strength, power, all useless things? What then is useful?" But that if they should object, that the question was not, whether God's Word was profitable, but of what profit the body of Christ for itself was in the bread; he would answer, that he did not suffer the body of Christ to be separated from the Word. And even if it were admitted, that the body of Christ was in the bread alone without any Word of God connected with it, which was impossible, they would still have gained nothing. "For if the body of Christ is present without an outward Word of God, he cannot be present without the inward eternal Word, which is God himself, John 1. *For this Word became flesh,* and is in the flesh. Now I ask again: Whether God himself profiteth not? Truly, when he walked upon the earth, he profited so much, that he helped whom ever he touched through his flesh; through his body he with bodily voice called Lazarus from the grave, he touched the leper and cleansed him, he walked upon the sea, and stretched out his hand to the sinking Peter, he journeyed through the land, performing nothing but miracles and doing good. It is also altogether his nature to do good, wherever he is. How should he not now profit in the bread, when it is the very same flesh, the same Word, and of the same nature, and must be, and only is profitable?" &c.

He, in conclusion, holds up to them, that they who boasted of their holy lives and their sufferings, and judged of him, that the Spirit of God had forsaken him, could not charge upon their neighbour acts so notoriously villainous, and tricks so diabolical as those of Bucer, who had introduced the poison of their doctrine concerning the sacrament into the translation of John Pommer's Psalter, and into the edition of his, Luther's, Postils, so that it was circulated under their name against their will.

Soon after the appearance of this treatise, (beginning of

May, 1527,) Luther, at the same time with a treatise of Zwinglius concerning the Lord's Supper, (*the Amica exegesis*, i. e., *expositio eucharistiæ negotii ad Martinum Lutherum*,) received a letter from the same, concerning which he complains, that notwithstanding its friendly assurances, it was full of pride, calumny, obstinacy, hatred, yea, almost malice. In this letter, namely, Zwinglius writes: That he had always respected Luther as a father, and would also in future respect him, unless it should be that Luther would not cease obstinately to resist the truth. He reproaches him with being guilty of the very same thing now which he had formerly condemned in the enemies, especially with inhumanly exciting the princes to rage against the poor peasants with fire and sword, and with calling to arms because he despaired of sustaining his cause with the Scriptures. That he did not publish anything now which was worthy of himself, and of the Christian religion, and that although the knowledge of the truth now daily increased, gentleness and humanity were not augmented in him, but much rather boldness and cruelty; many were beginning to think that something had happened to him, similar to what happens to those that are rejected of God; but that he prayed this might be far from Luther! The letter concludes with the exhortation: "Adieu! and do thou exercise thy spirit with the contemplation of the death and the resurrection of Christ. For if thou appealest only to the mere natural body, then do thou not expect that the world will ever be so silly as not to distinguish between the hull of the words and the substance of the truth. Be assured that I shall always be devoted to thee, if thou wilt also continue to be what thou art called, namely, *Lauter*, that is, pure, untarnished, and free from selfishness; but nothing shall I fear less than the foulness of aspersion. Again, adieu! and mayest thou be guilty of nothing foolish."

Zwinglius and Œcolampadius also replied to Luther's treatise: "*That these words of Christ still stand firm;*" but being very weak at that time, he was not able even immediately to read their writings, much less to reply to them. At length he applied himself to the task, and wrote his "*Confession concerning the Supper of Christ*," which appeared in March, 1528. In it he by way of introduction declares, that although by his two books against the heavenly prophets and the fanatics, he had sufficiently elucidated the subject for all intelligent Chris-

tians; and although these writings had not yet been answered by the opponents, much as they boasted of victory, he would, nevertheless, the more to confirm the weak, and the better to explain this article, publish this treatise as a final one in this dispute, since he well perceived that Satan, because he returned such awkward answers, and spewed out many and useless words, designed in this way to hinder him in other matters.

He now declares his intention to treat of three points in this book: *In the first place*, he wishes to put all pious Christians on their guard against the enemies of the sacrament, by showing that they had not at all replied to his arguments. Here he says, among other things in the passage in which he speaks of it, that Zwinglius, in order to sustain his doctrine, denied the highest and most necessary article, that the Son of God died for us, yea, even blasphemed it as the most shocking of all heresies, thus separating the person of Christ, and leaving us no other Christ but a mere man, who died for us and redeemed us: "I confess for myself, that I consider Zwinglius and all his doctrine unchristian, for he does not believe and teach any point of Christian faith aright, and has become seven times worse than he was before when he was a papist, according to the declaration of Christ, Matt. xii. The last case of such a man is worse than the first. This confession I publish that I may be excused before God and the world for not being an advocate of Zwinglius's doctrine, and never wish to be." *In the second part*, he takes up the passages from the evangelists and St. Paul, in order to strengthen his own conscience and the consciences of his friends. *In the third part*, he sets forth his confession "against this and all other new heresies," and says: "Because I perceive that sects and errors are continually becoming more numerous, and there is no end of the rage and raving of Satan, that some of them, moreover, may not in future, during my life, or after my death, appeal to me and falsely adduce my writings to confirm their errors, as the sacramentarian and baptismal fanatics began to do, I shall in this writing, before God and all the world, point after point, confess my faith, in which I intend to abide to the end, and in it, by the help of God, to depart from this world, and to appear before the judgment seat of our Lord Jesus Christ. And if any one after my death should say: if Luther yet lived, he would teach and believe differently on this or that point, for he did not sufficiently examine it, &c., I here in opposition

declare, once for all, that, by the grace of God, I have most diligently considered all these articles, having often and rigidly subjected them to the test of the Scriptures, and would as certainly defend them as I have now defended the sacrament of the altar. I am not visionary now, nor inconsiderate; I know what I speak, and am well aware that I have to render an account at the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ at the last day. Therefore let no one interpret this as jest or trifling: I mean it seriously. For, by the grace of God, I know Satan to a considerable extent: if he can pervert and confuse the Word of God, what will he not attempt to do with these, or another's words?" And now he confesses his faith concerning the high article of the Divine Majesty, that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are, to a certainty, one natural, true God; further, concerning the assumption of human nature by the Son of God, and the union of the two natures in Christ, concerning the fall and original sin, concerning the work of the Holy Ghost, concerning baptism, the Lord's Supper, the Church, the resurrection, rejecting the various errors in reference to these points, and concluding with the words: "This is my faith, for thus all true Christians believe, and thus the Holy Scriptures teach us. But that which I have not exhibited here in sufficient detail, my books abundantly supply, especially those published within the last four or five years. I entreat all pious men to bear me witness of this, and to pray for me, that I may firmly continue in this faith, and in it depart this life. For if (from which may God preserve me) I should in the hour of trial or death say anything differently, it shall nevertheless be null and void, and I wish herewith publicly to confess that it is false, and proceeds from Satan. May my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, blessed for ever, sustain me. Amen."

In order to make an end of this dispute concerning the Lord's Supper, the *Landgrave Philip of Hesse* was desirous to have a colloquium between the two parties at Marburg. Luther being invited to it, replied, (under date of the 23d June, 1529,) that he, indeed, entertained poor hopes of peace, but would, as the landgrave's diligence and care in this matter were highly deserving of praise, be ready to yield him such ungrateful, and perhaps even dangerous service, in order that the opposition might not with truth have the praise of being more disposed to peace and union than he and his friends were. "To me it seems," continues he, "as if they, through the dili-

gence of your princely grace, sought a piece of work which will not be productive of good, that they, namely, may afterwards boast against us, how they had not been wanting, they having engaged so great a prince in the matter, thus attempting, through the name of your princely grace, to cast reproach upon us as being the enemies of peace and truth, but adorning themselves most admirably. I know Satan well, and what he seeks. But God grant that I may not be a prophet in this case; for if it were not a false trick, but sincere earnest with them to have peace, they would not need to proceed in this splendid way, through great and mighty princes, for we, by the grace of God, are not so rude and savage. They might long since in their writings have exhibited to us their humble diligence for peace, of which they boast, and might still exhibit it; for I well know that I shall not in the least yield to them, nor can I, because for myself I am perfectly assured that they err, they being, moreover, themselves uncertain of the correctness of their own opinion. For I have become sufficiently acquainted with the ground upon which they stand in this matter; so they have also well learned mine. Therefore my humble prayer is, that your princely grace would earnestly consider whether it may not be productive of more evil than good. For that is certain, if they do not yield, we shall separate from each other without accomplishing anything good, having met in vain, and your princely grace will lose all your expense and trouble. Then they will not cease from their boasting, but do as heretofore, and cast reproach upon us, so that we will be anew compelled to defend ourselves. Thus it will be worse in the end than it is now. And this precisely is what Satan seeks. But that your princely grace is apprehensive lest bloodshed may result from such disunion, your princely grace should know, that if this be the result, (which may God forbid,) we are wholly innocent in the matter, and God will not fail to reveal our innocence. If the sectarian spirit causes bloodshed, it acts as it is wont, as it formerly likewise did through Francis von Sickingen, Karlstadt, and Münzer, in all which cases we, nevertheless, through the grace of God, remained innocent, and the opposition guilty."

On the 8th July, Luther, together with Melanchthon, promised the landgrave that they would come; towards a number of his friends, however, he expressed himself that he ex-

pected little from such conferences, and he even advised John Brentius, if possible, rather to remain away.

About Michaelmas, Luther set out for Marburg, and arrived there on the 30th September. The opponents were already there. Both parties were received in a very gracious, yea, truly princely manner, by the landgrave. At first, very comfortable lodgings had been designed for them in the town, but the landgrave changed his mind, and gave all of them a princely lodging and table in the castle. On the 1st of October, those, who by both sides were regarded as the chief men, held a private interview in obedience to the wish of the landgrave, Luther with Œcolampadius, Melanchthon with Zwinglius. Here it was represented to the Swiss, that also on other points (i. e., besides the article concerning the sacrament) articles were found in their doctrine which were reprehensible, and which would have to be discussed. That Zwinglius, namely, had in his writings denied the existence of original sin, he having represented sin to be only outward evil works, and deeds; that we by nature do not fear God, and do not believe in him, he considered no sin. That this was an evidence of Zwinglius's not knowing much concerning true Christian holiness, since he placed sin alone in outward deeds, as the Pelagians, all papists and philosophers did. That they, in the second place, erred greatly in reference to the office of the Word, and the use of the sacraments, since they taught that the Holy Spirit was not given through the Word or the sacraments, but without the Word and the sacraments. That in the third place, it had been reported concerning those at Strasburg, that they held erroneous views with regard to the Trinity. That they, in the fourth place, spoke and taught improperly concerning the way in which man becomes righteous before God, they not sufficiently teaching the doctrine concerning faith, speaking of it as if the works which follow faith were that righteousness. That they also gave inadequate instruction concerning the way in which faith is obtained. To this Zwinglius replied: Firstly, in regard to the divinity of Christ, that he had always taught, and did still teach, that Christ was true God and man. That he, moreover, in other respects, also taught concerning the Trinity as the synod of Nice had taught. That there, however, had been some in the country above of whom he had heard improper

things: this did not concern him. As to the other articles, namely, original sin, as also that the Holy Ghost is not given through the Word and the sacraments, they disputed a great deal with reference to their importance, and Zwinglius here willingly departed from his writings. Concerning the article of faith, they received instruction as much as the shortness of the time permitted, and the more they heard of it the better they were pleased with it, and they yielded in all these points, though they had before publicly written differently concerning them. Afterwards they also spoke on the sacrament, but in regard to this they did not agree.

On the following day a colloquium was held, not open indeed for every one, yet in the presence of the landgrave, and with the admission of his principal courtiers and counsellors, and of those whom the opponents on both sides had brought with them. On the one side there were present *Zwinglius, Œcolampadius, Bucer, Hedio,* and with them the respectable counsellor, *Jacob Sturm*, of Strasburg, likewise *Ulric Funk*, an inhabitant of Zurich, and *Robert Frey*, a counsellor of Basle. On the other side there were *Luther*, *Melanchthon*, *Eberhard von Than*, bailiff of Eisenach, *Justus Jonas*, *Caspar Cruciger*, likewise *Andreas Osiander*, of Nuremberg, *John Brentius*, of Hall, and *Stephanus Agricola*, of Augsburg, who had come later. Many others from Frankfort, from the Rhine, from Cologne, Strasburg, Basle, Switzerland, &c., had also flocked in, but were not admitted to the conference, as this was held in the inner part of the castle adjoining the cabinet of the landgrave. Luther, Philip, Zwinglius, Œcolampadius, were seated at a particular table, standing in front of the landgrave, whom his courtiers surrounded. The public conference having now begun, Luther observed, that it was necessary to discuss the whole sum of Christian doctrine with them, since there were many errors found in the writings of Zwinglius; they had also taught but little concerning justification, so that it was to be feared they did not understand much of the Gospel. In the second place, Luther protested that he had written correctly concerning the Lord's Supper, and would also continue in what he had taught. But if Œcolampadius and Zwinglius wished to advance anything against the truth, he would listen to it and refute it. In opposition Zwinglius said: That the object of their coming together was not to treat of any other doctrines except alone of the sacrament; that nevertheless, if they

should agree upon this, they would also treat of other matters. The article of the sacrament was accordingly taken up alone, and there were especially three arguments which were treated of in the discussion:

The *first* was, that John vi. 63, Christ had said: The flesh profiteth nothing. This Luther refuted thus: That these words of Christ were not to be understood of *His own* flesh, since He before, in the 54th verse, had said, that His flesh gave eternal life, but of flesh in which there is no spirit, wherefore Christ added: *it is the Spirit* that quickeneth, and wished to say that *our* flesh profits nothing and does not understand the work of God. That it certainly was shocking to say that the flesh of Christ profited nothing. And even if it were admitted that Christ spoke of *His own* flesh, Zwinglius could yet not exact his doctrine concerning the sacrament from this. Since these words did not say that the body of Christ was not in the sacrament, but if it were admitted that they spoke of the flesh of Christ, might be interpreted to mean, that the flesh of Christ does not profit those who do not believe, as Augustine also interpreted these words.

The *second* argument was taken from reason: That a body could not be in more than one place at a time; that the body of Christ, however, was in heaven, &c. This argument drew forth a lengthy discussion. Luther said: That natural reason ought not, in any manner, to sit in judgment on the omnipotence of God. Zwinglius said: That God did not propose to us such incomprehensible things. Zwinglius also inquired: How so great a work could be performed by wicked priests, that the body of Christ should be brought there? To this Luther replied, that this was done not through the merits of the priest, but through the institution of Christ. That in the same way we were to judge of the power of the Word and of all sacraments, that they are efficacious and exert an influence, not through the merits or the holiness of the priest or preacher, but through the power of the divine institution and the divine command. That it also was an error of the Donatists, that the sacraments are not efficacious when they are administered by wicked priests. To this substantial exposition of Luther, Zwinglius did not reply.

The *third* argument was advanced by Œcolampadius: Sacraments are signs, therefore we are to understand that they signify something; wherefore we are here also to under-

stand, that the body of Christ is only *signified* and not present. The reply to this was, that it was true that sacraments are signs, but that we were not to make them signify anything different from what Christ made them signify. Again, that sacraments are signs, is to be understood, especially, that they signify the promises attached to them. Therefore we are not to proceed presumptuously in giving significations, but are to see what signification God's Word itself gives.

On the 3d October the conference was continued and prolonged nearly till night, the discussion being vehement, no agreement on the article of the sacrament, however, resulting from it. At last Zwinglius and Œcolampadius begged that they might be acknowledged as brethren, upon which the landgrave also urgently insisted. Zwinglius said with tears in his eyes: "There are no people on earth with whom I would rather be united than with the Wittenbergers." The Swiss exerted themselves to the utmost to give themselves the appearance of being united with the Wittenbergers, and could not endure it when Luther said: "Your spirit is different from ours." They became incensed as often as they heard this. But Luther would not, in any way, grant them the name of brethren, and took them severely to task, saying that he was greatly surprised that they should consider him a brother, and yet at the same time consider their own doctrine right. That this was an evidence of their not highly esteeming their own cause. He, nevertheless, extended to them the hand of peace and of love, that meanwhile all severe writings and words should cease, and each one teach his doctrine without hostility, yet not without defending and refuting.

In order that the negotiation, however, might not be fruitless, they drew up articles in reference to other points, for the purpose of preventing further error. In these, Zwinglius and Œcolampadius willingly yielded to Luther's opinion in all respects, only on the sacrament they would not yield. The articles on which they agreed, treat of the Trinity, the assumption of human nature by the Son of God, the person of Christ, original sin, redemption, faith, justification, the outward Word, baptism, confession, the government. The *fourteenth* article reads thus: "Concerning the supper of our dear Lord Jesus Christ we all believe and teach, that both kinds are to be used according to the institution; that the mass, moreover, is not a work through which one can obtain grace for another, dead or

living; but that the sacrament of the altar is a sacrament of the true body and blood of Jesus Christ, and the spiritual reception of this body and blood especially necessary for every Christian. So also as to the use of the sacrament; that the Word is given and instituted by God the Almighty, in order that the weak consciences may be excited to faith and love, through the Holy Ghost. And although we have not at this time agreed whether the true body and blood of Christ are bodily present in the bread and wine, each party is, nevertheless, to exercise Christian love towards the other, as far as each conscientiously can, and both parties are diligently to pray to God the Almighty, that He may, through His Spirit, establish us in the right understanding. Amen."

The landgrave hastened to dismiss the assembly in consequence of a contagious disease prevailing in that district of country.[2] Luther departed on the 5th October, and returned by way of Schleitz, in the Voigtland, whither his elector had directed him to come. Having arrived at Wittenberg, he related from the pulpit, (where he, at that time, explained the book of Deuteronomy,) the issue of the Marburg conference. He observed that they had succeeded much better, and that the adversaries had been much more humble and friendly towards them, than they had expected. He further stated in what points the opponents had yielded, and added: "But that the body and blood of Christ are truly and bodily present, this they cannot yet believe. So much we have perceived, that if it had depended upon them they would have yielded, their language amounting to this: If the subject had not already been so fully discussed, it would not now have been broached. But because a fixed limit was set to them by their adherents, they could not retract. Brotherhood, however, they have desired of us, but we have this time refused, because we could not, consistently, yield to them. For if we should receive them as brethren and sisters, we would have to approve their doctrine. Although this refusal was not generally approved, as it was pretended that Christian love ought to be observed towards them, until God would also again restore them; since we ought even to love our enemies. But let those who choose put an unfavourable construction upon it; and whoever can accomplish more, may accomplish it. They continue in their opinion, may God enlighten them: although they adorn themselves in every way, and say that they do not deny that the

true body and blood of Christ are present, which has the appearance then as if they agreed with us. They confess, that those who partake of the Lord's Supper truly receive the body and blood of Christ, but *spiritually*, by having Christ in the heart: the *bodily* reception they will not admit; this we have charged upon their conscience, for we have God's Word and text to sustain us, which they have not. Therefore the matter rests in hope. I do not say that there is a brotherly union, but a kind, friendly agreement, that they may freely seek of us what they need, and we in return serve them. If you now diligently pray, it will also become brotherly."

But when Luther afterwards heard that the sacramentarians boasted of having vanquished him at Marburg, he thought that it was evident now, that the incredible humility and friendliness which they had exhibited, had been merely assumed, in order to induce him and his friends to enter into an apparent union, and to make them participants of their errors. But that the wisdom of Christ had triumphed over the cunning of Satan, and preserved them.

Authorities.—Works, vol. 19, p. 533. Let. No. 753. Preface to the Syngramma, Works, vol. 19, p. 385. Writings: That these words still stand firm, &c., ib. p. 388, (where, in consequence of a typographical error, the caption is wanting.) Comp. Let. No. 858. No. 865. Zwinglius' let. to L. in Veesenmeyer's Literaturgeschichte der Briefsammlungen L.'s p. 194. Let. No. 888, 910, 918, 965. The so-called greater "Confession concerning the Supper of Christ," Works, vol. 19, p. 440. Let. No. 1119. Corp. Ref. T. I. No. 621. Let. No. 1138, 1149. The account of the Marburg conference according to the report of *Jonas*, (Corp. Rep. T. I. No. 634,) Melanchthon, (ib. No. 636–38,) and Luther, (Let. No. 1156, vol. 4, No. 1217.) The Swiss authorities remained unconsulted, because a personal inspection and examination of them was not possible. The articles of agreement, Works, vol. 19, p. 530. Corp. Ref. T. I. p. 636. Let. 1155. Works, vol. 4, p. 256. Let. vol. 4, No. 1217.

Notes.—1.) It was not possible for Karlstadt to remain quiet afterwards; he returned to his former errors, and caused Luther, who had again come to an understanding with him, and in the year 1526 had been sponsor for a child of his, much trouble. We thought, however, that these latter occurrences might be passed by in this place.

2.) This was the "English sweat," repeatedly mentioned in Luther's letters, a sickness which broke out in England for the first time in 1485, and for the fourth time in 1528, being this time also conveyed to Germany and other countries, and by some historians denominated simply "the great mortality." Comp. Heckes, der engs. Schweiss. Ein ärztlicher Beitrag zur Geschichte des 15. u. 16. Jahrhunderts.

CHAPTER XI.

CONCERNING SEVERAL TRANSACTIONS WHICH PRECEDED THE DIET OF AUGSBURG, AND LUTHER'S CONNECTION WITH THEM.

When, in the year 1528, the Landgrave, Philip of Hesse, was, through a counsellor of Duke George, Dr. *Otto von Pack*, secretly informed of a league entered into against himself and the elector,[1] and when both princes, upon this, entered into a counter-league, Luther and Melanchthon, in many opinions and writings, in reference to this matter, exhorted to peace. "There will, at any rate," they wrote to the elector, among other things, "be disturbance and war in abundance without this. The devil must not be painted above the door, or requested to be sponsor." And to Duke John Frederick: "War does not gain much, but loses much and hazards all; meekness, however, loses nothing, hazards little, and gains everything." But especially did they advise, not by any means to be the assailants, but above all things to seek peace and opportunity to arrange the matter, in order that conscience might be the more secured; that the emperor might be informed of such treacherous designs, and the parties to the league be urged to desist from their project; that indemnity for the expense of the preparations should not, however, be insisted upon, lest it might appear that war and strife were desired. That besides this, proper measures might be taken and preparation made, other princes and cities might be enlisted in the matter, as God had commanded; but even to this they added the warning: "It is not advisable that the army should be assembled; for such a collection of men cannot be restrained, they will do mischief."

On their afterwards learning that a mandate had arrived from the government in his imperial majesty's name, enjoining peace upon all the estates of the realm, they were highly rejoiced, and wrote: "It seems to us that God hears our prayer, and wishes graciously to be with us, for He greets us in a truly friendly way, if we could rejoin to him and well receive him; for such cause, which comes to us of itself, we might truly have sought far and wide." They therefore advised, that this imperial command should by no means be despised; firstly, that God, who thus graciously manifested his approval of peace, might not be despised; secondly, because such man-

date had proceeded from the regular divinely-instituted authorities, to whom obedience was due, especially because nothing evil, but merely good and peace, were commanded. "We are apprehensive," continue they, "if such mandate should be despised or disregarded, that the princes of the league would from this obtain for themselves the most plausible appearance of right, and exhibit our part in the most odious light before all the world, maintaining that they had manifested a disposition for peace and obedience to his imperial majesty, but had in such obedience been aggrieved by us in our disobedience and rebellion against his imperial majesty; thus directly fastening upon us the charge of high treason. In addition to this, they would doubtless negotiate further with said government, and obtain a proscription, so that the result for our part as regards their cause, would be, that they would have no good conscience before God, no right before the realm, and no just ground before the world; which would be exceedingly dreadful and shocking. And, in short, we fear that Satan designs something greater than we imagine; for his aim is to assail not only a part of the Gospel at a time, but as Haman attempted to extirpate the whole Jewish race, so he wishes to spread ruin throughout all Germany, and at the same time to extirpate the Gospel. It is not without design that he is so diligent about us, striving and endeavouring to make us sluggish and negligent, yea, indolent and indisposed to seek and to accept the peace which God offers and proposes to us. Your electoral grace will no doubt yourself well consider, what an unhappy thing it would be, even though everything should succeed and be accomplished, if so much bloodshed should, without necessity, be occasioned, in opposition to conscience and his imperial majesty." "And," say they, in addition, "if, which may God prevent, it should be undertaken and carried through in such an evil conscience and disobedience, it should, nevertheless, ever grieve us, *that we should then undoubtedly be under the necessity of declaring against your electoral grace, our most beloved Lord, by whom we have thus far been so kindly and affectionately sustained and protected, and overwhelmed with noble and great benefits and favours, and should further have to testify how I, Martin, averred to your electoral grace at Altenburg, that we would, for the sake of the Gospel, be constrained to forsake the dominions of your electoral grace and to betake ourselves elsewhere, that such great reproach might not, with plausibility, fall*

upon that same innocent Word of God. What could ever grieve our hearts more, than that we, and perhaps many other worthy men with us, should be constrained to be separated from such a father and patron." In another letter they once more pray: "That (in coming to an arrangement) the indemnity for the expenses should not be so urgently insisted upon, since it would be better to lose so much expense, than to begin so great, so hazardous and dangerous a business. What would we do, if so much injury had been sustained from some other cause, through fire, or water, or other calamity, as the insurrection of the peasantry," &c. "God has more remaining than the expense amounts to, and can without difficulty restore it again, if his divine admonition and means are followed and not despised."

Luther was greatly rejoiced when he perceived that the matter was likely to be peaceably arranged, but the apologies of the duke and the rest, who denied the league, he would not admit, for he thought that they had hitherto, in design and deed, through commands and in every way, pursued and wished to pursue, and did still pursue, what that league, in its various details, embraced; that they persecuted the Gospel, and wished to have the elector put out of the way, as everybody knew. To Wenceslaus Link he wrote in reference to the matter: "I consider the exceedingly cool apology of Duke George almost to be an admission. Let them deny, apologize, pretend; I know what I know, namely, that this league is not an empty report or chimera, though certainly a monstrous affair." "God will bring this fool of all fools to nought, who, like Moab, ventures to undertake more than he is able to accomplish, and forgets to measure his pride according to his power, as he has always done. We will pray against these murderers, and thus far let them be forgiven. If they again undertake anything, we will pray God and then exhort the princes, that they may be destroyed without mercy, as they are resolved, in their insatiable thirst for blood, not to rest till they have deluged Germany with blood."

Of this letter Duke George received a copy, and he immediately wrote to Luther, that he should in writing distinctly inform the messenger whether he had written to Link a communication such as the one enclosed. Luther replied, that he had so far most patiently borne with the duke, particularly with regard to the preface to Emser's New Testament,[2] and

the answer to his humble letter, (see p. 330,) and would also in this instance bear with him, wherefore he very humbly prayed that the duke would not tempt him with such notes or copied letters. That he would, no doubt, be able without Luther's aid, to ascertain who the author of such letter was. Upon this the duke entered complaints with the elector, but Luther rejoined that he would be constrained this time also to abide by his answer. The Duke then published a "*Defence with reference to the League of Mayence*," in which he caused Luther's letter to be inserted, and uttered vehement complaints about it. Luther was informed that 8,000 copies of this writing had been printed, and were to be sent to all parts of the world under the Duke's seal, and he even secretly received a copy of it. He forthwith drew up his reply, the treatise "*Concerning secretly stolen letters, together with an explanation of the seventh Psalm against Duke George of Saxony:*" in order that it might appear at the same time with the duke's writing. In this he insists especially upon the fact, that the point in dispute here was a private writing addressed to a single person, and not published, and that he had not been able to reply with yes or no to the duke's question, because he had neither possessed the original letter, nor a copy of it. "I well know," said he among other things concerning the duke, 'that he is Duke of Saxony, Landgrave of Thuringia, and Margrave of Meissen, and, truly, God has given him a noble country, and a beautiful dominion, yet, alas! as Solomon says, "it is not given him to enjoy it in the quiet of his heart. But that he should also be duke over other men's letters, Landgrave over private remarks, and Margrave over thoughts, this I shall, if God permit, not yet believe or endure this year." After he had further remarked upon this, and spoken of several points of the letter concerning which Duke George complained, he added: "Finally, I humbly pray Duke George and all his adherents finally to cease, and to suffer our doctrines to be undisturbed, especially because they know that the Diet of Speyer (1526) has permitted us to believe, as we hope to be able to answer for it to God and his imperial majesty, and not to set themselves up against such decree of the assembled realm; then we shall, as we have done heretofore, again, in all quiet and peace, serve them, earnestly pray for them to God, help, advise, bear and raise up to the best of our ability. We desire nothing more than peace and quiet, as we also, in

the electorate, enjoy great quiet, in regard to doctrine and life." That he, moreover, was prepared to answer for himself, not indeed as regarded private letters and remarks, but with regard to anything else that the Duke might have against him; only he could not permit him to be judge, umpire, master, or lord, but enemy, accuser, and adversary. That Duke John the elector, and the Emperor Charles, were his lords, besides whom he allowed no person upon earth to exercise any authority over him.

Concerning this treatise, Duke George, through messengers whom he despatched, entered complaints with the elector, to whom Luther had already, before the appearance of it, (the 31st December, 1528,) given information of it, praying him to be perfectly at ease on his account, and without hesitation to offer him up for justice, since he would rather yield up his life than that the elector should incur the least danger on his account. At the same time he had exhibited to him in detail how he, the elector, could comfort himself as regarded his own person and affairs. The elector replied to the Duke, that the matter grieved him, but that the Duke had been too hasty in the publication of his writing against Luther; the latter, on the other hand, was censured for too vehemently referring to the Packian league, and directed him not to publish anything in future which might have reference to the elector, or Duke George and others, without first sending it to the court. What he might write concerning doctrine, he should, as the elector Frederick had already enjoined, submit to the rector and the theologians of the university for inspection. The bailiff and council of the town also were directed to see that the printers obeyed this command.

In consequence of the continually increasing progress which the Turks were making, Luther, in August of the year 1528, resolved to write a treatise "concerning the war against the Turks." It could not appear, however, till March of the year 1529, because the first sheets had been lost. In the dedication to the landgrave Philip, he says, that he had, five years previous already, been desired to write concerning the war against the Turks, and to exhort the people to it; that now, as the Turks were approaching, his friends insisted upon his executing this task, "especially because there are some awkward preachers among us Germans (as I am sorry to hear), who represent to the people that we are not to wage war against the

Turks, and some even who are so mad as to teach that it is utterly wrong for a Christian to wield the temporal sword, or to govern. In addition to this, as our German nation is a rude, uncultivated nation, yea, almost semi-devils, there are some who desire the approach and the government of the Turks." That such error and wickedness among the people were ascribed to Luther, and represented as a fruit of his Gospel; wherefore he was constrained to say something in defence of himself, not to the calumniators, but in order that innocent consciences might not be further misled by such blasphemers.

He begins by referring to the fact, that Pope Leo X. had, in his bull against him, among the rest also condemned the thesis, in which he had said: "To wage war against the Turks is precisely the same thing as to resist God, who with such scourges visits punishment upon our sins." That from this it had been argued, that his advice was against resisting the Turks by force of arms; but that here the condition was lost sight of, in which the world had been at that time. That if the world were in the same condition yet, he would still have to defend that thesis. That it had not at all been known at that time with regard to the temporal government, whence it was derived, what its office or duties were, or how it was to serve God. That the pope and the clergy had at that time been in possession of all power, and the temporal government had been obscured and unknown. That the pope and his followers, however, had pretended to be Christians and still presumed to wage war against the Turks, which had constrained him to show that Christians are not to resist evil, but endure and permit everything, and that he had done this so much the rather, in order at the same time to expose the knavery of Rome, as the pope had never been in earnest with regard to the war against the Turks, but had employed this war only as a pretext to further his designs under it, by relating from the Koran of the Turks, how, by its rejection of the Son of God and His doctrines, and by its falsehoods, it destroyed the spiritual station; by the domination of the sword, the temporal station; and by its contempt for marriage, the domestic institution.

"The other personage," continued he, "to whom it belongs to wage war against the Turks, is the Emperor Charles, or whoever is emperor; for the Turks attack his subjects and his empire, and he is in duty bound to defend his people, as being

the regular authority ordained of God." He that wars at the command of the emperor, under his banner and in his name, hereby secures his conscience that he acts in obedience to Divine order. But with such imperial banner and command there must not be connected any impure motives, and the emperor must have no other object but to discharge the duties of his office, to protect his subjects; and those under his banner, no other inducement than the obligations of duty; but, honour, renown, acquisitions, &c., are not to be the objects; for precisely because these have heretofore been sought, there has been no success. Therefore also the emperor and the princes are not to be excited to wage war against the Turks, on the ground that he is the head of Christendom, the protector of the Church, and the guardian of the faith, and therefore under obligation to extirpate the faith of the Turks. The Church and the faith must have a very different protector from emperors and kings; who generally are the worst enemies of Christendom and of the faith. If the emperor were constrained to extirpate all infidels and ungodly men, he would have to begin with the pope, the bishops, and the clergy, and perhaps not spare us or himself; for there is shocking idolatry enough in his own empire, so that he has no need of making war upon the Turks on that account. The sword of the emperor has no concern with faith, its business is with bodily, temporal affairs, and let us beware of exciting the wrath of God, and of perverting and confusing his order, lest he in turn pervert and confound us by all manner of calamity. Therefore the emperor and the princes are to be reminded of their office, and the duties devolving on them, that they may, with diligence and faithfulness, endeavour to afford their subjects peace and protection against the Turks; for it seems from many diets, as if the emperor and princes did not themselves believe that they are emperor and princes, since they act as if it were left to their own good pleasure and fancy, to rescue their subjects and to protect them against the Turks, or not. Every one permits things to proceed as if they did not concern him, or as if it were optional with him to act or not to act. They take up Luther's affairs, and discuss whether meat may be eaten during Lent, and whether nuns may take husbands, &c., all matters concerning which they have no command to act; whilst they, meanwhile, disregard the solemn and strict command of God, which has constituted them protectors of unhappy Ger-

many, and become murderers, traitors, and bloodhounds, towards their own subjects, exposing them to the rage of the Turks.

But if the emperor and princes would now consider that they, in obedience to the command of God, owe protection to their subjects, they ought further to be admonished not to undertake such work of protection from self-confidence, or a reliance upon their own power and counsels. It does not suffice for thee to know that God has enjoined it upon thee to perform this or that, thou art also to perform it in fear and humility. For God commands no one to do anything in reliance on his own counsel or strength, he wishes also to be consulted and to be feared. Yea, he wishes to perform it through us, and to be entreated, lest we become presumptuous and forget his aid, as the 147th Psalm says: *The Lord taketh pleasure in them that fear Him, in those that hope in His mercy.* Otherwise we would be disposed to imagine that we ourselves could accomplish it without the aid of God, assuming to ourselves the victory and the honour which are due alone to Him."

After he had further elucidated this with passages and examples from the holy Scriptures, he teaches how those people are to be instructed and to be convinced of their sin, who desired the approach and the government of the Turks, and then speaks of the objection: That the pope was equally wicked with the Turks, and if it were necessary to wage war against the Turks, it would also be necessary to wage war against the pope. To this he replies: That the pope was very little better than the Turks, and bore a very great resemblance to Mahomet, and that like sin ought certainly to meet like punishment. If the pope, therefore, and his followers, should attempt to employ the sword against the empire, as the Turks did, then he would have to be regarded in the same light as the Turks, as had recently happened to him also at Pavia, (on the 24th February, 1525,) through the army of the Emperor Charles. That against the papacy, however, its errors and evil practices, the chief man, Christ Jesus, had now arisen, and was briskly assailing the pope by prayer and God's Word, having also lodged His darts in him so as to cause him to feel it and to rave.

He further replied to the objection: How the emperor could, at this time, wage war against the Turks, when he was impeded by such great difficulties and such treachery against

himself; and finally gives his earnest and faithful advice, saying, that if there should be war against the Turks, thorough preparation should be made, and the Turks should not be despised. That there was a different majesty with this Gog and Magog, than with our kings and princes. "For if our kings and princes harmoniously co-operated with one another, and Christians also prayed for them, I would be perfectly at ease, and confidently hope that the Turks would cease from their fury, and find a man in the Emperor Charles who would be a match for them. But if the reverse should be the case, and things should proceed as they proceed now, no one harmonizing with the other, or observing fidelity towards the other, each one wishing to act independently of the rest and entering the field with his own scanty troops, I must suffer it to be so; and though I shall willingly aid with my prayer, it will be a weak prayer; for I can, in reality, have but little faith in its being heard, since matters of such importance are undertaken in a way so childishly presumptuous and inconsiderate, that I know God is tempted and can have no pleasure in it."

In the same year, when the Turks had besieged Vienna, but, being foiled in their attempt to carry it, had (on the 16th October) been obliged to withdraw, Luther, who informed his friends of this news in order that they might, with him, return thanks to God, also published his "*Sermon to the army against the Turks*," for he thought that his dear Germans would now, as was their manner, sit down again, and cheerily drinking and feasting, neglect to make a good use of such favour, ungratefully forgetting it, and thinking: "Hah, the Turks are gone now and have fled, what need we concern ourselves, and incur useless expenses?" He therefore, in the first part, instructs the consciences as to what the Turks are, according to the Scriptures, namely, the last and worst wrath of Satan against Christ, in which the enemy makes his last desperate effort, and interpreting the 7th chapter of Daniel as designating them, he once more teaches how they are to be resisted. In the second part, he exhorts to action, showing that body and property are to be hazarded in the matter, and willingly yielded, and that if the government demanded contributions for this war, these should be rendered, as was just.

Of great importance were the opinions which were demanded of Luther and his friends, in consequence of the transactions

of the *Diet of Speyer, held in the year* 1529. Here the decree of the Diet held at Speyer, in the year 1526, that every one should, till the expected general council, so act with regard to matters of religion, as he hoped to be able to answer to God and the emperor for it, was to be abolished, and instead of it, it was to be resolved, that those who had hitherto conformed to the Edict of Worms, should also, in future, conform to it, and cause their subjects to observe it; that the rest, however, who could not, without great danger, abolish the opposite doctrine, should thenceforth, until the council, as far as they possibly and humanely could, avoid all further innovations. It being resolved, notwithstanding the opposition of the evangelical estates to it, to insert this decree in the final address of the diet; the former entered a solemn protestation against it. Luther, of whom the elector had desired an expression of his opinion, advised: Firstly, to show how great the abuses of the clergy had been, how the estates of the realm had entered complaints on account of them, and pope Adrian the VI. himself had acknowledged them. That all the world had been weary of the abuses of the clergy and inimical to them, and there had been cause for apprehension, that if Luther's doctrine, through which the people had been instructed concerning the faith of Christ and obedience to the government, had not interfered, there would have been a distressing and pernicious state of things occasioned in Germany. That the elector had been constrained to permit to arise and to fall, what had arisen and fallen, but had at the same time exercised care, that no unchristian doctrines had been introduced. But that now, since the decree of Speyer demanded of the estates of the realm to forsake this doctrine, which the elector, nevertheless, deemed Christian, the consolation of which he had moreover during these times experienced, he could not give his consent to this decree: 1. Because by this he would act against his conscience. 2. Because by doing so he would make himself a partaker of the sins of all those, who, following his example, would also, against their conscience, condemn this doctrine. 3. Because it was not in his power to compel any one to introduce or to receive the abolished abuses, as he had not been the cause of their decline. 4. Because in this way he would confirm the insufferable oppression of the clergy, concerning which the estates of the realm had complained at Worms. 5. That his imperial majesty could, from the fact that the estates of the realm had not

condemned this doctrine but deferred it to a council, perceive that he had not acted otherwise than became a Christian. That his imperial majesty was accordingly to be entreated, not to burthen the conscience of the elector with such grievous demands, but, as all the estates of the realm also awaited a council, to afford his aid and advice in the preservation of Christian peace by just and proper means, and in having the affairs investigated and not condemned thus unknown.

From Melanchthon, who had returned from the diet, Luther learned that a new league was said to exist, between the landgrave, namely, and several cities. This greatly disturbed him, and he said: That he had rejoiced when God, a year previous, had delivered them from a dangerous league, and that he could therefore not refrain from writing to the elector concerning it, in order that, if the landgrave was determined to persist in his league-making, the elector might not suffer himself to be drawn into the matter, since it was not at all possible to conceive what trouble might in the end flow from it. That such league, in the first place, was not of God, and did not proceed from confidence in God, but wholly from a reliance on human skill and human aid. That the crowd of the papists were not able to succeed so far, and had not so much confidence as to begin anything, and that God had already, with the good bulwarks of his might, secured those attached to the Gospel. That such league accomplished nothing further than to cause the opposition also to form leagues. That the landgrave, moreover, was a restless, young prince, and might, perhaps, as had happened the year previous, find cause not only for protection, but also for assault. "In the second place," said he, "this is the worst of all, that in such league we have the most of those who strive against God and the sacrament, as being the perverse enemies of God and his Word, by which we bring upon ourselves all their sin and blasphemy, make ourselves partakers of them and defend them, so that truly a more dangerous league could not be formed, to bring reproach upon the Gospel and to suppress it, and to condemn us with body and soul; this is precisely what Satan wishes. If no other course will succeed, may God grant that your electoral grace may leave the landgrave to himself and be separated from him, as I understand my gracious lord the Margrave George is inclined and acts. Our Lord Jesus Christ, who has thus far wonderfully helped your electoral grace without the landgrave yea,

against the landgrave, will also help and counsel further!" In the third place, he adduces passages from the Old Testament, in which God invariably condemns such leagues and reliance upon human aid.

For these very reasons, and for others, Luther, in another written opinion, declared such league to be impossible and vain, dangerous, suspicious, seductive and unchristian, the latter on account of the heresy against the sacrament, which in this way would be strengthened and defended, he at the same time adducing the example of Achan, whose sin had brought calamity upon the whole people. If any one, added he, should pretend that the cities are united with us on all other points, this one only being excepted, and that because of the others so much would not depend upon this one; it is to be answered, that upon this very point enough depends, as the example instanced of Achan demonstrates; and he that denies one article, is no less an infidel than Arius, or one of them. And if, again, it should be said that this league does not concern doctrine, but is opposed to outward force, this is untenable, as it is well known that the adversaries design to attack us on no other account but that of doctrine.[3]

Previously to the meeting at Schmalkalden (the 29th November, 1529), the elector once more, through his chancellor, Dr. Brück, demanded of Luther and two of his colleagues an opinion, as to whether the formation of a league for the protection of religion was admissible. To this Luther replied in particular: "We cannot in our conscience approve of such alliance, and cannot advise it, considering, that if in the progress of it any bloodshed or other calamity should flow from it, and we should then wish to be delivered from it, we could not be so, and would have to bear the insufferable charge of causing all such evil, so that we would sooner ten times be dead, than have such a conscience, that our Gospel had been the cause of any bloodshed or injury occasioned by us, since we are to be those who suffer, and, as the prophet, Psalm xliv. 22, says, 'to be accounted as sheep for the slaughter,' not revenging or defending ourselves, but leaving room for the wrath of God. Rom. xii. 19. But that your electoral grace is made to incur danger on this account, signifies nothing. Our Lord Christ is mighty enough, and can readily find ways and means to prevent such danger from proving injurious to your electoral grace; he can bring the counsel of the ungodly princes to

nought. Psalm xxxiii. 10. For we do not think otherwise but that such undertaking of the emperor is a mere menace of Satan, which will be without power, and finally prove the destruction of the adversaries, as the seventh Psalm (v. 16) imports: 'His mischief shall return upon his own head, and his violent dealings shall come down upon him;' excepting that Christ (as is just and necessary) tries us, whether we are in earnest with regard to his Word, and esteem it to be certain truth or not. For if we wish to be Christians, and to have eternal life in the future world, we will not be able to have it better than our Lord himself, with all his saints, has had it, and still has it. There is no alternative; the cross of Christ must be borne; the world does not wish to bear it, but to impose it; therefore of course we Christians must bear it, that it may not lie neglected and be made nought. Your electoral grace has thus far faithfully aided in bearing it, both against insurrection, and also against great trials, envy, hatred, and many wicked schemes of friends and foes; God has nevertheless always graciously sent deliverance, and given your electoral grace an unwavering confidence, and neither denied bodily nor spiritual solace, but has wonderfully exposed, rent asunder, and brought to nought all the wicked tricks and snares of Satan. He will not in future, therefore, fail to deliver, if we believe and pray. We are perfectly assured, and have also in the visible help of God thus far experienced it, that our cause is not our own, but God's. Here is our confidence and comfort, therefore he has also, as a faithful God, taken this his cause into his protection, and defended it, constraining us to acknowledge that it was beyond our skill and power, and that we would not have been able with our reason thus to direct, defend, and accomplish. Therefore I submissively pray and exhort your electoral grace to be confident and undaunted in such danger; we shall, if God permit, accomplish more with prayer and entreaty than they with all their defiance. Let us, therefore, preserve our hands pure from blood and wickedness, and if it should come to pass (which I do not apprehend), that the emperor persists and demands me or the rest, then we will, by the help of God, appear for ourselves, and not expose your electoral grace to any danger on our account, as I formerly also repeatedly declared to your electoral grace's deceased brother, my most gracious lord, Duke Frederick. For your electoral grace should not attempt,

nor can defend the faith of another; but every one should defend his own faith, and believe or not believe at his own hazard, and not at the hazard of another, if matters come to such a pass that our lord the emperor assails us. Meanwhile, much water courses away, and God can readily find means to prevent things from happening as they imagine. May Christ, our Lord and comfort, abundantly strengthen your electoral grace. Amen. The 18th November, 1529.[4]

Authorities.—Seckend. lib. II. § XXXV. Let. No. 984, 989, 999. A. and B. 1000, 1003, 1005. Works, vol. 19, p. 670. Let. 1045, 1054, 1060. Treatise concerning secretly stolen letters, vol. 22, p. 5. Seckend. lib. II., p. 149, comp. let. No. 1061. Let. No. 1021, 72, 76. Treatise concerning the war against the Turks, vol. 22, p. 339. Let. No. 1162 and seq. Treatise: Sermon to the army against the Turks, vol. 22, p. 356. Sleidan. lib. VI., p. 171. Let. No. 1090, 1104, 1113. Seckend. lib. II., p. 141. Let. No. 1170.

Notes.—1.) Although nothing good was to be expected from the opponents, this league itself is nevertheless at the present day universally regarded as an invention. Further particulars concerning it belong to the History of the Reformation, and the documents in reference to it are to be found in Hortleder and Rommel. (Above, on p. 331, an error has remained, since the league of Mayence mentioned there, is in no way connected with the Packian business.)

2.) In the preface to this translation of Emser, which was opposed to that of Luther, Duke George severely assails the latter.

3.) For the very purpose of obviating this objection, which seemed very important also to the elector, the landgrave sought to bring about a union with those who taught differently concerning the Lord's Supper, and with this view promoted the holding of the Marburg Conference. See above, ch. 10. No further notice can here be taken of the different negotiations at that time entered into by the protesting estates, nor of the conventions which they held in reference to the matter.

4.) In an opinion of the 6th March, 1530, given after previous consultation with Jonas, Bugenhagen, and Melanchthon, Luther also decidedly gives his advice against opposition to the emperor. Let. No. 1191. To this we recur in the subsequent portion of this work.

CHAPTER XII.

LUTHER AT COBURG DURING THE DIET OF AUGSBURG IN 1530.

In the beginning of the year 1530, Luther was absent for several days visiting neighbouring churches, but soon other labours awaited him. On the 14th March, the elector wrote to him, Dr. Jonas, Pommer, and Philip Melanchthon, that his

imperial majesty had summoned a Diet, to be held at Augsburg on the 8th April, at which his imperial majesty designed to be present in person. That here the dispute concerning religion was to form the main subject for consultation, the opinion of each side was to be heard, and an enduring union and peace were to be restored. That it seemed as if this Diet were to be held instead of a council, or national convention, therefore it was highly necessary "that we were thoroughly prepared with regard to all the articles concerning which the dispute was continued, both in regard to faith, and also outward ecclesiastical ceremonies, so that we may, before the beginning of the Diet, be firmly and fixedly resolved, whether, in what respect, and how far, we and the other estates who have received and admitted the pure doctrine among them, may, and can justly, with a good conscience towards God, and without grievous offence, endure negotiation." That because no one could understand this matter better and more thoroughly than they did, they should let all other business and affairs lie, and apply themselves to the consideration of this matter, to the end that they might by the next Sunday, Oculi, (the 20th March,) be ready with it, and on that day assemble at Torgau. That the summons did not require of each estate to bring its preachers and learned men along to the negotiation, and that it was not known whether this would be admissible; that Dr. Luther, Dr. Jonas, and M. Philip Melanchthon should nevertheless arrange their affairs so, and likewise as much as possible provide for having others to lecture in the university in their stead, during their absence, so that they might again be at Torgau on a day to be specified, and be able, together with M. Spalatin and Eisleben, to proceed to Coburg with the elector, where they, especially Luther, should await further orders.

Luther immediately called Dr. Jonas back from the visitation, and meanwhile applied himself to the work with the other two. On the day appointed, they delivered seventeen articles of Christian doctrine at Torgau, and soon afterwards again assembled at the same place,[1] where the elector caused Luther in a sermon to explain to him the words, Matt. x. 32: 'He that confesseth me before men,' &c. On this same day, (Sunday, Judica, the 3d April,) the elector set out with his suite. On the Sunday, Palmarum, Luther preached at Weimar, where the princes partook of the Lord's Supper; so he

likewise during passion-week, delivered sermons at Saalfeld, Gräfenthal, and Neustadt, and repeatedly at *Coburg*, where they arrived on Saturday previous to Easter, and celebrated the feast of Easter. On the 21st, the elector departed with the rest, whilst Luther, not knowing himself at first why, was left behind at Coburg by the elector, who for a long time was undecided what he should do in this respect. He now took up his abode in the castle, which he called his Sinai, but of which, as he wrote to Melanchthon, he meant to make a Zion, intending to erect three tabernacles there, one to the Psalter, one to the Prophets, and one to Æsopus.[2] Here he was quite alone; the largest edifice, which commanded the whole castle, was wholly committed to him, and he had received the keys to all the apartments; was also, as he says, entertained better than well. The place was very agreeable, and suited for study, and nothing but the absence of his friends disturbed him. Having at first to be idle because of being without his port-folio, books, and other articles, he amused himself with the movements and cries of the crows and jackdaws around the castle, and thus wrote to his table-friends at Wittenberg concerning them: "Grace and peace in Christ, dear sirs and friends! I have received the letters from you all, and from them learnt the state of affairs among you. That you may in return know how we fare, I inform you that we, namely, myself, Magister Veit and Cyriacus,[3] do not proceed to the Diet to Augsburg; we have, nevertheless, come to another diet. There is, namely, immediately below our window, a bushy close, like a little forest, to which the jackdaws and crows have convoked a diet; here there is such a coming and going, such a clamour day and night without ceasing, as if they were all intoxicated and mad; here young and old chatter through one another, that I am surprised how voice and breath can endure so long. And I would like to know whether any of such nobility and troops remain with you; it seems to me as if they were assembled here from all parts of the world. Their emperor I have not yet seen, but as to their other nobility and great Jacks, they are continually hovering and parading before our eyes, not arrayed very splendidly, but in one simple uniform colour, all equally black and all equally grey-eyed; they all sing the same song, with the agreeable variation, however, of young and old, large and small. They have no regard either for great palaces and saloons, for their

saloon is vaulted with the beautiful extended sky, and their floor is the simple field overlaid with beautiful green boughs; the walls also reach to the ends of the world. Neither do they at all concern themselves about steeds and armour, they have winged wheels, with which they escape from the rifle, and are enabled to deliver themselves from wrath. They are great mighty lords, but what they are decreeing I do not yet know. As much, however, as I can ascertain from an interpreter, they have in contemplation a mighty expedition, and war against wheat, barley, oats, and all manner of corn and grain, and many a one no doubt will become a knight, and perform valorous deeds here. Thus we sit here in the diet, listen and behold with great delight and pleasure, how the princes, and lords, and other estates of the realm sing so joyfully and live so cheerily. But it affords us especial joy to behold them switching their tails so valiantly, wiping their beaks and tilting their arms, that they may gain victory and honour in their wars against corn and malt. We wish them success and prosperity, that they may all be impaled on a hedge-pole. I conceive, however, that they are only the sophists and papists, with their preaching and writing, whom I am obliged to have all in a crowd here before me, that I may hear their lovely voices and sermons, and see what an exceedingly useful people they are, in consuming everything that is upon the earth, and then in return chattering for the whole world. To-day we heard the first nightingale, for it did not venture to trust April. Thus far the weather has been most delightful, there having been no rain at all, except a little yesterday; with you, perhaps, it is different. Herewith adieu, and do you keep good house. From the diet of the Malt-Turks, April the 28th, of the year 1530."

Soon, however, Luther could proceed to his labours, and he so earnestly applied himself to the translation of the prophets, that he hoped to finish them all by Whitsuntide. His outer man, however, was unable to bear up under this exertion of his inner man. If before already he had suffered from a pain in his thigh, he now became subject to such a buzzing and even thundering in his head, that he would have fainted under it, if it had not soon ceased. For three days he could not endure to look at a letter. "It will no longer do," he wrote to Melanchthon, "age is coming apace;" and he accordingly exhorted him to take a warning from him, and not also to ruin

his head, but to bestow upon his body the necessary care, in order that he might not become a murderer, and imagine that it happened in obedience to God's will. That God could be served also by resting.

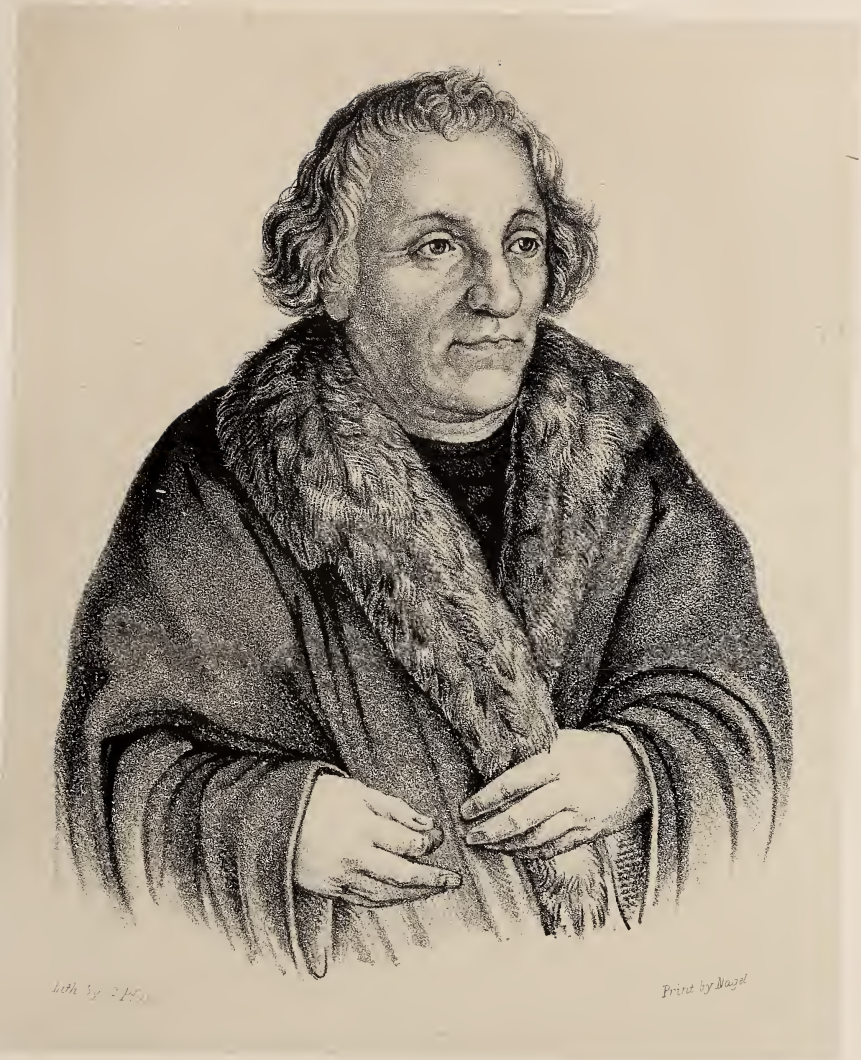
Melanchthon, on the other hand, was greatly concerned for Luther. He besought Luther's associate, Veit Dietrich, to endeavour, by means of conversation, and in every possible way, to prevent Luther from retiring to bed engaged with such melancholy thoughts, "although I know," added he, "that that which troubles him is not of such a nature as to permit his mind to be drawn away from it by such human means. We must therefore betake ourselves to prayer." And soon afterwards he again prayed him, to urge the Doctor to take care of his health and to labour less. That he would in this way render a service to the whole Church. The elector also wrote to Luther, that he and all of them were greatly concerned for him because of his health, and prayed God that he would long preserve him, for the sake of his dear Word: exhorted him also by all means to take care of his health, and said that his private physician, Dr. Casper, sent him medicine, in order with it to strengthen his head and his heart; that he should content himself at Coburg, and not let the time appear long to him.

Luther had frequently to complain of the buzzing in his head, and of the hinderance it proved to him, till finally, on the 15th August, he could inform his dear Kate, that he had been free from it for several days. Spiritual trials he also had to encounter as he, on the 12th May, wrote to Melanchthon: "On the day on which I received thy letters from Nuremberg, there was an embassy of Satan with me. I was alone, Veit and Cyriacus were absent, and he succeeded in so far gaining the mastery over me, that he drove me from my apartment and forced me to go out among men. In such trials he repeatedly desired absolution from the pastor of the place, John Karg, and was comforted through the holy sacrament; he afterwards also often praised this his confession, through whose instruction the Lord Christ had so effectually refreshed him. He also began to conceive that his hour was not distant, and selected a spot for himself, where they should bury him. In the chapel, beneath the cross, he thought, he would lie.

On the 5th June, he received the information concerning the death of his dear father, which had occurred eight days previous. Luther had already at Wittenberg heard that he was

dangerously ill; and because his friends advised him against incurring the danger of a journey to him, he had, under date of the 18th February, written a letter of consolation and despatched Cyriacus to him, to see whether his weakness would permit them to bring him and the mother to Wittenberg, as also his Kate with tears desired. "Herewith," thus concluded this letter, "I commend you to Him, who loves you more dearly than you love yourself, and has manifested such love, in taking your sin upon Himself and cancelling it with His blood, making it known to you through the Gospel, and enabling you, through His holy Spirit, to believe it, thus confirming and sealing everything most positively, so that you have no need of being concerned or of troubling yourself about anything, except that with your heart you firmly and confidently abide in his Word and faith. If you do this, then leave all to Him, He will direct all well, yea, He has already directed it in the best way, more than we can comprehend. May the same, our dear Lord and Saviour, be ever with you, that (whether, in the pleasure of God, it be here or in the next life) we may again see each other with joy. For our faith is assured of it, and we do not doubt, but that we shall shortly again see each other with Christ, since the departure from this life is more insignificant before God, than if I removed from Mansfeld hither from you, or you from Wittenberg to Mansfeld from me. This is certainly true, it is only an hour of sleep and all will be changed." Luther was indeed greatly grieved at the death of his father; the information, nevertheless, comforted him, that he had gently fallen asleep, firmly believing in Christ. "I now," he wrote, "enter upon the inheritance of his name, since I am now almost the oldest Luther in my family. It therefore also becomes me, not accidentally but of right, through death to follow him into the kingdom of Christ, which may he in mercy grant unto us all, for whose sake we are the most wretched of men, and a reproach of the whole world. I therefore yield to sorrow and write no more to-day, for it is just and right, that I, as son, should bewail such a father, through whom the Father of Mercies has created me, through whose arduous labours he has sustained me, and caused me to become what I am. This rejoices me, that his life was prolonged to this time, and he was permitted to behold the light of the truth. Praised be God in all his works and counsels, forever. Amen."

Luther was much visited at Coburg. Thus, for instance,



HANS LUTHER,
Dr Martin Luther's Father.

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Martin Bucer came to him with the consent of the elector, to treat with him concerning a union on the article of the Lord's Supper: and Luther observed, that he should not be wanting, as regarded love and union, if the Zwinglians only taught the truth in accordance with God's Word, and forsook their subtile and dubious explanations; upon which Bucer in good friendship departed. He was further visited by *Urbanus Regius* on his journey to Zelle, whither he had been called, and who related concerning this visit: "At Coburg I spent a whole day with Luther, the man of God, and I never, in all my life, spent a more delightful day. For Luther is so mighty a theologian, that there scarcely ever has been one like him. I always thought highly of Luther, but now I think still more highly of him; for I myself have been present, and have seen and heard what no pen can describe to those absent. Luther's books indicate his spirit, but when you shall yourself have been present, and better observed him, and have heard him, with an apostolical spirit, discoursing on divine things, you will say: It is true, what they say, Luther is greater, than that he could or should be judged by a conceited sciolist. He still remains a theologian for the whole world, that I know. I know him better now, than before I myself had heard and seen him." Luther himself was not pleased with these frequent visits. When, one day, John Reineck, of Mansfeld, and George Römer, and on the next Argula von Stauffen had been with him, he thought that the pilgimage was becoming too great, and that the prince might perhaps not be pleased with it, wherefore he resolved to betake himself elsewhere for a day or so, to give occasion for the report that he was not here any longer, and he also begged his friends at Augsburg thus to speak and to write.[4]

The first thing which Luther wrote at Coburg was his "*Admonition to the clergy assembled at the Diet at Augsburg.*" In it he says, by way of introduction: That because it did not behoove him personally to appear at this Diet, he had resolved, besides his presence in the spirit through prayer and supplication, also by means of writing, to be present among them, through this his mute and weak message. And that he did this because his conscience urged him, earnestly and cordially to pray, entreat, and exhort them all, not to neglect or to misuse this Diet, since God was through the emperor giving grace, space, time and occasion, for accomplishing much and great good

at this Diet, if they only were disposed to accomplish it. But that if this Diet should end without something upright being accomplished, every person would become weary of promises and delay. For that matters could not continue in the same posture in which they were now, especially as regarded the spiritual estates and affairs.

As he then passes over to the subjects which ought to engage their attention at this Diet, he says: "And in the first place, you are not to treat concerning me or those of the same faith with me; for the true Helper and Counsellor has brought us and our cause so far, and put us into such a posture, that we need no diet, counsel, nor master for ourselves, nor will we receive any from you, since we know that you cannot direct matters better, yea, not as well." . . . "Not as if we were perfect and had attained everything; but that *we have the true rule*, (as St. Paul says,) the true way and the right beginning in our favour, and there is no deficiency in doctrine, let the life be as it may. But for you and for the unhappy people, who are yet wholly uninstructed, or at least in doubt among you, we are concerned, and would here by all means willingly assist with prayer and exhortation, as much as we possibly can. For I am apprehensive that you will forget your office, and the humility to be observed towards God, and, making the strings too tense, and spurring the willing horse too much, cause another insurrection, so that we both come into distress and trouble together, as before." That the spirit of Münzer, which had come upon them as a scourge, because through their counsels the fair expectations which had been formed, in reference to former diets, had been disappointed, was still alive. "It is meant for you more than for us, although he is more inimical to us than he is to you; but we have a defence against him, God be praised forever. Would to God, you had it also, namely, the pure Word and upright prayer. So you also know how faithfully and firmly we have resisted all factious spirits, and if I might boast, I would almost say, that we have been your protectors, and that it is through us that you have thus far continued to be what you still are."

But that, because it had been forgotten, what the condition of the world was, at the time when his doctrine began, and because all now plead innocent of all charges of guilt, he was constrained to produce the old masks, and to remind the clergy of their neglected virtues, that they might see what the condi-

tion of the world would have been if his doctrine had not come. He then begins with the point, with which his doctrine had begun, namely, with indulgences, and then further treats of confession, of penance, of hired or private masses, of excommunication, of both kinds in the sacrament, of celibacy. "In short," says he, in concluding the last article, "we all know that you live without God's Word, but we have God's Word. Therefore our most anxious wish and most humble prayer is, that you would render honour to God, learn to know yourselves, repent and reform. If you will not do so, then take me: if I live, I will be your plague, if I die, I will be your death:[5] for God has set me against you, I must, as Hosea says, be to you as a bear and lion in the way of Assur, you shall never have any rest for my name, till you reform or perish."

Upon this he makes the following proposition: "Therefore we offer you the choice: Firstly, because you, at any rate, neither can nor wish to discharge the duties of the episcopal office, for truly neither yourselves nor any of your learned men are qualified to preach or to afford comfort and instruction to the consciences; therefore, do at least leave your office, the duties of which you ought to discharge, to us, permitting us freely to preach the Gospel and to serve the unhappy people who desire to become pious; do not persecute and oppose that which you cannot perform, and yet are bound to perform, and which others wish to perform for you. In the second place, we shall not desire anything beyond this of you, and shall not take salaries from you; but shall leave it to God to provide for us in some other way, so that you are thus exempted both from the labour and the reward, the trouble and the expense. Not as if we took such great delight in preaching, for, to speak for myself, there would be no message more agreeable to me, than that which would discharge me from the ministerial office; so weary I must confess myself to be of it, because of the great ingratitude among the people,[6] and much more because of the insufferable burden, which Satan and the world impose upon me. But the unhappy souls dare not be neglected; so there also is one, who is called Jesus Christ, who says No to it, him I justly obey, for he has deserved much more from me. So you yourselves all know, God be praised, that the Lutheran preachers are pious and do you no injury, but are more useful to you than all the pope's learned men. More pious heretics you never have had, nor ever will have; pray to God, that they

may always remain so to you. In the third place, we shall suffer you to remain what you are, and will teach, as we also have done heretofore, that you should be permitted to be princes and lords, and this for the sake of peace, and that your possessions should be left to you, which the Hussites and Wicklefites refused, and which all fanatics and factious spirits still refuse; so that you may see that you have in us not enemies, but great friends, and even protectors. For what injury results to us from your being princes and lords? If you will not do for yourselves, for your station and office, what is right, behold, not we, but you shall have to render an account therefor; but it is your duty to preserve peace and to cease to persecute us. We ask no more, and never have asked for more than the free Gospel. You can assist us, and we you, to acquire peace. If you will not do it, we retain the honour, and you lose both peace and honour. In the fourth place, you may again establish the episcopal constraint, (if you suffer the Gospel to be free,) and I shall, for my part, actively assist and advise you in this, that you may have something at least of the episcopal office. And thus you would have two parts of the episcopal office, one, that we and the preachers would, in your stead, make known the Gospel. The other, that you would assist in maintaining this with episcopal constraint. Your person, life, and princely character, we would leave to your consciences and the judgment of God; neither have we thus far deprived you of such constraint, you yourselves have suffered it to decline. For when you could not, by means of it, maintain indulgences and other insufferable abuses, you suffered it wholly to decline, refusing to protect our Gospel, or even to endure it, but directing such constraint against us and against the Gospel, so that it had necessarily to meet with resistance and to become dull, for God has not appointed it against his Word, but for it."

Having now shown that he could make no further and higher overtures, and having further contrasted with one another "the points which necessarily must be treated of in the true Christian Church in which we are," and the "points which were in practice and use in the false Church": he once more exhorts them earnestly to call upon God, that He would grant them grace and wisdom, so to act and to proceed in these important matters, as to promote His honour and our salvation, and then concludes: "But if you are resolved violently, obsti-

nately and perversely to carry through your measures (which may God forbid,) I, with all that believe with me, herewith declare before God and all the world, that it will not be chargeable to us, if your pride should involve you in ruin, that you utterly perish. Your blood shall be upon your own heads, we are and will be innocent of your blood and condemnation, for we have sufficiently pointed out to you your iniquity, faithfully admonished you to repent, earnestly prayed and shown ourselves ready for everything that was promotive of peace, seeking and desiring nothing else than the only comfort of our souls, the pure Gospel, so that we can with a good conscience boast of not having been in fault ourselves. But the God of peace and comfort give you his Spirit, to guide and to direct you to all truth, through our dear Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be praise and thanks for all his unspeakable grace and gifts, forever. Amen."

In his principal labour, to finish the translation of the *prophets into German*, Luther was constrained, at times, in order to spare his head, to pause and to rest. Thus he was able to complete Hosea by taking advantage of the hours and sunny moments for this purpose. Ezekiel he was obliged, on account of his suffering, for a while, to lay wholly aside. In these intervals he penned his thoughts concerning several Psalms,[7] firstly, concerning the 18th Psalm, concerning which, in the dedication to the *Abbot Frederick, at Nuremberg*, he says: "It is my psalm which I love. Although the whole Psalter and the holy Scriptures are also most dear to me, I have still become particularly attached to this psalm, so that it must be called mine. For truly it has very often nobly served me, and delivered me from many and great distresses, from which neither emperors nor kings, nor the wise, nor the prudent, nor the saints, could have delivered me. And it is more dear to me than the honour, possessions, and power of the pope, the Turks, the emperor, or all the world. I would most unwillingly exchange with any of them for this psalm. But if any one should deem me singular for calling this psalm my psalm, whilst it is common to all the world; let him know that this psalm is not taken from any one, by the fact that it is mine. Christ also is mine, and yet remains the same Christ to all the saints. I wish not to be envious, but joyfully to communicate. And would to God that all the world might thus claim this psalm for its own, as I claim it: that should be the most

friendly strife, to which no harmony or love could be compared. There are few, alas, even among those of whom above others it should be expected, who, in all their life-time, from their heart could say to the holy Scriptures, or to any psalm: Thou art my dear book, thou shalt be my own psalm!"

Further, because he perceived how the common people were so negligent in their support of the schools, and how they drew their children from the doctrine, and directed all their attention to the gaining of a livelihood; he wrote a sermon to those preachers "who love Christ in truth," *that they should exhort the people to send their children to school*, which sermon increased under his hands and almost became a book, "although," said he in the dedication to Lazarus Spengler, "I was under the necessity of forcibly restraining myself, lest it might become altogether too large; so abundantly rich is this theme." In it he treats, firstly, of the spiritual, and then of the temporal or worldly advantage and injury flowing from the promotion or the neglect of schools, complains of the perverseness and ingratitude of the Germans, and prays that God would take him hence, and not suffer him to witness the distress which would, in consequence, come upon Germany. "I conceive, however," says he at the same time, "that the government is in duty bound here, even to compel the people to have their children to attend school, especially those of whom we spoke above. For it is certainly in duty bound to preserve the aforesaid offices and stations, so that there may always be preachers, jurists, pastors, scribes, physicians, school-teachers, and the like; for these cannot be dispensed with. If it can compel those of its subjects that can do so, to take up the spear and the rifle, to station themselves upon the walls, and to perform other duties in case of war; how much more can it not and should it not, here compel its subjects to send their children to school, because here truly there is a worse warfare with the malicious Satan, whose object is thus, unawares, to exhaust the cities and principalities, and to deprive them of able men, till he has bored out the kernel and suffered nothing but the mere shell of wholly useless people to remain, with whom to be able to play and to amuse himself at his pleasure." "Therefore," says he in conclusion, "watch here, who can watch. Let the government, where it finds a promising boy, cause him to be sent to school. If his father is poor, let the church property come to his aid. Towards this object let the rich make

their bequests, as those have done who have founded several stipends; thus you would becomingly devote your money to the Church. Here you do not deliver the souls of the dead from purgatory, but by the maintenance of the divine offices you prevent both the living and those not yet born from coming into purgatory, yea, you promote their deliverance from hell, and ascension to heaven, and cause the living to have peace and convenience: that would be a praiseworthy, Christian bequest, in which God would take delight and pleasure, and would, in return, bless and honour thee, that thou shouldest also have delight and joy in Him. Behold, my dear countrymen, I have sufficiently warned you, you have heard your prophet. God grant that we may follow his Word, to the praise and honour of our dear Lord, for His precious blood so graciously shed for us, and preserve us from the shocking vice of ingratitude and forgetfulness of His benefits. Amen."

So Luther, in like manner, wrote "*An exhortation to partake of the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord*," because he, with great grief, perceived, that the people now esteemed the holy sacrament so lightly, as if there were nothing upon earth which they needed less, imagining that as they were now delivered from papal constraint, they could despise it without thereby committing sin, and because he feared that this was, in a great measure, owing to the preachers and pastors, who permitted the people thus to live on in their indifference, and did not admonish them, but were asleep, whilst they, nevertheless, were to be angels and watchmen of our Lord Christ against Satan, who also was not idle, but went about with his angels day and night, assailing, restraining, hindering the people, and making them slothful to every service of God. Therefore, says he, I wish this to be a most fraternal, diligent, and serious entreaty, both to myself and to all pastors and preachers, that they would herein with me, exercise diligent care for the people, whom God having, through the blood of His Son, purchased them, and called and brought them to baptism and to His kingdom, has committed to us, and for whom He will demand a very strict account, as we well know. And now he, for the benefit of those who cannot do better, gives directions how the people are to be induced, willingly and without restraint, to come to the sacrament, and with pleasure to receive it.

At the same time Luther, being provoked through vehement

writings of the papists, deemed it necessary again to turn his weapons against them, in order that they might at least know why they thus raved. "Because I perceive," he wrote, "that the sophists, now most diligently, with much brawling and clamour, venture to conceal their false preaching and shocking abominations, by means of which they have brought destruction upon Christendom, whilst they adorn themselves as if they had never been guilty of the least impropriety, hoping that, because we have for some time past observed silence towards them, and fought against the sectarians, to be able, meanwhile, to sneak along and to creep forth from their disgrace, and to make all their blasphemous doctrines and practices forgotten, thus attempting, without repentance and reformation, unawares and impudently, gradually again to introduce all their devilish doctrines; I am constrained in opposition, again to draw forth the old catalogue, and again to bring their praiseworthy virtue out to the light, so that it may not decay in so black a state, but be well bleached, and be not so readily forgotten as they hope." . . . "And by way of beginning, I will, in the first place, take up the subject of purgatory, and expose their shameful falsehoods; for thus far I have not written anything particular against it." This occasioned the treatise: "*Recantation of purgatory*," and soon after followed the one: "*Concerning the Keys*," which he wrote for the purpose of pointing out some of the shocking abuses of the dear keys, which had come so prevalent in Christendom, that there was scarcely a place in which the proper use and understanding had been preserved; and further he wished, as Christ said, to aid in gathering up such stumbling-blocks out of His kingdom, that posterity might see what the condition of affairs had been in Christendom, and might in future guard against such distress, learning rightly to know and to use the keys.

Finally, in September, he also wrote a "*Missive concerning translating*," and "*Concerning the intercession of the saints*," and in the former, pointed out in particular why he had rendered the passage, Rom. iii. 28, into German as follows: *We conclude that a man is justified ONLY by faith, without the deeds of the law*, because the papists were making a great ado about it and said, that the word *only* was not contained in the text of Paul, and that this addition of Luther's was not to be tolerated in God's Word. To which he replied: That this was the meaning of the text, although those four letters (*only*) were not con-

tained in it, and if a distinct and full rendering of the text was to be given, this word was requisite. He besides, also appeals to the example of the fathers, and says, that the danger of those people who continued to cleave to works and failed of faith, demanded it.[8]

At times, when he was weak, he also amused himself with the Fables of Æsop, took them up and also published several of them in German, with a preface, in which he highly extols the book of fables, and says: "Wise and great men have invented the fables, permitting one animal to discourse to the other, as if they would say: Behold, no one is willing to hear or to endure the truth, and yet we cannot dispense with it; therefore we will adorn it and clothe it in a delightful mask and pleasing fables, and because men refuse to hear it from men, they shall at least hear it from animals and brutes. Thus it happens then, when the fables are read, that one animal holds up the truth to the other, one wolf to the other, yea, that the pictured wolf, bear, or lion, in the book, sometimes secretly reads an excellent lecture to the true biped, wolf and lion, which no preacher, friend or foe, durst read to him." Therefore, he says further, he had taken up this book to give it a somewhat better form than it had thus far had, chiefly because of the youth, that they might the more willingly learn, and abidingly remember, such admirable instruction and warning, being conveyed in the pleasing form of fables, as in an amusing play. That the German Æsop, as formerly published, was a very uncouth book, and besides, there were in it such shameful and unbecoming additions, that no chaste, pious person could endure it, and no young person could hear or read it without danger. That the same should therefore be banished, and this one used in its stead; that he intended also, if God permitted, to prune and to expurgate what other useful and harmless fables there were, that it might become a delightful and attractive, as well as an honourable, chaste, and useful Æsop, which might, without sin, be admired and used, to warn and to instruct children and servants with regard to their future life and conduct, for which purposes it had originally been invented and composed.

But diligently as Luther laboured at Coburg, so diligently he also prayed. "For inasmuch as this Diet," Mathesius writes, "was directed chiefly against Dr. Luther's doctrine, and against those who assisted in preaching this doctrine, or

who adopted it as true in their dominions and cities, as the books of the Roman doctors in reference to this matter clearly demonstrate: our Dr. also was at his post, like Moses, when he sent his faithful servant Joshua to war against king Amalek. For Dr. Luther also held in his hand the staff and rod of God, and came before the face of God, and, in the knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ, lifted up his holy and weary hands, with which he had severely borne down and weakened the papacy, and cried day and night to God, that he would maintain the honour of his name, his holy Gospel and kingdom, and preserve in the true faith and pure doctrine the true Joshuites and German knights, who, together with the angels, were at Augsburg waging war against Antichrist, and strengthen and comfort them with his Holy Spirit, and guard them and protect them through his angels; so also did all true Christians at that time, in the whole Roman empire, in all the schools and churches, faithfully assist Dr. Luther and his friends with their cries and sighs; and indeed Christ, the eternal protector and guardian of his Church, upon whose word, blood, merits and oath Dr. Luther laid his hands, and based and offered up his prayer, also assisted with earnest and unspeakable sighs, repeating his eternal prayer before his God and Father."

Veit Dietrich, Luther's associate at Coburg, thus wrote to Augsburg to his teacher Melanchthon concerning it: "I cannot sufficiently admire this man's noble constancy, joyful courage, faith and hope, in these distressing times; he, however, also, without ceasing, sustains them by a careful consideration of God's Word. No day passes on which he does not spend at least three hours, and these the most suitable for study, in prayer. Once I had the good luck to hear him pray: good God! what faith was there in his words! He prayed with such reverence, that it was manifest he spoke with God, and yet again with such faith and such hope, that it seemed as if he were speaking with a father or a friend. "I know," said he, "that thou art our God and Father. I am certain, therefore, that thou wilt bring to nought the persecutors of thy children; if thou dost not do it, the danger is thine as well as ours. Surely the whole matter is thy own; so we also have been constrained to enter upon it, thou mayest therefore protect it," &c. Thus I heard him pray in a distinct voice, whilst I stood at a distance. My heart also burnt within me

with great zeal when I heard him addressing God so confidently, seriously, and devoutly, and in his prayer so urgently insisting upon the promises in the Psalms, as being certain that that for which he prayed would be accomplished. Therefore I doubt not but that his prayer will be of great service in the desperately difficult business of this Diet."

Amidst such daily and fervent prayer, Dr. Luther wrote many excellent, spirited, and peaceable *counsels and letters* to his elector, and the embassies of the Lord Christ to Augsburg.

The *articles* which Luther, at the desire of the elector, had drawn up in reference to the disputed points in religion, Melanchthon had further reviewed and reduced to a definite form. When now they were transmitted to Luther by the elector, in order that he might again review and consider them, and at the same time state what he conceived should be subtracted or added, he replied: "I have perused the apology by M. Philip; it pleases me quite well, and I have nothing to improve or to alter, nor would it be proper to do so, for I cannot step so softly and gently. May Christ our Lord make it productive of much and abundant fruit, as we hope and pray. Amen." He at the same time replied to the question: What would have to be done if the emperor should enjoin silence upon the preachers whom the evangelical estates had brought with them? That the emperor was Lord, and the city was his; that they durst not resist him, just as the elector was not to be resisted, if he should desire to have this or that omitted at Torgau. That suitable efforts might indeed be made to turn the emperor from his design of preventing the preaching without a hearing; but that if this did not succeed, they would have to permit power to take the place of right, and then they would be excused.

Soon after (the 20th May) he returned his thanks to the *elector* for so graciously remembering him and caring for him. (See above, p. 387.) But that this was not necessary. "Time truly does not hang heavily upon my hands," he wrote; "we live like lords, and these weeks have coursed away so rapidly for me, that they scarcely seem three days to me. But your electoral grace is, and must now be in a wearisome place, and may our dear Father in heaven grant that your heart may firmly and patiently abide in his grace, which he so abundantly bestows upon us." He then comforts the elector, and says, that he must by all means submit to such trouble, expense,

danger, and wearisomeness, purely for the sake of God's Word, that the enemies might not be able to bring any other charge against him, but the pure, precious, living Word of God. But that this was a sign of God's loving him, that he so richly granted him his Word, and deemed him worthy to suffer reproach and enmity on account of it. "Besides this," he continued, "a merciful God shows himself even more gracious, by causing his Word to be so mighty and fruitful in the dominions of your electoral grace. For truly, in the dominions of your electoral grace more than in any other country in the world, are to be found the best and the most good pastors and preachers, who most faithfully preach the pure doctrine, and assist in preserving so admirable a peace. The tender youth, male and female, now grow up so well instructed in the catechism and the Scriptures, that my heart delights to behold how the boys and girls are able to pray, to exercise their faith, and to speak more of God and of Christ than all the inmates of convents, cloisters, and schools formerly could, or can even now. Truly, such young people form a beautiful paradise in the dominion of your electoral grace, the like of which there is not in the world besides. And all this God has done in the vicinity of your electoral grace, as an evidence that he is graciously disposed towards your electoral grace. As if he would say: Behold, dear Duke John, here I commit to thee my noblest treasure, my delightful paradise: thou shalt preside over them as father, for under thy name, protection, and government I wish them to be, and I confer the honour upon thee to be my gardener and steward. This is certainly true; for the Lord God, who has appointed your electoral grace to be the father and guardian of this country, supplies them all through the office and service of your electoral grace, and all have to eat the bread of your electoral grace. But that is precisely the same as if God himself were the daily guest and recipient of your electoral grace, because his Word, and his children who have his Word, are the daily guests and recipients of your electoral grace."

With these and other words he comforted the elector; the *landgrave*, on the other hand, he admonished by no means to suffer himself to be influenced by the sweet and agreeable words of the sacramentarians, since it was dangerous to receive such new doctrine, in opposition to clear and manifest texts, and the plain words of Christ, and to forsake the estab-

lished faith, thus far from the beginning preserved throughout Christendom, for such insufficient passages and imaginations as they had till then produced, which could not satisfy the conscience against such clear words of Christ, the adversaries themselves not being able to quiet their own consciences with them.

With his *friends at Augsburg*, Luther was greatly dissatisfied in June, because of their not at all writing to him, whilst they certainly knew how he in this wilderness thirsted for their letters, and he became so displeased at his "silent knights at Augsburg," that, as Veit Dietrich had written to Melanchthon, he was now wholly unwilling to read their letters; he, however, himself thought that this was no time for revenge. *Melanchthon* was at that time very much tormented with cares; but Luther wrote to him that he exceedingly hated such cares. "That they thus rule in thy heart," he exclaimed to him, "is caused, not by the greatness of this business, but by the greatness of our unbelief; for this very business was greater at the time of John Huss, and many others, than at our time. But let it be as great as it may, He also is great who conducts it, and from whom it proceeds, for it is not our cause. Why, therefore, dost thou torment thyself thus without ceasing? If the cause is false, let us recant; but if it is true, why do we charge Him with falsehood, who with so many promises commands us to be quiet, and calmly to wait. *Cast thy care upon the Lord;* the Lord is near to all who are of a broken heart when they call upon Him. Does He speak that to the wind, or cast it before brutes? I, indeed, am often moved, but not always. Thy philosophy torments thee thus, not thy theology, precisely that which seems also to vex thy Joachim, (Camerarius.) As if with these your unprofitable cares you could accomplish anything. What can the devil do more than kill us? What? I ask. I pray thee, since thou so nobly strugglest in all other respects, struggle also against thyself, thy greatest enemy, who supplies Satan with so many weapons against thee. Christ has once died for our cause, but for righteousness and truth he will not die, but lives and rules." That he himself, whether from foolishness or spirit, was not very much disturbed with regard to this matter, yea, that he entertained better hopes than at first; but that if he should hear of the business proceeding badly with them, or

of its being in danger. he would scarcely be able to refrain from flying to them.

On the 27th June, Melanchthon informed Luther of the delivery of the confession, sent him a copy of it, and begged his opinion as to how far they could *yield* to the adversaries. To this Luther replied on the 29th: "As regards the elector, it is a different question as to what he can yield, in case of danger to himself. For my part, there is fully enough yielded in this apology, and I do not know what I could yield further, if they will not admit this, unless they should produce clearer reasons and passages than they have done thus far. I employ myself day and night upon this matter, think, reflect, dispute, and peruse the Holy Scriptures from beginning to end, and I continually become more joyful in this our doctrine, and more and more certain, so that by the grace of God, I shall now not suffer them to take anything further from me, come what may." In a postscript he nevertheless observes, that Melanchthon would probably not be satisfied with this answer to his question, but that it had not been possible for him to answer differently, because Melanchthon had not been distinct enough with regard to what, and in how far it might be yielded. That as a general matter he had always written, that he was prepared to yield in everything, if the Gospel only were permitted to remain free. In this same letter he also expresses his disapprobation that Melanchthon had written that they had wholly followed his authority in this matter, and says: "I do not wish to be your authority in this matter, and though even the word may bear a good interpretation, I still cannot endure it. If the cause is not at the same time and just as much yours, I have no disposition to call it mine, as if it were only imposed upon you. If it is my cause alone, I will conduct it myself."

Dr. Jonas, who gave Luther a more detailed account of the reading of the confession, and of what succeeded it, at the same time informed him that Melanchthon was writing articles of agreement, which should also be sent to him, and conjured him to be watchful, and to give his counsel in this so important matter, that there might not arise from it any injury or oppression of conscience for all future times. That Philip proceeded to the work with the best intention, carefully and deliberately, and was yielding much for the sake of

peace. He, therefore, in conclusion, begged Luther to write to Melanchthon as often as possible, since he was sometimes, on account of the general interest, exceedingly sad. Therefore Luther already, on the 30th June, wrote the following letter of consolation to Melanchthon.

"Grace and peace in Christ! I scarcely know, dear Philip, what to write to thee, so greatly perplexed am I on account of thy unhallowed and foolish cares, for I know that I preach to deaf ears. The cause is, that thou believest only thyself, and not me and others, to thy great injury. I can say in truth, that I have been in greater distress than thou ever wilt be, I trust, and I wish no man, not even those who now rave so much against us, even if they are knaves and tyrants, to become equal to me in this. And notwithstanding this, I have often, in such distress, been comforted through the word of a brother; now through Pommer's, now through thine, now through Jonas', or another's word. Therefore do thou also hear us, who do not speak after the flesh or the world, but undoubtedly according to God and the Holy Ghost. Though we are insignificant, beloved, do not on any account let Him be insignificant who speaks through us. Is it false, then, that God has given his Son for us? Then may the devil, or one of his creatures, be a man in my stead. But if it is true, why then do we burden ourselves with pernicious fears, trembling, anxiety, sadness, &c.? Just as if he would not be with us in these little things, when he, nevertheless, has given for us his Son, or as if Satan were mightier than he. In personal contests I am weaker, but thou stronger; in general things, on the other hand, thou art like me in personal, and I am in general things like thee in personal, if indeed it can be called a personal matter, what occurs between me and Satan. For thou esteemest thy own life little, and fearest only for the common cause; but I am very confident and calm as regards the common cause, for I know to a certainty, that it is right and true, yea, that it is the cause of Christ and of God, which need not blush on account of one single sin, as I, poor sinner, must blush and tremble. Therefore I am an entirely calm spectator, and do not at all regard the threatenings and ravings of the papists. If we fall, Christ falls with us, he, the ruler of the world. And if his fall is inevitable, I would sooner fall with Christ, than stand with the emperor. Nor do you sustain the cause alone. I verily have been faithfully at your side with sighs and prayers, would I

were permitted also to be with you in the body. For the cause concerns me also, even more than you all, and it has not been begun from any nefarious design, or for the sake of honour and profit, of this the Holy Ghost bears me witness, and the cause itself has thus far demonstrated it, and will in future demonstrate it to the end. Therefore, I pray thee, for Christ's sake, not to discard the divine promises and consolations, when he says: "*Cast thy care upon the Lord; wait for the Lord, be of good courage and undaunted,* and more passages to the same import, with which the Psalter and the Gospels are filled. *Be of good courage, I have overcome the world!* It is not false, of that I am assured, that Christ has overcome the world. Why, therefore, do we fear the vanquished world, as if it had overcome? Truly, we should joyfully on our knees go to obtain such a passage, if it were to Rome or Jerusalem. But because there are so many, and those in constant use, they are not regarded. But this is not well. I know, indeed, that this proceeds from the weakness of faith, but therefore let us pray with the apostles: *Lord, increase our faith!*" . . . "But in vain do I write this, because thou continuest to direct these matters according to thy philosophy and reason, that is, as has been observed, thou continuest to be mad with reason, and destroyest thyself, whilst thou absolutely refusest to see, that this cause is not left to thy management and counsel, but demands to be conducted without thy interference. May God forbid, that it should be committed to thy counsel or management, as thou, nevertheless, art resolved to have it; then should we soon enough be utterly ruined. But it is written: Strive not after that which is too high for thee; and, *An investigator of majesty is crushed to the earth by its glory;* or, as the Hebrew text says: He that investigates difficult things, is burdened. May the Lord Jesus sustain thee, that thy faith may not cease, but increase and overcome. Amen. I pray for thee, have prayed for thee, and will pray for thee, and doubt not but that I am heard. For I find the Amen in my heart. If that which we wish does not come to pass, that will come to pass which is better. For truly we look for a future kingdom, even if everything here in the world should deceive." Luther also, on the same day, despatched letters to *Brentius, Agricola, Spalatin,* as likewise to Duke *John Frederick,* all full of exhortation and consolation. The Augsburg news, however, he communicated to other friends, at the same time expressing his

great joy, that he had lived to see the day when Christ was made known by these his noble followers, in such an assembly, by means of this most excellent confession. That here the Word was fulfilled: *I spoke of thy testimonies before kings*, and that this would also be fulfilled: *and was not made ashamed;* for, *he that confesses me* (so He spoke that lieth not) *before men, him will I also confess before my Father, who is in heaven.* He lamented only that he had not been able to be present at this noble confession.

Of the *Archbishop of Mayence*, Luther had heard it said, that he was earnestly labouring for peace. He, therefore, (under date of the 9th June,) addressed to him, as the noblest and highest prelate in Germany, a *missive*, besides a brief explanation of the 2d Psalm, and published it. In it he says: That the elector had undoubtedly heard the Confession of the Evangelical Party, and their doctrine, which had been so well exhibited in it, that we might joyfully say of it, with Christ our Lord: "If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil, but if well, why smitest thou me?" That it was not to be expected that the opponents would receive such doctrine, much less that they should venture to refute it; for that their doctrine could not bear the light, and that they were also too much exasperated and enraged to permit themselves to yield. That this would have to be suffered to be so. "But this I seek, and for this purpose I write to your electoral grace, because our adversaries cannot find fault with the doctrine, and we by this confession clearly testify and demonstrate, that we have not taught what is wrong or false, and therefore not deserved to be so shamefully condemned, and so cruelly persecuted, as has been the case thus far, and still is: whether so much might not at least be obtained, that our adversaries would observe peace, and not blaspheme thus, and put to death the innocent on account of this irreprehensible doctrine, which they themselves are constrained to praise, if by nothing else, by their being silenced by it, and having nothing to advance in opposition to it. For that they will not be instructed by us, or receive our doctrine, we must suffer to pass; we compel no one to adopt even the truth, whilst they compel men to adopt their falsehoods. I therefore must submissively pray, since (as has been observed) there is no hope of our being united in doctrine, that your electoral grace, together with others, would endeavour to obtain from the opposite party, that they observe peace, be-

lieving what they choose, and suffer us also to believe this truth as it has now been confessed before their eyes, and been found unexceptionable. For it is well known that no person is to be or can be compelled to believe, neither emperor nor pope having such power; for God himself even, who has power over all things, has never yet wished forcibly to constrain any person to believe; why then do his wretched and poor creatures presume to compel men not only to believe the truth, but even that which they themselves have to acknowledge to be false?" He then expresses the wish that the elector, or some one else, might be a Gamaliel, and propose such counsel of peace, if God perhaps would grant grace, that the enemies might cease from their ravings, and not so perversely strive against their conscience and God. "But if neither peace nor unity can be obtained, neither the counsel of Gamaliel nor the example of the apostles and the Jews will avail; then suffer those to depart who will not remain, and let those rave who are resolved to rave; they will find wrath and contention, after which they strive, in abundance. We, meanwhile, shall, with the blessed apostles and disciples, sing, (and of this, verily, they shall not prohibit us,): *Why do the heathen rage, and the nations imagine vain things?*" &c.

Luther, under the same date, comforted the elector with reference to the prohibition of the preaching at Augsburg, and wrote concerning it: "Is it not an admirable manœuvre and cunning device that they compel M. Eisleben and others to observe silence; when instead thereof, the elector of Saxony and other princes and lords arise, and boldly preach to his majesty and the whole realm, that they are constrained to bear it, and cannot say aught in opposition? I should think that you are well revenged for the prohibition of preaching by this. They will not suffer their servants to hear the preachers, but are compelled themselves to hear something worse (as they style it) from such great princes, and be silent. Christ, truly, is not silent at the Diet; and if they were mad, they are compelled to hear more from the confession than they would have heard from the preachers in one year. Thus is verified what St. Paul says: God's Word will not be bound. If they prohibit it in the pulpits, they must hear it in the palaces. If poor preachers dare not declare it, great princes and lords proclaim it. In short, when everything is silent, the stones will cry out, as Christ himself says.

Upon this, at the desire of the elector, he states to him his opinion as to what he should answer, in case the emperor should attempt to be judge in this matter of faith, and concludes with the words: "May your electoral grace be of good courage. Christ is present, and will again acknowledge your electoral grace before his Father, as your electoral grace has now confessed Him before this wicked generation, as he says: *He that honoureth me, him will I honour.* The same Lord who has begun it will also bring it to a successful issue. Amen. I pray for your electoral grace with diligence and earnestness; if I could do more it would be my duty. May the grace of God abide with your electoral grace as heretofore, and ever increase. Amen."

Luther still hoped, that, by the help of the Lord, *general peace* might be preserved, even if a union in doctrine was not to be thought of; that in the latter not one iota could be yielded, and on no account could it be suffered to restore things to the former condition. He exhorted his friends not to despair, and the more the adversaries raved, the less to yield to them. That if they were met with firmness, they would also have to think of different measures. And that if they should tickle the ears of the evangelical party with their delusive promise of a council, he would also employ himself with them, and appeal from their threats to the never-to-be-convened-council, that meanwhile peace might be maintained. But because the opponents demanded that everything should be restored to its former condition till the council, (in statum integrum restitui,) he added: "We will also insist upon their restoring (restituant) to us Leonhard Kaiser, and many others whom they have shamefully put to death. Let them restore the many souls whom they have destroyed through their ungodly doctrine; let them restore all the possessions, of which, through their fraudulent indulgences and other artifices they have robbed mankind; let them restore that ecclesiastical purity in the minds, morals, and hearts of the people, which has been so shamefully defiled! But who can enumerate all the wickedness and misery which they have entailed upon us?"

That Luther could not be with his friends, so disturbed him, that he would have, from the first, have hastened to them, if he had not looked upon it as tempting God to incur the danger of such a journey. To a declaration of theirs, that with regard

to other things they would soon speak to him face to face, he replied on the 13th July: "Do so! You have accomplished more than was to be expected, for you have rendered to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's: To the emperor complete obedience, in that you have appeared with so much expense, trouble and grievance; to God, the chosen sacrifice of the confession, which will force its way through to the courts of all kings and princes, that it may rule in the midst of its enemies, and be heard in every land, in order that those who do not believe may have no excuse. This will be the fruit of the silence which was enjoined at the beginning of the Diet. If to this is added the reward, that according to the testimony of the adversaries, no article of faith is violated, we have obtained far more than I had prayed for: the reproach of heresy, namely, is taken away. Thus, then, may Christ himself acknowledge us, as you have confessed Him, and glorify those who have glorified Him. Amen. Therefore I, in the name of the Lord, absolve you from this assembly. Therefore return home, return!"

But Luther was soon made to perceive that his hope was a vain one, and was compelled to wait still longer, complaining: "If you have not enough of the Diet I am surprised, for I am weary of it." Many a letter of consolation and exhortation was he constrained to write to his friends. To the chancellor, George Brück, he wrote as follows: "I recently witnessed two miracles: In the first, I, through the window, beheld the stars in the heavens, and the whole beautiful arch of God, and yet nowhere perceived any pillars upon which the artist had based such arch; yet did the heavens not break down, and this arch still stands firm. Now there are some who search for the pillars, and would like to touch and to feel them. But because they cannot do this, they tremble with fear, as if the heavens would certainly fall down, for no other reason than that they cannot touch or see the pillars. If they could touch them, the heavens would stand firm. In the other, I beheld mighty and dense clouds hanging over us, of such burden as to be comparable to a great ocean, and yet I beheld no base for them to rest upon, and no vats in which they were contained; they, nevertheless, did not fall upon us, but greeted us with a sour aspect and fled away. When they had passed away, there shone forth both the base and our roof, which had borne them up, the rainbow. That truly was a frail, slight, insignificant base

and roof, so that it also disappeared in the clouds, and seemed more like a shadowy image, resulting from the light passing through a painted glass, than such a mighty base; thus causing one almost to despair as much of the base, as of the great mass of water. It nevertheless was established that this (apparently) frail image bore up the mass of water and protected us. Yet there are some who more regard and fear the mass and heaviness of the water and the clouds, than this fragile, airy image; for they would like to feel the power of this image, and because they cannot do that, they fear that the clouds will occasion an eternal flood.

"Thus I have been constrained, in a friendly way, to jest with your honour, and yet to write in seriousness. For it afforded me especial joy to learn that your honour were more than all the rest of good courage and unwavering confidence in this our hour of trial. I had indeed hoped, that at least political peace might be preserved, but God's thoughts are far above our thoughts. And so they should be; for He (says St. Paul) *hears and does* supra quam intelligimus aut petimus, (more than we can pray for or understand.) For we know not how to pray, Rom. viii. 26. If now he should hear us as we pray, that the emperor might grant us peace, it might, perhaps, be *infra* not *supra* quam intelligimus, and thus the emperor, perhaps, and not God, obtain the honour. But now he desires to afford us peace himself, that he alone may have the honour, which is his due. Not as if we herewith despised his imperial majesty, but we pray and desire, that his imperial majesty may not undertake anything against God and imperial law. If, however, he should do so, (which may God forbid,) we will still, as faithful subjects, refuse to believe that his imperial majesty is the author, but think that others tyrannically do so under the name of his imperial majesty; and thus distinguish between the name of his imperial majesty and the work of the tyrants, just as we also distinguish between the name of God, which heretics and deceivers employ, and honour the name of God, but shun falsehood. Therefore we are not at all to approve, and cannot approve, or admit the work of the tyrants, done by them under the name of his imperial majesty. But the work which God graciously has committed to us, He will, through His Spirit, bless and prosper, and unfailingly direct us with regard to the mode, time and place, not forgetting or neglecting us. They have not yet accomplished the half of

what they are now beginning, those viri sanguinum, (men of blood,) neither are they all at home again or where they wish to be. Our rainbow is weak, their clouds are mighty; but *in fine videbitur cujus toni* (in the end it will appear of what tension.) May your honour excuse my babbling, and comfort Magister Philip and all the rest. I also pray Christ to comfort our gracious prince, and to sustain him. To God be praise and thanks forever. Amen. To his grace I also faithfully commend your honour."

Concerning the question proposed to the evangelical party Whether they designed to produce any other articles? Luther observes: "Yes, yes; Satan still lives and perceives that this your gently-stepping apology has passed by the articles concerning purgatory, concerning the worship of the saints, and, above all, concerning the pope, the antichrist. But the emperor is to be pitied, if he has appointed this Diet in order to hear the remonstrances to Luther! as if they had not already enough to reply to in this apology." With Melanchthon he corresponded at large concerning traditions: of the proposition to retain the private masses as an act of thanksgiving, he would hear nothing; that they always would be dangerous and seductive, and in such a matter it did not suffice to say, that there was a good intention in it, but it was necessary to be able to say: I have God's Word. The menaces and haughty demands of the enemies he ridiculed, and called to mind the words of his friend Staupitz: "Him whom God designs to strike, he first blinds," with the addition: "It truly seems to me that he has blinded them;" that an edge too sharp easily became notched. He was rejoiced with his friends, that the confutation of the Confession, at which Eck and Faber had laboured six whole weeks, and which was read on the 3d August, had turned out to be so wretched an affair. But when, after the landgrave's sudden and secret departure from the Diet, the opponents became more moderate in their demands, and began to negociate about an agreement, Luther was at his post again. He not only, at the elector's desire, communicated his opinion concerning the individual points, but also faithfully warned his friends. To Spalatin he wrote: "I understand that you have reluctantly undertaken the strange task of uniting the pope and Luther; but the pope, I ween, will be unwilling, and Luther begs to be excused. Have a care that you do not wholly lose your labour. If you accom-

plish the matter in opposition to the wishes of both, then I shall soon follow your example, and unite Christ and Belial." He was pleased with Melanchthon, that he had not admitted it to be a matter of indifference, but a command, to receive the Lord's Supper under both kinds. "For it is not in our power," added he, "to establish or to tolerate anything in the Church of God, or in divine worship, which cannot be defended with the Word, and the shameful word *indifference* my soul loathes; yea, with this word we can easily make all commands and institutions of God indifferent; for if we once permit anything to be indifferent in God's Word, how shall we prevent the rest from becoming indifferent?" In reference to the obedience to be rendered to the bishops, the jurisdiction, and common ceremonies, he says: "Do you, nevertheless, be on your guard, and do not give more than you have, that we may not be anew compelled to wage a more difficult and dangerous war in defence of the Gospel. I know, indeed, that you always except the Gospel in these negotiations, but I fear that they will afterwards represent us as faithless and inconstant, if we do not maintain what they wish. For they themselves will take our concessions in the extended, more extended, and most extended sense, but confine their own to the narrow, narrower, and narrowest sense. In short, this negotiation concerning union in doctrine displeases me, for it is wholly impossible, as long as the pope will not abolish his papacy." To *Jonas* he also wrote: that he could scarcely say how the propositions advanced by the opponents had disturbed him. That this was the artifice of Campegius (the legate and cardinal), and of the pope, who, after first in vain assailing the cause by means of violence and threats, now endeavoured to gain their object by means of insidious cunning.

Three days later, Luther again wrote to the above-named three friends, because from Nuremberg the apprehension had been expressed, that they might concede too much at Augsburg; he at the same time, however, also quieted the fears of the writer, (Lazarus Spengler,) and answered: "I trust there will be no danger; for even if Christ should in a measure assume the appearance of weakness, he is therefore not cast from the throne. I have committed the matter to God, and conceive that I have so well retained it in my own hands, that no man shall in the least prejudice or injure it, as long as I remain steadfast in Christ. For, even if anything too much

should be conceded (which I do not apprehend), the cause is still not lost, but a new war is to be begun, that our adversaries may learn how uprightly they have acted. For beyond the Gospel, nothing can be conceded, no matter if even the snares of party prove triumphant. For truly in the reservation of the Gospel there are concealed different snares from those which the adversaries can now employ; quia, quid est sapientia hominis contra Deum (for what can the wisdom of man avail against God?) Therefore let us be unconcerned. We shall not concede anything to the prejudice of the Gospel. But if our friends do concede aught to the prejudice of the Gospel, then shall the devil reward the adversaries for it, as we shall see.

On the 14th September, to Luther's great joy, Duke John Frederick, with Count Albert of Mansfeld, unexpectedly arrived at Coburg. He presented Luther with a golden ring:[9] "But I was not born to wear gold," said Luther, "for it immediately fell from my finger to the ground, (it being somewhat too large,) and I said: Thou art a worm and not a man. It ought to have been given to Faber or Eck; for thee, lead suits better, or a rope around the neck." The duke also wished to take Luther with him, but the latter begged him to permit him to remain there, that he might receive his friends on their return, to wipe the sweat from their weary countenances, after such a tedious siege. He hoped also soon to see them delivered, and thought that they had done all that was required of them. "You have confessed Christ," he wrote, "offered peace, rendered obedience to the emperor, borne injustice, been rewarded with calumny, and have not returned evil for evil; in short, you have worthily performed the holy work of God, as it becomes his saints. Let us now also rejoice in the Lord, and be joyful ye righteous; look up and lift up your heads, for your redemption draweth nigh. I will canonize you as faithful members of Christ, and what further renown do you want? Or is it a small matter faithfully to have discharged the duties of the office of Christ, and to have shown yourselves his worthy members? Be it far from you to esteem the grace of Christ so lightly. But more verbally."

But there once more arrived a host of complaints concerning his Augsburg friends, especially concerning Melanchthon, as if, for the sake of peace, he had conceded too much, and betrayed everything. He defended them; for, according

to their last letters, the matter stood quite differently, and had again been referred to the decision of the emperor, and he thought that even if Melanchthon had negotiated concerning several conditions, they had with that not been granted, not even by himself. He nevertheless again wrote to his friends at Augsburg, although he dreaded the idea of grieving them, since they were authorized to expect only comfort from him, and prayed them for Christ's sake to inform him what had transpired since their last letters, at the same time exhorting them: "Do not by any means suffer divisions to arise among you. Let peace be esteemed by us as much as it may, yet is the Lord of peace and the umpire in the war greater than peace, and more to be honoured. Our duty is not to be apprehensive of future war, but our duty is simply to believe and to confess."

But the suspicion was unfounded, and the Lord heard the prayer of Luther, that he would conduct the confessors back in health and strength. On the 23d, they, together with the elector, set out from Augsburg. They met Luther at Coburg, in good courage even if not in good health. He congratulated his elector, that by the grace of God he had been delivered from the hell at Augsburg, and at the same time wrote: "And though the wrath of men, and their god the devil, assume a fierce aspect, we still hope that the grace of God, as it has begun, so it will also in future the more invigoratingly and abundantly be with us. Surely they are in the hand of God as well as we: of this there is no doubt; and they will not accomplish anything unless He permits them, not even so much as to harm a hair of any one of us, if it is not God's will. I have committed the cause to my Lord God; I know He has begun it, He will also conduct it to the end; this is my firm belief. It truly is not in the power of man to begin or to give such doctrine; it therefore belongs to God, and does not depend upon our ability or skill. We shall see who those will be, that in their defiance will overpower God. Let come what may in the name of God. It is written (Psalm 55): *Bloody and deceitful men shall not live out half their days.* We must suffer them to begin and to menace, but in conducting it to the end they shall fail. May Christ our Lord cause your electoral grace to be of a firm and joyful spirit. Amen." On their way from Coburg to Altenburg, Luther preached daily before the elector. At Altenburg he, together with his fellow-

travellers, took up his abode with Spalatin. As Melanchthon, who was continually engaged in meditation upon the Apology of the Augsburg Confession, there wrote at table, Luther arose, and taking from him his pen, said: "We serve God not only with labour, but also by quiet and rest; therefore he gave the third commandment, and enjoined the Sabbath." On the 10th (or 11th) of October, the elector again arrived at Torgau, and on the following Sunday heard Luther preach in the Court-church.

Authorities.—Annals, &c., in Lingke, Luther's Reisegeschichte, p. 186 seq. Corp. Ref. T. II. p. 25. Let. No. 1192. The authorities concerning the journey to Coburg, in Lingke, beginning with p. 190. Let. vol. 4. No. 1199, cll. Seckend., lib. II., p. 152 seq. Let. No. 1201, 7, 5, 11. (comp. 1207.) Epp. Mel. in the Corp. Ref. T. II. No. 680, 699. Works, vol. 20, p. 172. Let. No. 1229 and 1279, 1211. Mathes., 8 Pred. Tischreden, ed. of Stangw., p. 806. Let. No. 1221, vol. 3. No. 1175. Math. as before. Schlegel, vita Langeri, p. 106 seq. Let. No. 1219, 20. Writ. Exhortation to the clergy, &c., Works, vol. 20, p. 146. Let. No. 1242 and 1274. A sermon on keeping children at school, vol. 22, p. 208. Exhortation to partake of the sacrament, vol. 20, p. 248. Let. No. 1264. Recantation of purgatory, vol. 20, p. 237. Concerning the keys, p. 266. Missive concerning translating, vol. 12, p. 90. Several fables of Æsop, vol. 22. App. p. 64. Math. 8, Pred. Corp. Ref., T. II., p. 159. Math. as before. Corp. Ref., T. II., p. 47. Let. No. 1213, 15, 16, 21, 25. Corp. Ref. T. II., p. 141. Let. No. 1231, 34. Epp. Mel. in the Corp. Ref. 3, II. No. 744, 45. Let. No. 1216. Corp. Ref. T. II., p. 154, seq. Let. No. 1240, 37—39, 41, 46, 51, 45, 47, 50, 51, 54, 55, 59, 58, 66, 77, 67, 65, &c.; 68, 69, 81, (comp. Corp. Ref. T. II., pp. 250, 253, 260.) 1287, 90, 94—97. 1303, 5—7, 8. Mel. Epp. in the Corp. Ref. T. II., No. 920. Let. No. 1316. The authorities concerning the return journey, in Lingke, p. 205 seq. Math. 12, Pred.

Notes.—1.) These "Torgau articles," which formed the basis of the Augsburg Confession, are, according to the general opinion, the same which Luther had drawn up for the Convention of the Protesting Estates, held at Schwabach, in October, 1529.

2.) Compare Let. to Link, No. 1209. The labours to which Luther refers under this representation, we shall learn to know further below.

3.) Sons of a sister and of a brother of Luther's, Veit Dietrich; afterwards a useful preacher at Nuremburg.

4.) On this account it was, too, that he seldom, in his letters, subscribed the appropriate name of the place, but dated them: "From my solitude," "from the realm of the birds," from Grubok," &c.

5.) This declaration Luther afterwards converted into the Latin verse: Pestis eram vivus, moriens ero mors tua, Papa! and frequently repeated it.

6.) This passage is explained by what Mathes. (Pred. 7) relates,

that Luther, namely, in the beginning of the year 1530, had been filled with vehement zeal against his charge, delivered to them a severe penitential sermon, and resolved not to preach any more in future. To this also that which Melanchthon (Epp. T. II., No. 664) writes to Myconius, seems to have reference.

7.) Besides the one mentioned in the text, particularly also concerning the 117th Ps., (Works, vol. 6, p. 489.) In the year 1530, belongs also the brief explanation of the first 25 Psalms, (vol. 5, p. 246,) of the 82d Ps., (vol. 6, p. 271,) and of the 111th Ps., (ib., p. 472,) the latter, however, written after the return from Coburg.

8.) We once more recur to this missive concerning translating, in the account concerning the translation of the Bible.

9.) It probably was the ring concerning which Dr. Jonas had written to Luther: "My gracious young lord is causing your rose to be engraved on a gem, and this to be set in gold; it will make a very handsome seal, and his princely grace will himself deliver it to you." Corp. Ref. T. II. p. 157. The explanation of his armorial bearing engraved upon this ring, Luther, writing from Coburg, gave to his friend Lazarus Spengler; and as no suitable place could be found for it in the text, we insert it here: "Grace and peace in Christ. Honourable, kind, dear sir, and friend! Because you desire to know whether my seal has been well executed, I will, for good company, state to you my first thoughts, which I wished to have expressed upon my seal as an indication of my theology. Firstly, there should have been a cross, black in the heart, which ought to have retained its natural colour, to remind me that faith in Him crucified saves us. For if we believe from the heart, we become righteous. Although now it is a black cross, mortifies and also causes pain, it nevertheless leaves the heart its colour, does not destroy its nature, that is, it does not kill, but keeps alive. Justus enim fide vivet, sed fide crucifixi. But this heart should have stood in a white rose, to indicate that faith affords joy, consolation and peace; and, in short, transfers into a white joyful rose, not as the world affords peace and joy, and therefore the rose should be white, and not red; for the spirits and all the angels are arrayed in white. This rose should stand in an azure field, to indicate, that such joy in the Spirit and faith, is a beginning of the future heavenly joy, already here contained in it, and embraced through hope, but not yet revealed. And in such field a golden ring, to indicate, that such happiness in heaven continues forever and has no end, and is also precious beyond all joy and possessions, as gold is the noblest and most precious metal. Christ, our dear Lord, be with your spirit, to life everlasting. Amen. Ex eremo Grubok, 8 Julii, MDXXX." Let. No. 1248.

PART V.

LABOURS OF THE REFORMATION.

FROM THE CONCLUSION OF THE DIET OF AUGSBURG TO THE SCHMALKALD CONVENTION.

FROM OCTOBER, 1530, TO THE 14TH MARCH, 1537.

CONTENTS OF PART V.

The good Confession at Augsburg had been witnessed, and now it was required to secure and to establish it. Luther accordingly, after his return from Coburg, still faithfully remained at his post, and did not neglect, where necessary, to warn his dear Germans; he nevertheless, also, as a lover of peace, by his counsels assisted in the promotion of it, and taught that justice must not be so rigidly sought. He witnessed the death of his elector, the faithful confessor of Augsburg, and he himself, besides many sorrows, occasioned to him by ungrateful hearers and the fanatics, was greatly afflicted by sickness; he, however, always had a word of comfort for distressed and troubled souls. A letter of advice and consolation addressed to several exiled citizens of Leipzig, involves him in new disputes with Duke George. He, however, did not permit such controversies to divert him from the more important labours which his office of teacher and preacher made obligatory upon him. The principal work, the translation of the Bible, he brought to a close. Bucer being active in promoting an adjustment of the dispute concerning the sacrament, Luther, without departing from the truth, joyfully reached forth his hand and endeavoured to confirm the union entered into at Wittenberg. He had less confidence in the council first promised by Pope Clement the VII., and subsequently by Paul the III.; he nevertheless with his friends advised, that nothing should be left undone, and once more drew up articles, which were to be maintained in opposition to the pope. At Schmalkalden, where the allied protesting estates, together with their theologians, assembled to consult with regard to the council, Luther became afflicted with a painful sickness, during which he more thau once despairs of his life; but God heard his prayer, and the prayer of the Church, and once more preserved the life of His faithful servant.

CHRONOLOGICAL SYNOPSIS.

1532.	July 23d.	The Nuremberg Religious Peace, - - -	Chapt. 1.
1532.	August 16.	The Elector John dies, - - - - -	" 2.
1533.	After Easter.	Letter of Consolation to the Exiled Citizens of Leipzig, - - - - - -	" 2.
1534.	during Summer.	The Bible appears completely translated, -	" 4.
1535.	November.	Luther's Interview with Vergerius, - -	" 5.
1536.	May 29.	The Form of Union subscribed, - - -	" 6.
1537.	February.	The Convention at Schmalkalden, - -	" 7.

CHAPTER I.

COUNCILS FOR PEACE. 1531–32.

After his return from Coburg, Luther was constrained to enter upon Bugenhagen's labours,[1] being under the necessity of preaching, lecturing, attending to all manner of business, and writing many letters, so that he was compelled forcibly and craftily to steal his time, if he wished to undertake anything extraordinary. In addition to this, the buzzing in his head recurred, at times with considerable violence, especially in the forenoon.

At this time the elector required of him his opinion with regard to the election of a Roman king, which should take place at that time; and Luther complied, although he said, that he, as being of inferior rank before the world, was not able to give much advice, in matters of such importance, and pertaining to stations so lofty. He wished, that, if it were not possible to prevent the election of a king, the elector might, in the name of God, without hesitation take part in such election, lest by his refusal, he should give them occasion for a pretence against him. That the elector moreover knew that it was not a sin, if in temporal affairs an enemy of the Gospel were elected, as he alone would not be able to prevent such election. That thus he was required also to obey the emperor, who nevertheless condemned the Gospel. "It is better," continued he, "to hazard the election, in reliance upon God, who well knows how to make future things take a different course, from what we apprehend or imagine, than unnecessarily to involve ourselves in such certain, present danger, and embarrassments of conscience. Your electoral grace can still abide in the Gospel, though King Ferdinand should enjoin much in opposition to it, as has hitherto happened under the emperor. God alone, moreover, rules and controls future events, where he is trusted, for I would certainly not wish, that the faith and confidence in God, which your electoral grace has lately so nobly evinced and exhibited at Augsburg, should now fail in this case, and yield to the apprehension of future events, especially because

the Scriptures and necessity do not compel us here to give heed to such apprehension, but leave us at liberty to disregard it." Having further observed, that, if the elector should refuse his vote, the empire would be rent asunder, war and distress would follow, and it would be grievous unnecessarily to burthen his conscience with such charges; and having also expressed his opinion with regard to the landgrave, who was drawing the Swiss into the alliance, although they had not yet retracted their error in regard to the sacrament; he concluded: "God knows, I am too inexperienced in such temporal affairs. I pray and shall continue to do so, that God may graciously guard and direct your electoral grace, as he has done hitherto; or if anything should happen, which I do not wish to see, that he may still not withdraw from us his grace, but give the matter a favourable direction and termination. Amen. I pray your electoral grace, graciously to excuse my foolish babbling. I speak as I understand things; but this I know, that I most earnestly wish to see your electoral grace preserve a conscience void of all offence, and nothing would grieve me more, than to behold your electoral grace incurring any danger or charge in this respect. Herewith I commend your electoral grace to the grace of God. Amen. On Monday after St. Nicholas, (the 12th December,) 1530."

He therefore also, together with his friends, wholly refused to revoke the former counsel, not to resist the emperor, although the jurists sharply disputed with them at Torgau; and when these maintained, that the imperial law itself permitted the resisting of force by force, in cases of notorious injustice, he replied: "I counsel as theologian. But if the jurists can demonstrate from their laws, that it is permitted, I suffer them to use their laws; they may answer for the consequences. For if the emperor has decreed in his laws, that he may be resisted in such a case, let him abide by the law which he has given, but do not require me to give counsel with regard to such law or to pass judgment upon it, but suffer me to continue in my theology." The jurists, however, insisted upon resistance, although Luther continually assured them: "God will be with us, so that we will not need to resist; as he truly is with us, and has made this convention so unnecessary, that they have not, up to this day, attempted anything. This God also will do in future. But truly every one has not faith."

Luther, nevertheless, at this time, published a "*Warning to*

his dear Germans," to admonish them not to persecute the Gospel, nor to afford any aid in case of war or insurrection arising on account of it. In the beginning of this treatise he complains that, notwithstanding his urgent and faithful exhortation to the clergy at the Diet of Augsburg, nothing had been gained, and his prayer and entreaty for peace had been in vain; it should, nevertheless, by the grace of God, prevail to the end. That if the worst should come to pass now, and a war or insurrection, or perhaps both, should occur, he herewith declared before God and all the world, that the Lutherans had not given the least cause for it, but had always, without ceasing, prayed and entreated for nothing more than peace and quiet, as all the world knew; that they had thus far taught and lived in all quietness, never drawn the sword, never imprisoned, burnt, murdered or robbed any one, as the opponents had thus far done. That besides this, they had most deeply humbled themselves at the Diet, prayed for peace and quiet, and made every offer that the Lord would permit them to make, so that no charge of causing either war or insurrection could be brought against them, either before God or the world. But that, if war should result, the papists would not be able to begin it in the name of God, much less to pray and entreat God for his aid and assistance in it, since they knew and had acknowledged the evangelical doctrine not to be contrary to any article of faith or to the Holy Scriptures, but only to the customs of their church and the statutes of the popes. That, if war should occur now, he would not denounce those as seditious who should resist the papists, but suffer them to proceed as in necessary resistance, to rescue the poor and the distressed from their danger, and, if possible, to protect them. That if the opponents, as wicked persecutors of the Gospel, had neither divine nor human law in their favour, it was no less evident, that they also acted in opposition to imperial and natural law, since they had, contrary to every principle of justice, refused the answer which the Evangelical Party, with all humility and diligence, had presented in opposition to their Confutation,[2] and had, moreover, denied to these the Confutation, though repeatedly and earnestly desired to grant it. That the emperor had indeed been disposed to deliver to them the Confutation, on condition of their obligating themselves not to publish it; but if this Confutation was so able a production, and so well founded in the Scriptures, why did they dread to

bring it to the light? but if it was deficient, why had they, in the first collection of the edicts, given the written declaration, that the Confession of the Evangelical Party had been refuted from the Scriptures, and with substantial argument? That the Word of Christ, John iii. 20—21, would therefore have to remain true. He then proceeds to the proper object of this writing, and says: "That because he was the prophet of the Germans, (for such proud name he would thenceforth have to adopt, in order to gratify and please his papists and asses,) it behooved him, as a faithful teacher, to warn his dear Germans of their injury and danger, and to afford them Christian instruction, as to what course of conduct they should pursue, in case the emperor, being spurred on by his devils, the papists, should demand of them to take up arms against the princes and cities of their own part. Not as if he was apprehensive that his imperial majesty would yield to such malicious spirits and begin so unjust a war, but he wished to do his part, and to preserve his conscience free of all charge, come what might. But this is my faithful advice: if the emperor should summon to arms with the intention of making war upon us, that no one suffer himself, in such case, to be employed for this purpose, or render obedience to the emperor, being assured, that it is strictly forbidden him of God to obey the emperor in this instance; and whoever does obey him, may know, that he disobeys God, and will eternally lose body and soul. For the emperor then acts in opposition not only to God and divine law, but also to his own imperial laws, oaths, obligations, seals and briefs." That he indeed felt constrained to exculpate the dear Emperor Charles, as regarded his person, especially because he had been unwilling to condemn their doctrine; that the emperor, however, would fare as all pious princes and lords fared: he would not be able to accomplish anything amidst so many knaves and villains; wherefore no one should be surprised or astounded at it, if, under the emperor's name, prohibitions and briefs were issued, militating against God and right. Lest any one might imagine, however, that this was merely his own judgment, or that such advice, with regard to not obeying the emperor, was simply his own conceit, he further advances the following three chief reasons: firstly, every one has in baptism vowed to abide by the Gospel of Christ, and not to persecute or to oppose it; secondly, every one engaging in such war becomes chargeable before God with making himself a par-

taker of all the abominations which have existed and still exist throughout the papacy, of indulgences, namely, the mass, the invocation of saints, pilgrimages, golden years, &c. In conclusion, he repeats his advice, and adds: "This I wish to have said as a warning to my dear Germans, and as above, so here again I testify, that I wish not to excite or to entice any one to war, insurrection, (or even self-defence.) but only to peace. If our devils, the papists, however, will not maintain peace, but after all engage in war, I wish herewith publicly to testify, that I have not given any occasion or cause for it; but that they are resolved to have it thus, their blood be upon their own heads; I am innocent, and have most faithfully done my part. Henceforth I shall suffer Him to judge, who is able and will and shall judge; He will not delay, nor be wanting. To Him be praise and honour, thanks and adoration, forever. Amen."

Shortly after this, was published the other treatise: "*Dr. Martin Luther's Annotations upon the supposed Imperial Edict, after the Diet of the year* 1530." At the very outset he premises that he does not wish to have anything, which he in this book wrote in opposition to this supposed imperial edict, to be interpreted as spoken against his imperial majesty, or any other authority, spiritual or temporal, but as intended against those traitors and knaves (whether they were princes or bishops) who endeavoured, under the imperial name, to carry out their desperate and malicious designs. After he had pointed out what kind of a spirit that was which had inspired the wisdom of the adversaries in the fabrication of the edict, namely, the spirit of the pope, the father of all lies, he signifies his intention of taking up the edict by parts, for the purpose of exposing the falsehoods of Satan. The first falsehood was, that they boasted of having refuted the Confession of the Evangelical Party from the Holy Gospels, whilst they themselves had acknowledged at Augsburg, that this Confession contained nothing opposed to the true faith, and that it could not be refuted from the Scriptures. The second falsehood was, their assertion that the Christian Church had, in obedience to the dictates of the Holy Ghost, and for good reasons, wholesomely ordered and enjoined, that the sacrament should be dispensed in one kind, &c. That because Christ clearly and manifestly enjoined both kinds in the Gospel, therefore such inspiration, which made changes here, and prohibited one part,

could not proceed from the Holy Ghost, but must necessarily proceed from the veritable Satan in hell, since Christ said that the Holy Ghost would glorify Him, and put men in remembrance of His words. That accordingly, as it was mendacious blasphemy of the Christian Church, to charge her with altering and abolishing the word and the doctrine of her beloved Bridegroom, so it was also false to declare it impossible for the Church to err or to sin, since she daily prayed: *Forgive us our sins!* "Therefore," continued he, "the Church is holy so far as it lives in the word and faith of Christ, and speaks according to them; but as far as in its acts and teachings it opposes the word and faith of Christ, so far it errs and sins. But he who converts such sinful acts and teachings of the Church into articles of faith, blasphemes both the Church and Christ himself, as those liars (the pope and his blind sophists) do." But the chief part of all their wickedness was, that they acknowledged communion under both kinds to be right, and were willing also to allow this to the Lutherans. provided these would at the same time teach and confess, that one kind alone also was right; in connection with which, Lutner replies to the arguments in support of the adoption of one kind; for instance: that under one kind there was as much as under both: "Grant, that under one kind there is a thousand times more than under both kinds, yea, even, that under both kinds there is nothing, and under one kind there is everything, what does that avail me? God's Word, enjoining both kinds, still remains, and does not consult me, how much or little I consider to be under one or both kinds." That, accordingly, as the edict further required, that no innovations should be introduced, those conceited spirits and blasphemers should apply this to themselves, since they knew that God's Word, with regard to one kind, was not an innovation, but had been instituted by Christ himself, and been obediently observed by the Church for more than fifteen centuries. That the second point, however, the one concerning the mass, namely, which the edict required to be observed, together with all the ceremonies connected with it thus far, was an alteration and innovation, since there was no authority in the Gospel for purchasing and vending the sacrament or the mass, for converting it into a sacrifice to God, for honouring the saints with it, redeeming souls from purgatory, &c., but for seeking and finding here forgiveness of sin to eternal life, for remembering the

Lord Jesus Christ, and showing forth His sufferings till He come. That the Gospels, moreover, did not know anything of confirmation and unction, but the papists were always inventing sacraments where there were none. Concerning the third point, or free will, he demonstrates, that the doctrine of the Evangelical Party, declaring free will to be dead and nothing, free will towards God, namely, and in matters of the soul, is mightily grounded in the Scriptures, and therefore no innovation,—so also the fourth point, concerning the chief article of the Christian faith, namely: that faith alone justifies without good works. After he has further considered the addition in the edict in reference to prebends, the marriage of priests, and the restoration of monks and cloisters to their rights, and also the pretence, that by the prohibited innovation reference was had, not to errors and frauds, but to admissible and becoming ceremonies and doctrines, he says in conclusion: "Let no one, however, be affrighted at this edict, which they so unblushingly fabricate and publish under the name of a pious emperor. What wonder that they publish their falsehoods under the name of a pious emperor, when they in the name of God and of the Holy Church have introduced, and now for more than six centuries maintained, all their blasphemous, shameful observances, stations, doctrines, practices, and what they are and do? But that same our good God wished at last to make an end of such blasphemy, and again to sanctify his name, that his kingdom might also once come, and his will be done. Amen."

Against these two writings of Luther, an anonymous layman had published a libellous book, printed at Dresden, in which the former was accused of having inculcated disobedience to the emperor, and therefore of being seditious. It was further asserted in it, that the Lutherans were making preparations for war, by the giving of orders, the assembling of horsemen, and the formation of leagues, which could not be said of the emperor and those siding with him; and finally, it was represented as an invention of Luther, that the papists had any design of making war upon the Lutherans. In defence of his books he upon this wrote the treatise: "*Against the Libellor at Dresden*," and in it called upon the author of said libel, the dear layman, boldly to step forth and to make it manifest, that he had any intention of inducing the Germans to revolt from the emperor, and to resist all authority; showing much rather

that he had written only against those tyrants who wished to wage war in opposition to God and right, and not against those authorities whose cause was just, so that he had well secured his book in this respect against the assertions of all calumniators. To the other charge, that the Lutherans were making preparations for war and holding assemblages, he replies: "That does not at all concern me; I have neither directed them to do so, nor advised them, neither do I know in what they are engaged. But because the papists, through this libellor, give us to understand that they verily conceive the Lutherans to be arming themselves and giving orders for war, &c.; I truly am happy to hear it, and it delights me, that they have to vex themselves with such conceits, and to believe that such is really the design of the Lutherans. And if I could, I would gladly aid in confirming them in such conceits and apprehensions, till they would frighten themselves to death;" and further on he continues: "I will suppose, for a moment, that they in reality were making such preparation for war against you, murderers and traitors; I still say, as I have said before, that, if they do so with the intention of defending themselves against those bloodhounds, who in opposition to God and right attempt to shed innocent blood, I shall not, on that account suffer them to be denounced as rebels." To the charge of his having invented it, that the papists had designs of making war upon the Lutherans, he rejoined, that the resolutions adopted at Bononia, desiring the emperor to crush the Lutherans by means of the sword, were not an invention of his, but had been heard publicly spoken of at Augsburg. Again: it was manifest and not an invention of his, that they had put to death, burnt and shamefully butchered many individual persons; that the Elector of Brandenburg also, and Duke George of Saxony, had promised the emperor an auxiliary force of 5000 horse against the Lutherans; and that the priests had engaged to contribute large sums of money for the purpose, &c.; from which it could be perceived, therefore, who were the men that wished to begin and wage war and refused to preserve peace, whether the papists or the Lutherans? Having then yet shown, that, notwithstanding the humble, cordial, Christian prayer of his friends, peace had publicly been denied them, and war and death openly threatened and resolved upon against them, inasmuch as a public edict had been issued under the name of the pious emperor, in which the

papists condemned the doctrine of the Evangelical Party, and on account of it threatened to deprive them of body, life, possessions, and everything, whilst these remained quiet, suffered and endured all their rage; he thus addresses the libellor: "Thou nevertheless denouncest us as rebels, though thou canst not substantiate thy charge; dost thou know by what name such characters are designated in German lands? They are denominated desperate knaves, traitors, and infamous wretches, who with their venomous tongues attempt to deprive pious and innocent men of honour, body, and life; that is thy appropriate name, be thou who thou mayest." In conclusion, he re-asserts, that he had not encouraged rebellion by his warning, as this libellor falsely maintained, but had wished only to deter the papists and all others from complying with the murderous edict, and to advise his own friends against self-defence, by which he had wished to induce both sides to maintain peace.

Concerning the above-mentioned first two treatises, Duke George again most vehemently complained to the elector; and the latter caused his chancellor, Brück, who resided at Wittenberg, to treat on the matter with Luther. The latter defended himself in a letter, under date of the 16th April, 1531, in which he says: "That no person would be able from these two severe treatises to make good the charge of insurrection against him, &c.; that he, however, durst not remain silent, when his doctrines were publicly condemned, since that was the same as forsaking and denying them. That these two treatises were undoubtedly sharp and severe; that his design, however, in writing them, had not been, either, that they should be dull and soothing; and whoever would take into consideration the severity and vehemence of the opponents in this matter, would not deem his writings to be particularly severe and vehement, since it was no mild and gentle business, to issue against the elector and his friends so shocking an edict, and condemnation of uninvestigated matters and the rejected answer, thus exciting the whole realm mercilessly to draw the sword against the elector." "Yes," continued he, "they are always prepared to pronounce my writings sharp and severe; but when will the opponents also take themselves by the nose and declare the productions of their own writers to be severe? When has his imperial majesty ever rebuked or prohibited those most severe and disgraceful writings, which without

ceasing have been published throughout the empire, even in his own hereditary states and Italian states? When has his royal majesty of Bohemia deemed the mendacious, blasphemous writings of Dr. Faber and his like, too severe? When does Margrave Joachim rebuke his Wimpina and Mensingen, those venomous asps and mendacious spirits? What displeasure has Duke George ever evinced at what Emser, Cochleus, and many others in his dominions, so sharply, bitterly and shamefully have written against us? they having grossly assailed the honour even of the gentle, pious prince, Duke Frederick, deceased; not to mention, how severely your electoral grace yourself is handled by them. And Duke George himself has oftentimes written against me in such a way, that a wretched Emser or despicable Cochleus should blush to write as he has done; but it shall be docketed to him too." "But this is the sum of the matter," says he, in conclusion, "what we speak and do is unjust, though we should raise the dead; what they do is just, even though they deluge the land with innocent blood; and such men we are yet to handle with gloves, make our court to them, and say: Mercy, gentlemen, you are pious and handsome." Therefore he prays the elector not to suffer malicious tongues to influence him against him, but to take into consideration the imperative and unavoidable necessity which had constrained him to write with severity, since it could easily be perceived, that he was by far too obtuse and yielding for such wicked knots and branches. But that if he had acted seditiously or unjustly, he would not defend himself, but suffer what was just.

This letter, Chancellor Brück despatched to the elector, with the prayer, graciously, notwithstanding its severity, to receive the same, since he well knew Luther's honest and upright mind and intention; and he, the chancellor, wished only, that all might have heard the eloquent and powerful sermons which Luther had lately delivered.

The elector and Duke George having subsequently arranged several disputes between themselves at Grimma, and the desire having accordingly been expressed to Luther, that he would, as far as his conscience and the cause of truth permitted, refrain from his severe writing, especially as regarded Duke George, in order that the peace or compact might not be disturbed and rendered ineffective, Luther, under date of the 29th July, replied: That Duke George was indeed greatly in

arrears with him; but in order that it might be seen how he also took pleasure in peace, and did not from impertinence write such severe books, he would consider all this as past and forgotten, on condition that Duke George would also in future leave him undisturbed and occasion no new dissatisfaction; with the further proviso, that if other papists would not observe peace towards him, he should be at liberty to reprehend them, without Duke George applying it to himself.

The electors of Mayence and the Palatinate having, towards the close of August, despatched ambassadors to the Protestants, with the offer, anew to negotiate concerning what it had been impossible to arrange at Augsburg; Luther (in common with Melanchthon and Jonas) submitted the following opinion: In the doctrine, as exhibited in the Confession, we cannot and dare not yield, though in outward ceremonies we may, for the sake of peace, yield in some measure; since we did not condemn and change the ceremonies because they were all evil, but because the observance of them was required as necessary to salvation, which is not to be endured. Nor is it not at all productive of good thus impertinently and unnecessarily to rend everything asunder, for the sake of innovation. There must after all be observed in the Church *some certain* form and arrangement, for the sake at least of the youth and the mass of the people. The canon in the mass cannot be allowed; just as little can the private masses be revived; and if we are desired to teach that it is just as right to receive and to dispense with one kind in the sacrament, as to receive and to administer both kinds, we can in no wise consent or agree that the bishops are to have the right and the power to enjoin or to prohibit one kind, as we never could answer to God for such wickedness; we, nevertheless, do not herewith condemn those who have been forcibly and against their will compelled to receive one kind, but commit them to the mercy of God. Concerning absolution, he says: "Nor does it by any means please us, that absolution should be abolished in the Church, and the people be suffered thus rudely to come to the sacrament. And though we do not suffer men to be forced to confession under charge of unpardonable sin, nor do we require the rehearsal of all sin, nor do we torment the consciences, as was done under the pope; it is, on the other hand, just as little to be endured, that confession be forbidden and absolution therefore be banished from the Church. For there certainly

must continue in the Church some certain form and discipline, which it will not be possible to maintain without confession. And it would come to pass, if people were not accustomed in confession to recall to mind their sins and to desire absolution or forgiveness, that absolution and forgiveness of sin would at last be wholly neglected and subverted; and the people would again come to the sacrament in their own conceits as before. So we must also suffer the consoling free Gospel to have full scope, to be declared to every one, individually, as well as to many, collectively. But what is absolution else, than the Gospel declared to a single individual, that he may through it be comforted with regard to the sin which he confesses? So here we have the example of Christ—Matt. ix.—where he absolves the palsied man individually, and—Luke vii.—where he also individually absolves the sinful woman; and other instances of the kind." That the jurisdiction of the bishops was, for the sake of peace, not wholly to be refused. "If they would consent to leave to us the pure doctrine of the Gospel, and our priests, they will be subject to them as bishops, and not as wolves." "Verily, I apprehend, that by such refusal of the jurisdiction we prejudice our own cause, and attempt too much previously to secure things by reason, precisely as if God were not also able to do something here, more and different from what we believe or imagine, whilst yet the cause is his own; and He will also direct it better, as He has done thus far, than we can, if we would only confide in Him." "If they desire for the future to have the jurisdiction in matrimonial affairs, we shall not only not complain because of it, but shall even joyfully and willingly yield it; since it is a vexatious and dangerous business, and we might perhaps in future times pronounce sentences equally as unjust as theirs. And as the times are greatly productive of fanaticism as well as of many other troublesome affairs, and may yet become more productive, we may well relieve ourselves of all that we can, for we shall have enough to engage us without that." He finally observes with regard to cloister property: That they indeed did not wish to burthen the conscience of the elector, because of his having taken several of them to himself, since all this, while the affairs of all the churches had devolved upon him, caused him great expense and trouble, and it had also been necessary to make provision from the common cloister property for many parishes and pulpits; that they would not,

however, strive much about such wretched property and affairs; and if it were so urgently desired again to reinstate the clergy, they should be permitted to eat and to drink, as they might see fit, excepting the first point; nevertheless, that they should not teach or live in opposition to the Gospel, and not again establish their blasphemous worship.

When, in the following year, the two electors of Mayence, and the Palatinate, with the permission of the emperor, again negotiated about an agreement, and called upon the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse to form such agreement; Luther, at the desire of his elector, under date of the 12th February, 1532, expressed his opinion to the effect, that the articles proposed might be endured and received, and prayed, particularly, that, if the matter should progress so far, as that nothing would be in the way of such agreement and peace, except perhaps the article concerning the election of Ferdinand as Roman king, the elector would by all means yield this point, for the sake of peace. That, if he had been elected unjustly, he had thus far been made severely to suffer for it, and the elector had also sufficiently protested against such injustice. "We must also," added he, "permit this Christian article to exert its influence, which is called *forgiveness of sin.* Otherwise *the wringing of the nose*—says Solomon—*bringeth forth blood; so the forcing of wrath bringeth forth strife.* Many things that are unjust will still continue to happen in the world, and when they have happened, will have to be left unchanged, as the law teaches, to prevent greater injustice." So he also at the same time wrote to Duke John Frederick, and represented to him: That because the emperor, as the authority ordained of God, so graciously and benignly commanded that peace should be established, it was truly not to be regarded otherwise than as if God himself graciously made the offer, and we durst not suffer him to make it in vain.

When upon this a convention was held at *Schweinfurt*, where the princes themselves negotiated about an agreement, which was to remain in force till the promised council should be held; Luther, in his opinion, declared nearly all the conditions proposed to be admissible and mild. With regard to the addition, however, which the Protestants had appended to the first article, namely, that those also *who might in future adopt the Augsburg Confession*, should be included in this peace, Luther thought, that the consent of the opponents could not be ob-

tained to this addition, and therefore his advice was, not too urgently to insist upon it, lest the whole negotiation in reference to an agreement should fail, in consequence of this one point. That, even if others might in this way be induced to receive this doctrine, every person was, nevertheless, required to receive and to confess the Gospel upon his own hazard. "And our people have done enough," added he, "by not forbidding the Gospel to any, and by even offering it; and are not required to incur such danger, by which, in the end, they would not benefit others; for of what benefit would it be to other cities, if ours were laid waste and desolate by war? Surely this would not benefit others." And further: "So it is also proper to consider how it would be interpreted, if we should strenuously insist upon this addition; for it may be looked upon as an intrigue on our part, to induce the subjects of other potentates to revolt and to attach themselves to us, &c., and thus to gain the whole empire from the emperor to ourselves. And, in short, we cannot justly demand of the emperor to make grants to his subjects according to our pleasure, whilst these are not at all connected with us." On this occasion he again prayed that the matter with regard to the election might not be considered of such importance. "For," says he, "although the election of King Ferdinand is contrary to the Golden Bull, &c., it is still not a sin against the Holy Ghost, and may be, we ourselves also have more and greater sins resting upon us, and our Lord God might perhaps (if we should be presumptuous) at last clearly and effectually reveal the beam that is in our own eye, and wholly conceal the mote in theirs." — — — "Therefore my most faithful advice is, to embrace this opportunity, and not to be more influenced by a small sin or injustice, than by the great and fearful danger which from such pertinacity may result to all Germany. For experience and truth clearly dictate: *Summum jus, summa injuria:* Severe justice is the greatest injustice; but forgiveness of sin is the best justice, as we ourselves wish to be forgiven."

After Luther had twice submitted his opinion with regard to this matter, and repeated and defended his counsels for peace, he on the 29th June, 1532, again wrote to the elector: "Because, from all the transactions, I perceive that several of our people want to be altogether too wise and certain. and, as their words run, to have an indisputable peace: I verily am

constrained to believe, that they do not earnestly desire peace, or (what is the same thing) that they strive after an impossible peace. For what contract, law, transaction, seal or brief has there ever been, against which it has been impossible to dispute, or in which it has not been attempted to pick a flaw? If by means of our own reason we wish to secure everything so exactly and certainly, and not also trust to God for some things, and leave him a share in the direction, we shall certainly not accomplish much good, and shall fare according to the declaration of Solomon: *He that wringeth the nose bringeth forth blood, and he that despiseth what is small will not attain to what is great.*" — — — "I therefore most humbly pray your electoral grace, that your electoral grace would write an earnest, plain, and severe letter to our people,[3] and faithfully exhort them, by all means, to take into consideration, how richly and graciously his imperial majesty yields to us, what we may very well with a good conscience receive; that his imperial majesty himself, moreover, does not wish the election of the king to be mixed up with these matters; wherefore, they should by no means refuse such gracious peace, on account of several nice and far-fetched points. If the main points are peaceably observed, God will heal such small defects and provide against them. They will, at any rate, not hit the mark, nor is it necessary, but it suffices to shoot near to it. All our lives and actions both towards God and men (being full of defects) must after all be borne by forbearance and forgiveness of sin. And if it were required of us to be so exceedingly pious, pure and perfect towards God and our neighbours, we would never be saved and never have peace with our neighbour. If they are really in earnest about peace, they can very well (as observed) accept the conditions proposed. But if they desire strife, they need neither our advice nor opinion. They may easily be so overwise as to occasion calamity, but let us not give our consent to their measures; if they fill the platter too full, they will have to empty it themselves. I, for myself, shall heartily thank his imperial majesty, if he grants these points. If there is any deception in the matter, which is not apparent from the words, and it does not become me to entertain suspicion against his imperial majesty, much less to put a bad construction upon his meaning, and to sit in judgment upon it, without first ascertaining it, I commit it to Him, who knows and directs the hearts of all: He will, without fail, protect me in such danger

and preserve me from evil. For I am well convinced, that he who deceives a soul which confides in God and is filled with love to man, deceives himself, and faith and love remain uninjured."

He at the same time also wrote to Duke John Frederick: That he indeed knew that the duke with all earnestness and diligence laboured for peace; that he, nevertheless, from faithful anxiety, also prayed him, not to suffer such nice points to influence him, but to continue as he had begun. That God greeted us, and it was time to return thanks to Him, as St. Paul said: *Do not neglect the time of grace and the day of salvation.* He feared, that if such opportunity to establish peace were disregarded, it might never return under circumstances so favourable.

As regarded the religious services of the monks and the priests, and their possessions, Luther's opinion was, that, if the elector was once assured, that such priestly and monastic observances were public blasphemy against God and His Word, he could by no means again establish the cloisters and convents, or aid in establishing them. That the sovereign, however, both could and should take possession of the property, as he did of all vacant and forsaken property, lest it might go to waste, and that he ought not to consign it to other monks of the same order, or to permit its conveyance beyond his dominions, since it had been designed for a particular purpose and place. But that, if it were asked to what object such property was to be applied, in this case the wish of the founders would have to be consulted, which truly had been no other than to have such property employed for the service and honour of God. If, however, they had failed of their object here, their wish was nevertheless to be taken as a guide, and their property to be employed for God's service and honour, in the support of pastors, preachers and schools, and whatever else appertained to God's Word and sacraments, and the care of souls. To the question, finally, whether the sovereign might also retain some of said property for himself, or make grants of it to others, he replied: "To speak without hypocrisy and without terror, if the sovereign should have appropriated the largest part for the care of souls and for schools, and afterwards needed the remainder for the temporal government, (which also is service to God, although inferior to the former,) I conceive its application in the latter case to be free of guilt.

So also if impoverished and reduced families of the nobility are assisted with it; since the object of such convents and cloisters of old was, besides promoting the service of God, also to supply the necessity of such people, and they have also hitherto been thus supplied in the cloisters and convents, albeit, under spiritual names, so that cloisters and convents, in reality, differed but little from richly-endowed institutions for the impoverished children of great men, &c. The proper bounds dare not, however, be transgressed here, and most of all must the public offence be taken into consideration, lest the Gospel be evil spoken of and reproached, as if from just causes." That if this were prevented, he would not deem it sinful, much less account it to the elector as a grievous offence, if he retained some of the spiritual possessions, since he was made to incur so much expense and trouble for the sake of the Gospel and the poor priests and monks. "This I wish to have said," added he, in conclusion, "that the elector may not be too much circumscribed in his conscience, with a parade of the spiritual possessions, whilst the trouble, expense, danger and misfortune, which he is made to incur on account of them, and in connection with them, are passed by in silence; but also that too much liberty be not afforded, lest occasion and room be given for unnecessary offence and slanderous reports, by a too bountiful and heedless distribution of said possessions."

On the other hand, he was not pleased that it was attempted at Hervord to constrain the sisters and brethren who lived in common, and who first had introduced the Gospel there, to forsake their station, and to lay aside their habit; and he reminded the town-council of that place of the danger of unnecessary innovations, especially in divine things, also praying them, because the brethren and sisters led an honourable life, had an honourable well-behaved congregation, and besides faithfully taught and kept the pure Word, that they would not suffer them to be disturbed or molested because of their still wearing the spiritual habit, and retaining old praiseworthy customs, not opposed to the Gospel; for that such cloisters and brotherhoods pleased him exceedingly well. He informed the brethren of this, and wrote at the same time: "Your manner of life, as you teach the Gospel in purity, and live according to it, pleases me exceedingly well; and would that there existed some such cloisters at the present day. Yet, I do not

venture to wish many, for then the Church would be altogether too prosperous in this life. Your habit and other things, which you in a praiseworthy manner have retained, do the Gospel no injury, but rather prove of great service to it, against those crazy, insolent and reckless spirits, who now have learned nothing else than to destroy, but not to build up."

AUTHORITIES.—Let. vol. 4, No. 1326.—1334, 51, 44. Treatise, Warning to his dear Germans, vol. 20, p. 298. Treatise: Annotations upon the supposed imperial edict, p. 322. Treatise: Against the libeller at Dresden, p. 336. Seckend. lib. III., p. 9. Let. No. 1368. Seckend. ib. p. 10, 16. Let. No. 1397. Sleid. lib. VIII. p. 218. Let. No. 1401. Sleid. ib. p. 222. Let. No. 1434, 35. Sleid. I. 1. Let. No. 1455, 56, 62, 63, 64, 54, 32, 33.

NOTES.—1.) Bugenhagen had been requested to come to Lübeck, for the purpose of introducing the Reformation there. Seckend. lib. II. p. 219.

2.) Reference is had to the so-called Confutation of the Augsburg Confession. (See vol. 2, p. 246.)

3.) At Nuremburg, whither the convention had been transferred from Schweinfurt, and where also, on the 23d July, 1532, the first religious peace was established. The electoral prince, Duke John Frederick, supplied the place of the elector, who at that time was absent because of sickness. Comp. Seckend. lib. III. Sect. 4.

4.) Concerning this voluntary spiritual association, comp. Ullmann's Johann Wessel, ein Vorgänger, Luther's Beilage 1.

CHAPTER II.

AFFLICTION ON ACCOUNT OF OTHERS AND IN HIS OWN PERSON. 1531–33.

ALTHOUGH Luther had to suffer greatly himself on account of God's Word, still the ungrateful conduct of the *Zwickau* town-council towards their clergymen in the year 1531, grieved him exceedingly. The citizens of Zwickau, namely, had deposed the preacher of St. Catherine's church, *Laurentius Soranus*, from his office, without his having been convicted, or even having had a hearing, yea, what seemed the worst of all to Luther, without consulting their good and upright pastor, *Nicholas Hausmann*, about it, and in opposition to his wishes. He, therefore, wrote to the town-clerk, *Stephen Roth:* "Do you imagine, dear squires, that you will be permitted thus to

domineer in the churches, and to rob and take possession of the rents, which you have not founded, and which are not your own, and afterwards bestow them upon whom you see fit, as if you were lords over the churches? Have we deserved this? Is this the reward for our severe labours, and contests for the Church of God? Do you thus requite us, my good friends?" He also sent back to them their letters of excuse without reading them, and sent them word that they should not trouble him with their letters, for he had heard, how they even boasted, and had misrepresented him to the elector. Hausmann, however, he admonished, to remember that he had been regularly called to the pastorate of the church at Zwickau, and he gave him advice how he should deport himself towards the preacher, who had been forced upon him in the place of Soranus, and towards the town-council, namely, first, privately to admonish them, and, if this did not produce the desired effect, publicly to protest against them, not to surrender the pastorate, though he must yield for a time. That Cordatus, who had been appointed to St. Catherine's Church, might remain also. But soon after he called upon both to flee from the town, to shake off the dust from their feet, as a testimony against them, and to leave the knaves to pursue their own course; that they, however, should be joyful and happy, that they were buffeted for the sake of the truth, and were made to endure the scorn of the ungrateful. The other ministers he exhorted, meanwhile, faithfully and quietly to dispense the Word and the sacraments to the pious and the faithful, till the decision of the elector should arrive; and at the same time he addressed a letter to "all pious Christians at Zwickau, amidst the false brethren," in which he says: "That it would have to be so, God and his servants would everywhere have to be persecuted, from without by tyranny, from within by false brethren and ungrateful men, who, nevertheless, would claim to be pious, and to be in the right. Therefore," added he, "my faithful prayer and exhortation to you all is, to suffer those crazy heads to pursue their destruction, patiently remaining quiet, and striving with no one on account of the matter, not deeming them worthy that you should destroy your quiet and peace on their account. Let them proceed; they are the enemies of God, and God is their enemy; and such I shall esteem them. Now, this very thing is punishment enough for them, that God is their enemy. For they have a great and fearful enemy, whom they now con-

fidently despise, but whose wrath they shall in due time bitterly feel." That they themselves should faithfully continue in the doctrine which they had received, and if they were constrained to hear preaching, or to obtain the sacraments at St. Catherine's, and to endure other preachers, also in the parochial church, they should without hesitation, provided they taught the truth, hear them, and without fear of committing sin, obtain the sacraments from them, since the Word and the sacraments belonged to God, and not to men.

Luther with difficulty, and through the co-operation of others, prevailed with the elector and his counsellors, that they did not again force Hausmann upon the "Zwickau beasts," but graciously dismissed him, under the condition, nevertheless, of his not betaking himself into any other state, as the prince himself wished to give him another appointment. He himself desired Hausmann, whom the Zwickau people refused even what they were yet in arrears to him, to come to him; he had arranged a small room for him, and made every preparation, and informed him how very happy he would be to have him with him; and on Hausmann's still delaying, he again wrote to him: "Do not imagine that you will be burdensome to me: on the contrary, you will be a source of joy and comfort to me, and I wish that I might have you with me all my life. It should not be difficult for me to maintain you, yea, it would be an easy matter, and a good opportunity for your sake to refuse to the ungrateful and the obtruding, what otherwise cannot well be refused them."

It was in this year also, (on the 30th June, 1531,) that Luther's *mother* died. On his receiving the information concerning her illness, it deeply grieved him that he could not be present with her in the body, wherefore he sent her a communication, in order also to do his part, and to assist in comforting her. He reminded her, that, as by the grace of God she well knew, her sickness was His paternal, gracious rod, and quite insignificant compared with what He dispensed over the wicked, and often even over his own dear children; wherefore she should not be distressed on account of it, but thankfully receive it, remembering how insignificant such suffering was, compared with the sufferings of His own Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, which He had endured not for himself, but for us and our sins. He points her to the true ground of salvation, upon which she should base her hope in this and all distresses,

Dr MARTIN LUTHER'S MOTHER.

namely, to the corner-stone, Jesus Christ, who would not fail us, nor suffer us to sink or perish; further, he requests her to praise God for having granted her such knowledge, and not permitted her to continue in those papistical errors, according to which men had been taught to trust in their own works and the holiness of the monks; and who would have us to look upon our only comfort, our Saviour, not as a comforter, but as a cruel judge and tyrant, so that they had been constrained to flee from him to Mary and the saints. "May the Father and God of all consolation," says he, in conclusion, "through His holy Word and Spirit, grant you a firm, joyful and grateful faith, that you may blessedly overcome this and all distress, and finally taste and experience that it is true what He himself says: *Be of good courage, I have overcome the world.* And herewith I commend your body and soul to His mercy, Amen. All your children, and my Kate, pray for you. Some are weeping, some are saying: Grandmother is very sick. The grace of God be with us all. Amen."

In the following year, Luther was much afflicted through the death of the pious *elector.* The latter had already in the beginning of the year been very ill, and it had been found necessary to amputate the great toe on his left foot. Luther visited him twice, for the purpose of comforting him, and called upon his friends, wife and children to pray for the elector and for himself, for he himself suffered so greatly from giddiness and the assaults of Satan, that he almost despaired of his life, and of his return to his family; and, because he at that time was engaged with writing the Preface to the Prophets, but could not succeed in finishing it, he called upon Veit Dietrich: "My head is no longer equal to such labours. Therefore do you see to it, if I should die, that you employ your skill and eloquence upon the preface." On Maundy-Thursday, Luther, accordingly, with great joy received a letter from the elector, and in his reply, he praised God that he had not despised his prayer, but had graciously turned the illness of the prince; and he comforted the latter with the hope, that there would be no danger either here or there, though he had been made to suffer somewhat severely. But on the 15th of August, the elector, being then at Schweinitz, whither he had come on account of the chase, was seized with so vehement a pain in his head, that he soon lost his speech, and lay there for twenty-eight hours without motion, without hearing, or understanding.

On the following Friday, Luther, Melanchthon and Dr. Augustine Schurf, arrived from Wittenberg: then the elector lifted up both his hands, but soon suffered them to sink again, and so expired. "Alas," said Luther, when he saw him die, "that so a great prince should die here, away from his family; that not a son, cousin, or other relative is near him, in his last moments!" The physicians say that the cramp was the cause of his death. Just as little children are born without care, live without care, and die without care: so will our dear prince, Duke John, feel at the last day, as if he had come from the Lochian heath, from the chase, and will not know what has happened unto him; as Isaiah saith: *The righteous is removed, and layeth himself down in his chamber and bed of rest.*" On the following Sunday, the corpse was brought to Wittenberg, and interred beside the elector Frederick. Luther delivered the funeral sermon, from 1 Thess. iv. 13–18, amidst many tears; Melanchthon, a Latin speech. Concerning the elector, Luther said in the sermon: "Because Paul, therefore, as you hear, thus praises the dead, we are diligently to thank God for his mercy, that he has also embraced our dear elector in the death of Christ and his resurrection. For you know what kind of a death he suffered at the Diet of Augsburg. I do not wish to extol him for his exalted virtue, but suffer him to remain a sinner like we ourselves all are, who also expect to travel the same road, and to commit many great sins into our Lord God's keeping, that we may abide in the article which is called: Forgiveness of sin. But I do not wish to represent our dear sovereign as so very pure, although he was a very pious and amiable man, free from all guile, in whom I never in my life discovered any pride, wrath, or envy, who could easily bear and forgive every thing, and was more than kind. These his virtues I now pass by. If he with all these good traits, at times failed in the government, what shall we say to it? A prince is also a frail being, and always has ten devils surrounding him where another man has only one, so that God must specially guide him and guard him by his angels. When we then perceive that princes at times err in the administration, we immediately imagine, that we would manage the matter better, and in our conceits would drive the cart directly into the mire, or perhaps wholly upset it, if we had to govern; so that nobody can please us; and if we examine ourselves closely, we will find that we are far from what we ought to be.

ELECTOR JOHN THE CONSTANT.

All this we shall now pass by, and continue in this, that we praise him, as St. Paul praises his Christians, that God will lead him forth with Christ, and shall regard him not according to his temporal death, but according to the death of Christ and his spiritual death, in which he imitated Christ. For you all know how he, two years ago, in imitation of Christ, suffered the true death at Augsburg, not for himself alone, but for us all, when he was made to bear all the bitter reproach and opposition which the devil excited against him; that is the true and terrible death, by which the devil consumes. There our dear elector publicly, before the whole world, confessed the death and the resurrection of Christ, and abode in this confession, hazarding the loss of his dominions, and people; yea, of his own body and life. How severe this death is, he, no doubt, fully experienced in his soul. Because, therefore, that confession is public and known, we will on account of it extol him as a Christian. But if with this there was any deficiency in him, we pass it by. For we wish not to estimate such small defects in so great a personage so highly, but shall, on the contrary, boast, that he confessed the death and the resurrection of Christ, with which he swallowed up death, and hell, and all sin, and firmly abode in this confession. This abounds and swallows up the multitude of sins, as a large sea does a spark of fire. Therefore, all other sins are nothing, when opposed to this one point, that we do not deny the death and the resurrection of Christ, but publicly confess them."

Therefore, we are to comfort ourselves with this, that Christ has died, and our dear prince has been embraced and fallen asleep in the death of Christ, having suffered a much severer death at Augsburg than now, which we daily, and without ceasing, have to suffer from the tyrants and fanatics, yea, also, perhaps from our own consciences, and from Satan. This is the true death: the other bodily death, when we expire upon the bed, is merely a child's death, or a brute's death; but the former is the true manly death, which still is before us, and we would sooner yield up a second life (if it were possible) than deny the man who is called Christ Jesus. That may well be called a manly and true death, of which also St. Paul, 1 Cor. 15, says: *I protest by your rejoicing, which I have in Christ Jesus, I die daily.* The other death is, when simply reason and the five senses die, so that the eyes do not see any more, the ears hear no more, the hands feel no more, &c. So an

animal also dies, it is merely an outward decaying of the poor filthy mass of corruption, the body; it is a child's death compared with the former. This death our dear prince now also has died, so that it was perfectly manifest, that it was a mere child's death. For our Lord God so ordered his death, that he did not suffer any of the true buffetings, nor dispute much with Satan, as is the case with some, who, because of great mental distress, occasioned them by Satan, with regard to sin, the final judgment, hell and the like, fall into despair and agonize, till in their anguish they perspire at every pore, and perhaps even expire under the influence of it. This is a true death, and not a child's death. But when death comes as it did to our dear prince, so that the body simply remains upon the bed, without any terror or trembling, because having through baptism been called to the kingdom of Christ, he afterwards freely confessed Christ, and with all diligence, earnestness, and joyfulness heard God's Word, so that only the five senses expire; this is the most insignificant death, and merely the hull of death, it being only a wrestling with bodily death, although to us untried people it seems the most terrible of all."

Luther himself suffered greatly at this time. In the year previous he suffered from the buzzing in his head. Having once in consequence of it, paid a visit to the hereditary marshal of Saxony, John Löser,[1] he soon after dedicated to him the Exposition of the 147th Psalm, and wrote to him: "Grace and peace in Christ. Worthy, honourable, dear sir and friend! When I was lately with you, in the hope of overcoming the buzzing and weakness in my head through bodily exercise, and you showed me great honour and friendship, also taking me with you to the chase, I likewise, at the same time, pursued my spiritual chase in the carriage, and captured the 147th Psalm: *Lauda Jerusalem*, with its exposition, for this is the most delightful chase and noblest game for me. Having now brought this home with me, and duly prepared it, I thought I would inform you of it, that I might not with an evil conscience secretly retain such property acquired upon your soil, and thus be found not only ungrateful but also injurious: I therefore send to your grace, as much as there is of it, whole and entire, and yet retain it whole and entire for myself also. For such game can be strangely divided among friends, so that every one receives the whole of it, and yet the other does not lose anything. I pray your grace kindly to accept this, for I am ready to serve

your grace. Herewith I commend you, and your dear domestic vine and clusters, to God. Amen. Saturday after St. Lucia, 1531."

In January, 1532, Luther had a presentiment of a disease that awaited him; and he, in fact, said beforehand, that in March, he would be taken severely ill; the disease did not, however, delay so long; for on the 22d he was attacked by a violent illness, so that he was constrained to keep his bed the whole day: towards four o'clock he experienced an excessive humming in his ears, which was succeeded by great faintness of the heart. He immediately sent for Philip Melanchthon and Magister Rörer, in order to have some one with whom to converse, and to whose conversation he might listen. "As we now there incidentally observed,"—one of them relates—"that if he should die at this time, it would excite great scandal among the papists;" he rejoined with energy: "But I shall not die now, of that I am assured; for God will not confirm the abominations of the papists through my death,[2] at this time, in which Zwinglius and Œcolampadius have perished. God will not afford them such opportunity for exultation. Satan truly would gladly destroy me, if he could; he is continually upon my heels; but he shall be disappointed, and the Lord's will shall be accomplished." Then Philip said: "Of that we are fully assured, for Christ says: *All the hairs upon your head are numbered.*" The physician also was present, and he, having examined him, remarked, that his disease betokened apoplexy, and that he would scarcely recover. The doctor hearing this, said: "I cannot believe that my illness is natural, but I suspect Satan in the game, therefore; I despise it so much the more."

When Luther was with the sick elector, he himself suffered greatly from giddiness; (see above p. 439;) and also, when he congratulated him on his recovery, he complained, that his head was still somewhat in subjection to the enemy of all good and health, who would sometimes take a ride across his brain, and wholly prevent him from reading and writing. "You do not know,"[3] said he at table, "what a troublesome thing this giddiness, humming and buzzing in the head is. I dare not write a letter now, without pausing, and I can scarcely read two or three lines in the psalter, nor can I look fixedly at a thing for any length of time, or closely meditate upon any subject without intermission; for this humming in my ears

instantly returns, and nearly causes me to sink upon the bench." Not till June did he begin gradually again to recover, and this through the prayers of his friends, as he said, for of the powers of nature he had despaired.

But although weak himself, he nevertheless, during this time, wrote many *letters of consolation* to persons who were distressed or spiritually afflicted. Thus among others to the father of a pious youth, *John Zink*, who had been studying at Wittenberg, and died there. He stated how calmly and gently the same had fallen asleep, with so good a confession, faith and rationality, that there could be no doubt, he was happy with God, his true Father, forever; "wherefore," he added, "though he should have lived longer, you could with your money not have advanced him farther than to some office or service; but now he occupies a station which he would not be willing to exchange for the whole world, not even for a moment."

A *prince* (his name is not given) who was in great distress, he admonished thus: "I pray your princely grace, as much as possible, to resist your own thoughts, which after all are not your own, but assuredly occasioned by Satan. Our Lord is not so wrathful as we are disposed to imagine to ourselves; but he tries us, to see whether we are ready also in honour of Him to suffer something that deserves the name of suffering, because He, being innocent, willingly took upon himself such unspeakable suffering for our sins, and all this in accordance with the most gracious pleasure of his Father, our merciful God. Such suffering of his dear Son truly is so great, that, rightly considered, as he endured it for our sake, it should cause us to estimate our suffering lightly, and where his suffering was gall and vinegar, to deem ours no more than a good wine or malmsey. Truly, He is our gracious God, whose pledge we have, namely, His Son, dispensed to us through baptism, the Lord's Supper and the Gospel, so that we are not to doubt, and cannot doubt of His mercy, come what may. Of what consequence is it now, if body and life, father and mother, brothers, kingdom, principality, honour and power, and everything else upon the earth, fails us, if only this blessing remains to us, that God is our father, His Son our brother, His heaven and creation our inheritance, and all the angels and saints our brothers and sisters? What we lose here amounts scarcely to the loss of a farthing, and there we obtain instead of it not a kingdom or heaven, or earth, but God himself and eternal life."

The Magdeburg Chancellor, *Dr. Zoch*, from whom God had taken away a beloved wife, he comforted, saying: "Just as Christ had not only to be hated and persecuted by Satan and a wicked world, but also, at last, to be stricken and afflicted of God; so also it must be with us Christians, that God himself, of whom we are to expect all comfort, smites us at last, whilst the wicked, on the other hand, seem to be beloved and exalted not only by the world, but also by God, that their boasting might be twofold and our grief twofold. Thus—it has now also happened to you; but be firm, and remember that Christ, who fared much worse, was at last not forsaken of God, who had so afflicted him, but came forth with honour. Thus God will also lead us forth with him. "Therefore—although the flesh murmurs and exclaims, as Christ also himself exclaimed and became weak, (Ps. xxii. 2; Matt. xxvii. 46,) yet is the spirit to remain ready and willing, and with unutterable sighs to pray, *Abba, Father!* (Rom. viii. 15), that is, thy rod is severe, but thou remainest Father, of that I am assured. May our gracious Lord and Redeemer, yea, our lovely Pattern in all our sufferings, comfort you and impress himself upon your heart, in order that you may accomplish this sacrifice of an afflicted spirit, and yield up to Him your Isaac! Amen."

The brother of his beloved Nicholas *Hausmann*, Valentine, he exhorted to consider the temptation of terror and unbelief, which had befallen him, as a chastisement sent him from God, and to praise God, that he was thus the more urged to pray, to seek help and to say with the Gospel: Lord, increase my faith. Further, that he would here have to contend, and not to remain quiet, or to look on and to wait till this terror would end of itself, otherwise the matter would grow worse continually. That he would have to pray against it with power, and also distinctly, clearly and fervently, to repeat the Lord's Prayer. For that he would above all things have to be assured, and not to doubt at all, but that it was of Satan; for that God wished us to resist, and He permitted such things to befall us, that He might hear our fervent prayer, and afford us help. "For under such circumstances you must accustom yourself"—says he —"not long to scuffle with the temptation, according to your own thoughts, without God's Word, and not to wait till it cease of itself, but see that you faithfully attend to prayer and to God's Word at such time. Although at other times you are not to omit, when you can, to pray against it; in this way, by

the help of God, it will at length grow better. For without the Word of God on our side, the enemy is too strong for us; but prayer and God's Word he cannot endure. Herewith adieu. Amen."

To another person, the Captain *Jonas Von Stockhausen*, of Nordhausen, of whom he had heard that Satan was severely tempting him with satiety of life and a wish for death, he said, that it was high time for him to cease trusting and following his own thoughts, but that he ought to follow other people, who were free from such temptation. That he should above all things remember the necessity of obeying God; and because he knew to a certainty, that God gave him life, and did not wish him to die, he could not at all doubt, but that such thoughts, leading to disobedience towards God, were certainly forced into his heart by Satan. That he would, therefore, have to resist them with firmness, and even forcibly to expel them. That our Lord Jesus Christ also had been severely and bitterly afflicted in this life, but that he still had not wished to die in opposition to the will of His Father. That Elijah, Jonah, and other prophets, having become weary of life in consequence of great distress, had cried out for death, but had nevertheless been constrained to live, and to bear such satiety, till their hour had come. That he would have to heed such words and examples, as words and admonitions of the Holy Ghost, and utterly to banish all opposing thoughts, no matter how difficult it might be for him. "Therefore"—continues he—"you must be firm and resolute towards yourself, and sternly say to yourself: My good fellow, and if thou wert never so unwilling to live, thou shalt live in spite of thyself, and I will have thee to live for me; for God wills it so, and so do I will it. Begone, diabolical thoughts, to the abyss of hell! with your dying and death, you have nothing that concerns you here, &c., and thus grit your teeth against such thoughts, and in the name of God put on so determined a face, and in this respect make it more obstinate and self-willed than any stubborn peasant, yea, harder than any anvil or iron. If you thus attack yourself, and contend against yourself, God will surely sustain you. But if you do not resist and defend yourself, but leave such thoughts at full liberty to plague you, you will soon have lost the mastery. But the best thing of all would be, not to contend at all with them, but to despise them, and to act as if you did not feel them; always thinking of something else, and saying to them,

Satan, do not disturb me, I will not attend to thy thoughts; I must take a ride, must eat and drink, do this or that; or, I have to be joyous now; come again to-morrow, &c. Seek amusement and diversion, that you may be delivered from such thoughts and despise them, bidding them begone, with earnest and determined language." He at the same time wrote to the wife of this man, comforted her, and said, Satan hated both of them, because they loved Christ, and he advised her by no means to leave her husband alone for a moment, since solitude was most pernicious to him. But that they should frequently read to him anecdotes, accounts of recent occurrences, and strange things, no matter if these were at times gross and false inventions, and stories about Turks and Tartars and the like, if he might in this way be excited to laughter and joyfulness; and that then they should immediately follow it up with consoling passages of Scripture.

On the 4th of October, 1532, Luther wrote to those *citizens of Leipzig* who had been exiled because of the Gospel, and who intended to address a supplication to their prince, in which he encouraged them, saying, that if it accomplished no good, it would do no injury, but prosper them before God; and he exhorted them to be of good courage, observing that sorrow went before laughter. So he also (under date of the 20th Jan. 1533) exhorted those citizens, male and female, who had been exiled from *Oschatz*, to be assured and not to doubt, but that their flight and distress were very acceptable to God in heaven, and that this was sufficient. That they should sing with King David, according to the 56th Psalm: "*Lord, thou tellest my wanderings, put thou my tears into thy bottle; are they not in thy book?* Duke George having further issued an edict, requiring every person at Leipzig to receive the Lord's Supper under one kind at Easter, and several citizens having written to Dr. Luther and inquired of him, whether they could with a good conscience comply with this demand, in order to satisfy their government; Luther (on the 11th April) replied: "Because I have no personal knowledge of any of you, neither know what is the state of your hearts and consciences, this is the best counsel I can give: He, that is informed of it, and in his conscience believes it to be the Word and order of God, that both kinds are to be received, he is in no wise to act in opposition to his conscience, that is, to God himself. But now that Duke George ventures even to inquire into the secrets of conscience,

he would well, as an apostle of the devil, deserve to be deceived, and this might be done; for he is not at all authorized to make such demands, but sins against God and the Holy Ghost. As we, however, are to consider, not what other and wicked men do, whether they be murderers and robbers, but what it behooves us to suffer and to do: the best course to be pursued in this case is, boldly to tell the robber and murderer to his face, I shall not do this; if thou now deprivest me of body and life, thou deprivest one higher than me, and to Him thou shalt without fail make restoration, as Peter says, 1 Pet. iv: *Jesus Christus paratus est, judicare vivos et mortuos*, (Jesus Christ is ready to judge the quick and the dead.) Therefore, only proceed, good robber; that which thou wishest, I do not wish; but what I wish, God will also wish, and that you shall experience. For we must strike Satan in the face with the cross, and not sing much to him, or make our court to him; this will teach him to know with whom he is dealing. May Christ, our Lord, strengthen you, and be with you. Amen. Given at Wittenberg, on Good Friday, in the year 1533."

This letter had been carried about among the citizens, so that the council had obtained a copy of it, and transmitted it to Duke George, who immediately complained to the elector of Luther, that the latter had denominated him an apostle of the devil, and was instigating his subjects to rebellion, wherefore he desired that the elector would restrain him. Upon this the elector, among other things, wrote to Luther: That if his intention was in any way to excite the subjects of his cousin, or of any other princes, to insurrection, he, the elector, could by no means tolerate this, and would not omit to execute the proper punishment against him; that he, however, trusted, this was not his design, and that he would, therefore, have to defend himself with regard to this charge, so as to make his innocence manifest. Luther accordingly forthwith wrote the treatise: *Defence with regard to the charge of insurrection preferred against me by Duke George*, which he also caused to be printed and published. In this he observes, in the first place, that Duke George certainly knew from his little book concerning stolen letters, (see vol. ii. p. 200.) that he was not to meddle with his private letters; but that because he was misrepresenting him to his sovereign, he would own the letter and defend it, although he was not in possession of his own manuscript now, but of a copy of it, which had passed through many

hands, and upon which he could therefore not confidently rely. That he, according to this, advised the pious people sooner to lose property and life, than in opposition to Christ to deny both kinds, or in obedience to the command of Duke George to receive one kind. Now a child knew that such was true Christian doctrine, which directed the people to suffer, to risk and to forsake property and life, for the sake of God's Word. That a rebel did not teach men to suffer, or to yield up property and life, but persuaded them not to yield to the government, especially not to tyrants, but to deprive them of possessions, honour, power and life. But if, in this letter, Duke George was called the devil's apostle, this was not saying too much against his honour. He knew, indeed, that before the world Duke George was invested with princely honour, and was a noble prince of the empire; but before God, and in spiritual things, he could not allow him any honour, unless it were the honour of Pilate, Herod, Judas, and the like, who had condemned and put to death Christ and his apostles because of God's Word. That he, however, had wished with such odious names to exhibit Duke George in his true character, for the greater comfort of those pious people, that they might the more firmly abide in God's Word; for this purpose he had drawn their attention to the devil's mask which Duke George had put on, that they might perceive the crafty manœuvre, and know, that such command did not proceed from their government, according to divine order, but from Satan and his disorder; that they might not suffer it to disturb them, as if they were disobeying their government, but be assured that they were here resisting the devil, and notwithstanding, continued to be pious, faithful, and obedient subjects towards their government. The remark, however, that they should strike the devil in the face with the cross, Duke George certainly would not interpret as inciting to insurrection, unless he meant to call himself a devil; it was evident, moreover, that the cross was not an iron or wooden cross, much less a great gun or culverin, since the devil could not be vanquished with such weapons. That if it, however, was indicative of any skill, to give malicious interpretations, he also would interpret for Duke George the oath, which he had imposed upon his subjects at Leipzig, requiring them to swear, that they would aid in condemning and persecuting the Lutheran doctrine, thereby exciting war against the elector, the landgrave and their relatives, and that such interpretation

would follow far better from the oath, than the charge of insurrection from the letter. That Duke George, by this accusation, only betrayed the bitterness, hatefulness and virulence of his heart towards him, from which he could not free him, and which he could not change, though he sincerely wished him a better disposition. "God be praised," added he, "that I have no bitter or hateful heart towards him or any other man on earth. Therefore, I also enjoy peace and perfect quiet; but those that in their bitterness hate me, torment themselves, and their rage returns upon their own heads, they being their own devils, having no rest or peace as long as I live or my name continues. But, by the grace of God, I will always continue steadfast in Christ our Lord, with whom I must innocently bear the hateful and malicious charge of insurrection, for even He himself was crucified as a rebel, and suspended between two murderers," &c.

In conclusion he says, that if the world were capable of gratitude, and he had taught and done nothing else that was good, except that he had exhibited the temporal government in its proper light; he justly, on account of this one thing, ought to have gratitude and favour shown him, because no one, since the times of the apostles, had so nobly and clearly confirmed, instructed and comforted the consciences of those in temporal stations, as he had done. That of this he boasted, and it was ridiculous, in view of his labours in this respect, to bring against him charges of insurrection. That his books were his witnesses. That he, however, would point out the true rebels. That there were still extant books, in which it was maintained, that temporal stations were dangerous and accursed; on which account also, princes and lords had, upon their dying beds, caused themselves to be habited in monks' hoods, and thus to be buried, by which they had denied Christ, despised their baptism and the sacraments, and condemned the temporal stations. That if this doctrine and such examples had been followed, the whole world would at last have become silly pates. "Behold," added he, "those are they of whom St. Peter, 2 Epistle ii. 1, declares, "*There will also be false teachers among you, who privily will bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them. And many will follow their pernicious ways. They despise government, and are not afraid to speak evil of dignities.* What is meant here by despising government and speaking evil of dignities? Duke George says, rebuking

a prince, or telling him what he does not like to hear. Truly, beloved, that is harsh, but not the harshest. It is no disgrace to princes or kings, who are invested with dominion and dignity, to be rebuked, when this is done through the Word and office of God; for God is their Lord, and they are not angels, neither are they so immaculately pure before God. But that is despising government and speaking evil of dignities, when men go further and do not rebuke the person alone, but blaspheme the office, refusing to consider government and dignity blessed, good, divine stations, and teaching that they are dangerous, insecure and accursed, thus deterring the persons in such stations from continuing in them, causing them to be disturbed, fearful, and distressed in their consciences, so that they begin to hate and to despise their stations as being unworthy, unacceptable, and accursed in the sight of God, wherefore they seek and strive after some other station, and either wholly forsake their divine calling, or at least continue in it only with an evil conscience, and reluctantly discharge the duties of it. It is to such traitors and blasphemers, that St. Peter here refers; and such is the doctrine, faith and work of the pope and his clergy, as is known, and as we daily have examples before us.

At the same time with this defence there appeared, "*A letter of consolation to those Christians who have innocently been exiled from Leipzig by Duke George*," (because they had refused to receive the sacrament under one kind at Easter.) "The first consolation," said he in this communication, "was, that they were fully assured in their hearts, and did not doubt of its being the gift and work of God in them, that they had freely confessed Christ, and on account of this confession suffered as they did. The second, that they also before the world suffered innocently, and not as disobedient citizens or subjects, since they had demeaned themselves uprightly and honestly towards their government and neighbours, as far as temporal right and authority could demand. That it, in the third place, also was a powerful and mighty consolation, to remember the cause of their suffering and exile, namely, their refusal to deny any doctrine of the Gospel, and to worship any of the abominations of the pope." "Here your heart is justly to rejoice," says he, "that you have come out of the city and out of the country in which you were required to deny and to oppose the word of grace and forgiveness of sin, and the doctrine that we become

righteous, and are saved without merit, alone through Christ." That they, in the fourth place, were to derive no little consolation from it; that they already saw and witnessed the wrath which had overtaken Duke George: since the latter had not at all expected that he was so greatly despised by his subjects, that in the single city of Leipzig so many citizens (with their attendants, some eight hundred persons) should so very boldly and publicly despise his wrath and rage, as to be found willing sooner to leave his dominions, than to consent to a single letter of his wrath and opposition to Christ. That their exile, in the fifth place, also afforded consolation in this, that by it they publicly declared themselves free of all innocent blood which the murderous papists had, for the last twelve years, shed on account of this doctrine, with sword, fire, water, and all manner of torments. "Finally," continues he, "let us have patience for a little while, and see what is God's design; they will not rave thus forever. Such great things have, through the power of God, come to pass during these twelve years after the Diet of Worms, as no person had thought of, or expected; and in addition to this, many of the bloodhounds and murderers, who every year made sure of devouring us, have perished under the manifest, terrible judgments of God. Who knows what God will accomplish after this Diet of Augsburg, before ten years have passed, which soon will have coursed away, and are but a moment of time with God?" — — — "In short, to conclude, if we look at the matter in the light of faith, and regard the words of Christ as true, Duke George has, with his wrath and raving, done you greater service, and conferred greater honour upon you, than not only he, but not even all the world, with all its favours, riches, and power, could have done you, or conferred upon you. For he has caused your hearts and consciences to become very free and confident, since through his raving you are certain (and can point to the fact) that you suffer for Christ's sake, and thus have been made conformable to the image of the Son of God, (as St. Paul teaches, Rom. viii.,) and of all the saints." Finally, he notices a report that an opinion of his should have reached them, which made it allowable to set aside both kinds in the sacrament, and to use only one kind, especially because the government had required this, and thus danger could be avoided; that he, moreover, was himself not certain of his cause, and therefore his doctrine could not be depended upon. Upon this he replied: "What

shall I say here—examine my writings and public confessions? and these are numerous. So also our Confession and Apology now in circulation, and many other books of our people. There are as examples, the usages and observances in our churches, by which we superabundantly demonstrate what we believe and consider true. Those whom all this does not satisfy, and who are resolved to babble differently concerning us, or to suffer themselves to be differently persuaded concerning us, are not to imagine that we sit here for the purpose of noticing every one that circulates or gives heed to idle tales." — — "Therefore, dear friends, continue and remain firm, and suffer no one to disturb you, giving heed to no babbling, even if it should proceed from some of our people; but turn to our Confession and Apology, and to the actual observances, as found in our churches; then you will not suffer us to be misrepresented, nor will you believe idle talk, to our discredit."

In opposition to this treatise, Cochleus wrote a very violent defence of Duke George; but Luther receiving the same through the Wittenberg jurist, Benedict Paulus, who had been in Dresden at that time, and procured several sheets in the printing-office, immediately applied himself to refute it, so that his treatise might appear at the same time with that of Cochleus, at the Leipzig Michaelmas fair. But because Cochleus had caused the armorial bearing of Duke George to be impressed upon his defence, he entitled his own: *Short answer to the next book of Duke George.* In this he defends himself chiefly against the charge of being a perjured, apostate monk, and shows that precisely those are perjured, and deny Christ, who compare with the sufferings and blood of Christ, the works not only of true saints, which of itself already was wrong, but also their own uncertain works, and those of their monasticism; but that those who escaped from such connections and such monasticism, were blessed apostates, renegades, and perjurers.[3]

Luther repeatedly, during this time, (1532,) gave cautions against the *fanatics*, especially against the Anabaptists. Thus, for instance, because he heard that the Anabaptists were sneaking about in the region around Eisenach, preaching to the labourers in the harvest fields during their labours, and also to the colliers and lonely people in the woods, thus scattering their seed in all directions, he publicly addressed to the bailiff of the Wartburg, *Eberhard von der Tannen*, a missive *concerning sneaking and clandestine preachers*, in which he par-

ticularly insists, that, even if such sneakers were otherwise immaculate and perfect saints, yet did this single thing, that they sneaked about, without command and calling, irresistibly convict them of being the devil's apostles and teachers, and required us to regard them as such. That it was only with great difficulty and labour that those preached aright, and continued in the true doctrine, who had a certain calling and command either from God himself or from men, by the appointment of God; what then would result from preaching without the command of God, yea, in opposition to the command and prohibition of God, wholly at the urging and instigation of the devil? That this truly could not be anything but substantially the doctrine of the devil, it might be glossed over ever so much. "I have often said it," added he, "and still say it, I would not take the world for my doctorate; for, verily, I would at last wholly have to despair in the great and weighty cause which I have undertaken, if I had, as a sneaker, begun it without a regular calling and command." Wherefore he calls upon both spiritual and temporal authorities to resist the sneakers, which would be best accomplished by demanding of them their commission.

Count von Schlick he exhorted, for the sake of Joachimsthal, because the fanatics and sneakers could easily gain a footing there, in consequence of the various kinds of people, firmly to maintain the pure Word of God, and to keep a close eye upon such devil's seed, since a small spark would cause a great fire, and a little leaven would leaven a whole lump. So he also warned the town-council of *Soest* against John Campanus, who made his stay there, lest he might occasion sects or insurrection. That they should be diligent in ridding themselves of the man, that he was already convicted, and that there was no doubt but that Satan was the guest of their town in him. Finally, he also wrote to the council of the town of *Münster*, that he had indeed with joy learned and thanked God, that he had given them His Word, and the knowledge of His Son; that he, however, was apprehensive, lest, as the old enemy always sneakingly followed the course of the Word, a false spirit might come among them, as had happened to the Corinthians and Galatians, subsequently to the preaching of Paul. That they should, therefore, if they loved their spiritual and temporal peace, beware of false spirits. He had heard, namely, that several sacramentarian fanatics were sneaking about in

Westphalia, endeavouring to gain a footing in those cities, which had but lately received the Gospel. And, therefore, he exhorted the preacher, *Bernard Rothmann*, through whose instrumentality the town of Münster had been converted, that he should not only be on his guard against them himself, but also secure his congregation against them."[4]

Luther was very much troubled about a disunion among the *Nuremberg* preachers. In the beginning of the year, 1532, he had heard it whispered, that a secret dissatisfaction was creeping in among them, and he immediately had written to his friend Wenceslaus Link, and prayed him to help him to wrestle and to watch against this wickedness of the devil, who wished to destroy the kingdom of God. In the following year, however, an open dispute broke out among them, concerning public and private absolution, concerning the observance of which, Luther and Melanchthon submitted their opinion to the council, to the effect, that public or general absolution was not to be censured or rejected, since the preaching of the holy Gospel itself was, in reality and properly, nothing else but an absolution; but that on the other hand, private absolution durst not be suffered to fall, since in this, as in the application, the meaning of the Gospel and of the power of the keys was more clearly embraced. To the preachers, however, he writes: "Grace and peace in Christ! Worthy sirs and beloved brethren in Christ, if I have ever desired and prayed of the Lord, that He would put into my mouth, language which might sound well and be effective with those who hear it, I now, above all things, wish that this my letter may be effective, and be agreeable to your ears and hearts, through the power of the holy Spirit. I cannot express in words how greatly the news concerning this division among you has disturbed me, as you are stationed in this distinguished city as the messengers of peace and salvation." Having then observed what an injurious and prejudicial influence this division would exert, not only upon their own people, but also upon others, and how the Papists, Sacramentarians, and Anabaptists, would exult over it; and having expressed the suspicion, that this dispute had perhaps not originated from this present cause, but that there might, perhaps, have existed several old enmities, like sparks beneath the ashes, which now, by a slight cause, as a light breath, had been kindled into such a conflagration, he proceeds: "For if your hearts and your souls had before been one in the

Lord; and the bond of love been perfect, it would have been impossible for these trifling shocks to have accomplished as much as they, alas, have accomplished. For, how often do the fingers severely injure the eye; the teeth, the tongue; one hand, the other; and yet do the members, which are concerned for one another, reciprocally bear these shocks. You know well enough, yourselves, that what is said and done by one, let it be never so good and praiseworthy, can be most maliciously interpreted by a heart which is embittered and suspicious." . . . "But where now remaineth the queen and governess of these shocks and ebullitions, charity, namely? of which the Holy Ghost says: *charity hideth a multitude of sin;* and again, *mercy boasteth against judgment;* and again, *Forgive, and it shall be forgiven you.* Do we then, who preach love, mercy and forgiveness to others, not wish to suffer any part of love to remain to ourselves? Are we unwilling to bear each other's burthen? Are we resolved to do every thing that judgment may boast itself against mercy? Or are we disposed to remember the word: It is disgraceful for a teacher when his own guilt convicts him. Yea, what is dreadful, we excite the wrath of God against us, preachers of grace, by yielding to our passions, and causing our weak brethren, for whom Christ nevertheless has died, to take severe offence at this dangerous and hateful dispute." . . . "Therefore, I pray you, for Christ's sake, for the sake of all we possess in him, for the sake of our communion in him, diligently and faithfully to exert yourselves, by reciprocally exercising patience, humility and forgiveness, to cure this evil among you. Think of us at least, and cease from causing us new grief, since you cannot deny that your wound is our wound, and that if Satan hinders and vexes you, we also are hindered and vexed." He then advises them, as no injury could grow out of it to the Church, meanwhile to suffer this matter to lie over to a better time, since, with their present frame of mind, it was most pernicious to dispute about it. That they would by all means have to estimate their peace and their love more highly than this business. That they should only conceive Christ to be bodily present among them, and should learn from his countenance what was the chief point here. That he would without fail inform them, if they would only suffer him to stand in the midst of them, steadily regard him and bid their cause and their passions be silent. That if they had thus become calm,

he would say to them nothing else than *peace be with you, fear not!* He would point them to His wounds, and covering over their biles and ulcers, would prove the salvation and joy of them all. "I would write more," says he in conclusion, "but would like personally to converse with you; I trust, by the help of Christ, I would accomplish something. But as you are men to whom He has granted his knowledge, I doubt not you will perceive from this letter that you have the opportunity to understand more than I can write or say to you. But at the same time, because you, also, are human beings, and have not yet arisen from the dead, it should not surprise us if you should have exhibited something of human nature, but only suffer it to be and to remain something of human nature, and not of a satanic nature. To be angry is human, but it is added, sin not; to feel aggrieved is human, but to be unwilling to be reconciled is diabolical: but not to feel aggrieved, or not to grieve any one, is angelic, or what is the same thing, is Christian. As we have not attained to this yet, we properly make a beginning as Christians: namely, when we have not avoided giving offence, or have not borne offence, that we reciprocally and willingly forgive each other, and humbly ask forgiveness, and thus embrace our lives in the prayer: *Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors.* May the Lord Jesus Christ himself, our peace and our mercy, cause you to rejoice! that is, may He enable you to preserve peace and mercy among yourselves, and to consume your strife and division in the furnace of love. Amen.[5]

Authorities.—Let. No. 1356, 69, (cll. 73,) 80, 81, 85, 1403, 15, 18.—Seckend. lib. III. p. 17.—Let No. 1379.—1470, Seckend. p. 30. —Let. No. 1437, 38.—Spalat. in Seckend. lib. III. p. 32, add.—Table-talk, Ed. of Stangw., p. 746.—Seckend. as before.—Works, vol. 12, p. 230, sq.—Let. No. 1422.—MSS. in Seckend. lib. III. p. 38, (cll. Mel. Epp. in Corp. Ref. T. II. No. 1030.)—Let. No. 1437, 1443.—Table-talk, as before, p. 444, (according to Keil, vol. 3, p. 35.)—Let. No. 1458.—1451, 25, 85, 36, 61, 88, 89.—1479, 1502.—Works, vol. 21, p. 1.—Let. No. 1511.—Works, ib. p. 2.—Treatise, Defence, &c., besides missive to the exiled citizens of Leipzig, ib.—Seckend. lib. III. p. 57.—Treatise, Short answer to the next book of Duke George, Works, vol. 21, p. 20.—Treatise, Missive concerning sneakers, &c., vol. 20, p. 357, sq.—Let. No. 1481, 59, 95, 96, 97.—1430, 1512.

Notes.—1.) Most probably at his hereditary castle, Reinharz, situated near Schmiedeberg.

2.) Luther's rigorous judgment with regard to Zwingle's death, which he was unwilling to consider the death of a martyr, see among others in the letter to Duke Albrecht of Prussia, Let. No. 1445.

3.) What vehement contention this matter excited between the Elector and the Duke, and how they finally became reconciled, and caused Luther as well as Cochleus to be forbidden to mingle up the names of the princes in their dispute, can be found in Seckend. lib. III. p. 58 and 59.

4.) How well founded Luther's apprehension was, was demonstrated by the domination which the Anabaptists gained at Münster in the year 1534. Rothmann also, as is known, suffered himself to be seduced.

5.) Comp. Let. No. 1531, 40, 41, 42, from which it is evident what Luther and his colleagues. at Wittenberg, further advised in this matter, and how they exhorted to peace.

CHAPTER III.

HOW LUTHER SINGS, TEACHES TO PRAY, AND PREACHES. 1533–34.

In the year 1533, Luther published the "*Spiritual Songs, newly revised and improved,*" at Wittenberg. "Now some have exercised their skill," says he in the preface, "and increased the number of hymns, so that they have far excelled me, and may well be called my masters in this respect. But others, again, have added little of what is good; and because I perceive that there is no end to daily additions, made without all discrimination, as each one deems best, and that the first of our hymns are moreover continually printed more incorrectly: I am apprehensive that this little book will, in the end, fare as good books have always fared; that it will, namely, be so overloaded with and disfigured by the additions of unskilful hands, that all that is good will be lost in consequence, and nothing but what is useless be retained. Therefore," continues he, "I have revised this little book anew, and arranged the hymns composed among us in their order, at the same time adding the names of the authors, which, for the sake of appearance, I omitted to do before, but am now constrained to do, that the unworthy hymns of others may not be sold under our names, and those which we esteem the best and most useful, fall into neglect. I pray and exhort all who love the pure Word, that they would not in future, without our knowledge and consent, make any alterations in, or additions to, this little book of ours," &c. Thus, the collection contains firstly, twenty-nine hymns by Luther, then follow (two) "other hymns composed among us;" then "several spiritual songs composed by the ancients," of which he says: "These old hymns we

have also embraced in our collection, as a testimony of several pious Christians who lived before us, under the great darkness of the former doctrine, that it may at least be seen how there always were men who possessed a true knowledge of Christ, and who, through the grace of God, were marvellously preserved in that same knowledge." These are succeeded by fifteen new hymns, concerning which he observes: "These are also spiritual songs, composed by others of the present time; but because the number of them is very great, and the majority of them not particularly deserving of estimation, I did not feel inclined to include them all in this little hymn-book, but have selected the best from among them, and appended them here." The whole concludes with seventeen biblical psalms.

Luther also composed very beautiful and appropriate melodies to his hymns, which are admirably adapted to the subject and the words of the text. He also took great delight in choral singing and chants. "I have passed many an agreeable hour with him in singing," said John Walther, the electoral music director, "and have often observed how the dear man became so delighted and joyful in the spirit, in consequence of the singing, that he could hardly leave off from it, and he would speak so nobly of the art of music. For when he, forty years ago, was engaged with introducing the German mass at Wittenberg, he, in a letter to the Elector of Saxony and to Duke John, of noble memory, desired Conrad Rupff, the aged music director of his electoral grace, and me, to come to Wittenberg, on which occasion he conversed with us concerning choral notes and the nature of octaves, and finally, of his own accord, appropriated the choral notes of the octave tone to the Epistle, and of the sixth tone to the Gospel, and spoke thus: "Christ is a friendly Lord, and his discourses are lovely, therefore we will take the sixth tone for the Gospel; and because St. Paul is a stern apostle, we will appropriate the octave tone to the epistle. He also composed the notes for the epistles, the gospels, and the words of the institution of the true body and blood of Christ, sung them to me, and desired my opinion with regard to them. He, on this occasion, detained me at Wittenberg for the space of three weeks, for the purpose of properly writing the choral notes for several gospels and epistles, till the first German mass was sung in the parochial church. Here I had to be present and listen, and to take a

copy of this first German mass with me to Torgau, and at the desire of the doctor himself, to deliver it to his aforesaid electoral grace." Walther having further related how Luther had wished that the charity scholars might sing Latin hymns, antiphonies and responses, before the houses, according to the occasion, and had not been pleased with their singing only German hymns, he observes, that the Holy Ghost himself had manifestly influenced both the authors who had composed the Latin, and also Luther, who now for the most part had composed the German sacred hymns, and set them to music. That, for instance, it was perceivable from the German *Sanctus*, (Jesaia dem Propheten das geschah, &c.,) how masterly and admirably he had adapted all the notes to the text, according to the proper accent and concent, so that he, Walther himself, had been tempted to ask Luther, whence or where he had obtained instruction concerning it? Upon this Luther had laughed, and said: "The poet Virgil has taught me this, for he, in all his poetry, admirably understands how to adapt the words to the subject which he describes. So in music also, all its notes and the melody should be adapted to the text."

Luther often praised the art of music to his friends. On one occasion, when the Passion was sung, he listened attentively and said: "Music is a delightful and lovely gift of God: it has often excited and moved me so that it quickened me to preach." Again: "Music is one of the most delightful and noble gifts of God: Satan is a great enemy to it; it is a good antidote against temptation and evil thoughts; the devil does not stay long where it is practised." "Music is one of the noblest arts; its notes give life to the text, it chases away the spirit of sadness, as is seen in the case of King Saul. Some of our nobility and miserly spirits boast of saving three thousand florins a year for my gracious lord, on the score of music. But meanwhile, they instead expend thirty thousand florins for useless purposes. Kings, princes, and lords must give encouragement to music; for it behooves great potentates and rulers to encourage good liberal arts and laws; individual common and private men, though they take pleasure and delight in it, cannot effectually maintain it." "Music is the best cordial to a person in sadness; it soothes, quickens, and refreshes the heart. As one of Virgil's personages says: *Tu calamos inflare leves, ego dicere versus.* 'Do thou play the notes, I will sing the words.'" "Music is a semi-disciplinarian and

schoolmaster, it makes men more gentle and tender-hearted, more modest and discreet." "Your wretched fiddlers and gut-scrapers serve the purpose of showing us what a fine noble art music is; for white is better perceived when it is contrasted with black." In the year 1538, on the 17th December, when Dr. Martin Luther had invited the singers to dine with him, and these sung delightful and lovely psalms and other pieces, he said with astonishment: "Because our Lord God has so richly granted us such noble gifts in this life, which, nevertheless, is a mere sink of corruption, what will he not grant us in the life to come, where everything will be most perfect and delightful? for here is only *materia prima*, the beginning." "I have always loved music; he that is skilled in this art is possessed of good qualities, and can be employed in anything. Music must of necessity be retained in the schools. A schoolmaster must be able to sing, otherwise I will hear nothing of him. Nor should young men be ordained to the ministry, unless they have first well tried and exercised themselves in the school. When several admirable and delightful psalms of Senffel were sung, Luther marvelled, extolled them highly, and said: "Such a psalm I could not compose, even if I should, perplex myself to death. Nor could the Psalmist preach a psalm as I can. Therefore the gifts of the Holy Ghost are various, just as there are various members in the body. But no one is satisfied with his gifts, no one is content with that which God has given him, all wish to be the whole body, not the members." "Music is a delightful, noble gift of God, and nearly related to theology. I would not give what little skill in music I possess for something great. The youth are continually to be exercised in this art, it makes good and skilful people of them." "Singing is the best art and exercise, it has nothing to do with the world, with lawsuits, or quarrels. Singers do not vex themselves with cares, but are joyful, and banish and chase away their cares with singing." "With those that despise music, as all fanatics are wont to do, I am not pleased; for music is a gift bestowed by God, and not by men. So it also banishes Satan, and renders men joyful; it causes men to forget all wrath, unchastity, pride, and other vices. Next to theology, I esteem and honour music. And we see how David and all the saints clothed their pious thoughts in verses, rhymes, and songs, because, in times of peace, music rules." On one occasion he proposed the ques-

tion: "How does it come to pass that we have so many fine poems, and so many a fine song on worldly subjects, whilst those on spiritual subjects are so dead and cold?" and replied: "I conceive the reason is given in the words of St. Paul: 'I see another law which wars in my members.' It will not flow so well here, there is not the same congeniality as there."

Luther also, in the preface to the Harmonies of the Sufferings of Christ,[1] wrote a particular eulogy in honour of music, saying, among other things, that it had from the beginning of the world been implanted in every creature. That even the air, in itself invisible, and not to be grasped by any of the senses, least of all, however, musical, but wholly mute, was nevertheless a loud motion, which could be heard, and then also felt, under which the Holy Ghost represented marvellous mysteries. That the musical powers of animals were more marvellous, especially those of birds, but that they were nothing compared with the human voice. That philosophers had sadly tormented themselves to ascertain all the wonderful relations of the human voice, but had never succeeded. Concerning the use of so important an art, he would simply say, that, next to God's Word, music must justly be extolled as the only thing capable of governing and controlling the passions of man. That the Holy Ghost himself honoured it as an instrument of his own peculiar office, testifying in the Holy Scriptures, that his gifts descended to the prophets through it, as we read concerning the prophet Elijah; and that Satan is banished through it, as is shown in the case of Saul. That the fathers and prophets had therefore not without cause endeavoured so intimately to combine music with God's Word. That hence originated so many hymns and psalms, in which both the language and the voice exercised their influence upon the mind of the hearer—speech, which is connected with the voice, having been communicated to man alone, that he might know how to praise God with words and with music. Having then further spoken of the natural variety of the human voice and speech, he adds: "But when the natural voice is further improved, cultivated and expanded by diligent exercise, then do we with astonishment perceive, though not comprehend, the boundless and perfect wisdom of God in the wonderful creation of music, in which this is something extraordinary, that one particular voice sings and always continues in its own part, whilst many other voices, meanwhile,

in a wonderful manner, join in with their praise, leap and skip over it, adorning it by the most lovely movements, and, as it were, engage in a heavenly dance around it, so that those even who are only slightly moved by it, imagine for the time that there is nothing more exalted. But those that are not moved by it, are veritable blockheads and dolts, deserving to remain in their stupidity, or to listen to a concert of pigs. Finally, he exhorts the young to accustom themselves to acknowledge the Creator in this exalted creation, and to praise him, as also diligently to beware of those perverse spirits, who, like corrupt poets, abuse this noble gift, both as to nature and art, for the purposes of their insane lusts. That they were certainly led by the devil to act in opposition to nature, which aimed solely to praise God, its author, through this gift. That those bastards who converted the gift of God into robbery, by this honoured the enemy of God, and the adversary of nature, and of this most lovely art.

To the Bavarian court musician, *Ludwig Senffel*, whom Luther, whilst at Koburg, prayed for a composition adapted to the words of the fourth Psalm: In pace in id ipsum dormiam et requiescam (I will both lay myself down and rest in peace); he wrote concerning music: "Although my name is hated, and I have to fear that you, my dearest Ludwig, cannot quite safely accept and read the letter which I transmit to you, yet has my love for music, with which my God has adorned and gifted you, overcome my apprehension in this respect; and this love also causes me to hope, that my letter will not involve you in any danger, for who would, even in Turkey, censure a man for loving art, and extolling the artist? I at least praise and respect your dukes of Bavaria above the rest, although they are least of all favourably disposed towards me, because they so greatly encourage and honour music. For there is no doubt, that in those men who take delight in music, there exists the germ for much good, but those that do not take delight in it, I consider similar to stocks and stones. For we know that music also is hateful and intolerable to devils. I am fully of the opinion, and am not ashamed to maintain that, next to theology, music takes the highest rank in the sciences, because it alone, after theology, does that which otherwise theology alone does,—it soothes the mind, and renders it joyful and courageous, which is an undoubted evidence that the devil, the author of sad cares and unquiet emotions,

flees at the voice of music almost as much as at the voice of theology. For this reason the prophets cultivated no art as much as that of music, and clothed their theology not in geometry, or arithmetic, or astronomy, but in music; for this reason they so intimately combined theology with music, and taught the truth in psalms and hymns. But why do I now extol music, and venture to portray, or much rather to caricature so great a matter upon so narrow a compass? But my heart is full and flows over of this art, which so often has quickened me, and delivered me from great distresses."

Therefore he also wrote to one labouring under a spirit of sadness: "When you are sad, and your sadness increases, say: Come! I must play a tune to our Lord Christ upon the organ, (let it be *Te Deum laudamus*, or *Benedictus*, or something else); for the Scriptures teach me, that He delights to hear joyful singing and music on stringed instruments. And thus fall into the keys, and sing on till your thoughts vanish, as David and Eliseus did. If the devil returns and infuses cares and sad thoughts into your heart, then defend yourself resolutely, and say: Begone, devil, I must sing now and make music to my Lord Christ. Thus you must earnestly learn to resist him, and not leave him room again to introduce his thoughts into your heart; for if you give ear to one thought, he'll speedily force in ten others, till he overcomes you. Therefore the best thing is instantly to banish the first one; and, as the good man did, who, when his wife began to gnaw and to bite, took his fife from beneath his belt and played so resolutely, that she finally became weary, and left him undisturbed; so do you also fall into the keys, or, taking good companions, sing instead, till you learn to despise him."

So, also, when Luther was once taking a pleasure ride in a small vehicle through a forest and through the fields to recreate himself, he sung, and was joyful in honour of God, and said: "Our singing vexes the devil, and grieves him exceedingly; our impatience, complaints and lamentations, on the contrary, please him and afford him secret joy."

Luther often extolled the efficacy of prayer, and exhorted thereto. "Verily," said he, "no one believes how efficacious and quickening prayer is, and how much it can accomplish, but he whom experience has taught it, and who has tried it. But it is a blessed thing when a person is in great distress and

affliction, if he can then take refuge in prayer. This I know, that as often as I prayed in all true earnestness, I have been abundantly heard; God indeed at times delayed, but he nevertheless came at last." "Oh! how blessed is the upright prayer of pious Christians, how very efficacious is it with God, that wretched man should thus address the lofty Majesty of Heaven, and not be terror-struck, but know that God smiles upon him for the sake of Jesus Christ, his beloved Son, our Lord and Redeemer! Here the heart or conscience must not flee in despair, or be in doubt because of its unworthiness, and thus suffer itself to be deterred."

Melanchthon relates of Luther: "I myself often found him amidst fervent tears praying for the whole church, for he appropriated a particular time every day to the rehearsal of several psalms, with which he mingled his prayer to God amidst sighs and tears. And in his daily conversation, he often expressed his displeasure at those who, from indolence, or because of their business, pretend that it is sufficient simply to call upon God in a few brief sighs. For, said he, forms and directions for prayer have been given us for this very purpose, that when we read or repeat them, our hearts might be excited and kindled by them, and that we might also with our mouths confess that God upon whom we call." He, therefore, (in the year 1534,) gave a good friend, the barber, master Peter, the following direction "*how to pray.*"

"Dear master Peter,—I give you the best directions I can, and which I myself observe with regard to prayer. May our Lord God enable you and all others to adopt a better course. Amen. Firstly, when I perceive that foreign employments or thoughts have rendered me cold and indisposed to prayer (for the flesh and the devil never fail to hinder prayer), I take my psalter, run into my closet, or, if day and time are suited, into the church to the multitude, and begin, wholly after the manner of children, verbally to repeat to myself the ten commandments, the creed, and, according as I have time, several declarations of Christ, Paul, or from the Psalms. Therefore it is a good plan to let prayer be the first thing in the morning, and the last thing at night, diligently guarding against these false deceptive thoughts, which say: Delay a little, in an hour or so I will pray—I must first attend to this or that; for amidst such thoughts we forget prayer, and engage in business, which then occupies and absorbs our attention, that prayer is neg-

lected for that day. And although some works may occur which are as good as prayer, or better than it, especially if necessity requires them, according to a declaration which passes under St. Jerome's name: 'All works of believers are prayer, and the proverb—He that labours faithfully prays twofold, which is to be understood as meaning, that a believer fears and honours God, and remembers his commandments in his labour, in order that he may not wrong any one, that he may not steal, or overreach, or embezzle, and such thoughts and faith undoubtedly render his work a prayer and thank-offering in addition. On the other hand, it is also true that an unbeliever's labours are nothing but cursing, and he that labours unfaithfully curses doubly, for at his labour, he, in his heart, despises God, designing to transgress his commandments, to wrong his neighbour, to steal, and to embezzle. What are such thoughts else but curses against God and man, which also cause his works and labours to be a twofold curse, with which he curses himself? And they in the end also remain beggars and bunglers. In reference to this constant prayer, Christ truly says, Luke xi., that we are to pray without ceasing; for we are without ceasing to beware of injustice and wickedness, which cannot be done where God is not feared, and his commandments remembered, as the Psalmist says in the first Psalm: *Blessed is he who meditateth in the law of the Lord day and night*, &c. Yet are we to be on our guard, that we be not drawn from the right prayer, and do not ourselves, at last, invent works as necessary which are not necessary, and thus become negligent, indolent, cold, and indisposed to prayer. For Satan is not indolent or negligent about us, and our flesh also is too much alive and prone to sin, and opposed to the spirit of prayer.

"When now, through such verbal repetition, the heart has been kindled and has come to itself, then kneel down, or stand with folded hands and eyes lifted to heaven, and speak or think as briefly as you can: Oh! God, my heavenly Father, I am a wretched and unworthy sinner, not deserving that I should raise my hands or eyes up to Thee, or to pray to Thee. But because thou hast commanded us all to pray, and in addition also promised to hear us, and hast, besides thyself, through thy dear Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, taught us both words and forms, I come to render obedience to thy command, and, relying upon thy gracious promise, with all thy holy

Christians upon earth, pray in the name of my Lord Jesus Christ, as he has taught me : *Our Father*," &c.

He then gives it as his advice, that one point, or as many as may be desired, should be repeated ; and, after he has shown how the several petitions can be converted into separate prayers, he continues : " Finally, be certain that you always let the *Amen* be distinct, and do not doubt but that God in all mercy hears you, and says yes to your prayer ; and remember by all means that you do not kneel or stand there alone, but that all Christendom or all pious Christians are with you and you with them in unanimous prayer, which God cannot despise ; and do not close your prayer without saying or thinking : this I know to be certain and true, that is, Amen."

" Observe also, that I do not wish all these words to be spoken in prayer, for that would end in nothing but idle and vain babbling, a mere reading from the book according to the letter, but I wish to have the heart aroused and instructed in this way, as to what thoughts are to be suggested to it through the Lord's prayer, but such thoughts, the heart can undoubtedly also utter in other, whether in more or less words ; for I do not bind myself to such words and syllables, but to-day speak the words so, to-morrow thus, according as I feel and am disposed."

Then he warns against distraction of thought during prayer, and says : " Just as a good and careful barber must scrupulously direct his thoughts, mind and eyes to his razor, and to the beard, and remember where he is now drawing and shaving ; otherwise, if he should at the same time tattle a great deal, or think of something else, or give a jerk, he might cut off a man's mouth, nose, or his throat. Thus everything, if it is to be accomplished well, must engage the whole man with all his senses and members, as we say : ' He that thinks of every thing, thinks of nothing rightly ;' how much more does prayer demand the heart wholly, entirely and alone, if it is to be a good prayer !"—" But, if I have time, before the Lord's prayer, I proceed in the same manner with the ten commandments, and (as far as possible) in order to unburthen myself wholly, draw one point after the other into the prayer, and make a fourfold wreath of each commandment. Thus, I take up every commandment ; 1, as an instruction, as it also is in itself, and think of what our Lord God so earnestly requires of me in it ; 2, I convert it into thanksgiving ; 3, into confession ; 4, into prayer,

namely, thus, or with similar thoughts and words." Then he shows how the ten commandments can be employed in a fourfold manner, as a book of instruction, a book of thanks, a book of confession, and a book of prayer; he warns against taking up everything, or too much, lest the spirit might become weary, as a good prayer was not to be long; and continues: "He, now, that has sufficient time and is so disposed, may proceed in the same way with the creed, and also make a fourfold wreath of it," for which he likewise gives direction.

In the year 1534, on Whitsuntide Monday, Luther, in presence of several citizens, who had been exiled from Leipzig, because they had refused to receive the sacrament under one kind, delivered the following *sermon*, in his house, concerning the Gospel John iii.[3]

"This gospel is one of the most noble sermons that can be found in the whole of the New Testament, so that it should justly, if it were possible, be written in the heart in letters of gold, and every Christian should be able at least to repeat this consoling text from memory, and should do this once every day, that the words might become familiar, and be the better understood. For they are words which can make a sad heart joyful, and restore the dead to life, if we could only firmly believe them. But although it is impossible fully to express such noble sermon in words, we will nevertheless speak it verbally, and earnestly pray God to glorify these words in our hearts, through His holy Spirit, and to make them so bright and glowing, that we may experience consolation and joy from them. Amen. The sum of this noble, consolatory and blessed sermon is this: *That God loved the world, and so greatly, that He gave His only Son*, in order that we might not die eternally, but have eternal life. As if Christ our dear Lord would say: 'Behold, O man, I make known unto thee an unheard-of and marvellous account, concerning a giver, a recipient, a gift, and the fruit and use of such gift, all so exalted, that it is not only unutterable, but also impossible to attain to it in thought.'

"For if, in *the first place*, you should contemplate the Giver, He is the greatest giver that can be. For He that gives here is not an emperor, king, or prince, who is greatly esteemed in the world, but God himself, who is incomprehensible and Almighty,

who has created all things through His Word, possesses all things, and sustains all things. And what need is there of many words? It cannot be fully expressed. God is above all things, and compared to Him, all creatures, heaven and earth, and all things in them, are as grains of sand, and as the prophet Isaiah saith in the 40th chapter: *as a drop of a bucket, and as small dust of the balance.* He is the Giver, and he may well be called a great Giver, so that we should justly, when we hear that God gives, look upon all emperors and kings with their gifts and persons as utterly nothing, and our hearts should on account of such Giver greatly exult, and consider every thing that can be imagined, as nothing in comparison. For what can we name or imagine greater or more noble than God the Almighty himself is?

"In the *second place*, if you regard the way in which God gives, you find that God, the greatest and highest Giver, gives in a way which surpasses all bounds. For what He gives, He gives not as a merited reward, from obligation, but as the words declare, *from love.* He is such a Giver, therefore, who gives from his heart, from boundless and divine love, as he says, God hath loved the world. Now among all the virtues there is not one greater, either with God or with men, than love, as we daily behold. For that which one loves, he willingly hazards body and life, and all that he possesses. Patience, chastity, temperance, &c., are indeed also noble virtues, but by no means equal to love, which is above all, and includes and brings with itself all the other virtues. So also a man, that is pious and just, wrongs and injures no one, much less takes what belongs to another, yea, gives to others what belongs to himself, giving reward and compensation for merit, or from beneficence. But to him whom thou lovest, thou yieldest thyself up without reserve, and he findeth thee willing, disposed and prepared to counsel and to aid him wherever it is necessary. So Christ also says here, that our Lord God gives us not from patience or justice, or because of merit, but from the highest virtue, which is love. Truly, here our hearts should expand, and all sadness should vanish, when we contemplate such boundless love of God, and believe with our hearts that God is the highest and greatest Giver, and gives so that his gift flows from the highest virtue. Such gift flowing from true love also renders the gift more precious and valuable, as we are accustomed to say, this I esteem, it comes to me from a dear hand, when we know

that the heart accompanies it. If, on the other hand, we doubt of the heart, we do not highly esteem the gift. For we do not regard the gift as much as the heart, which renders the gift important. Therefore, if God had given us only one eye, or one foot, or one hand, and we knew to a certainty that he had done this from divine paternal love, then should such one eye, foot, or hand, be dearer to us than a thousand eyes, feet, or hands, under other circumstances. Because of this love, we are most highly to esteem and to value all his gifts; but especially what he has instituted for our salvation and the strengthening of our faith, as holy baptism, the highly revered sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, &c. Such things are daily to be to us like heaven. For although they do not glitter before the world, yet do we perceive in them God's unbounded love which he bears to us. These now are two things which are great,—the Giver is great, so the heart also is great from which the gift flows.

"So, in the *third place*, the gift, or the present, also, is unspeakably great. What does the great Giver give out of his unbounded heavenly heart? His only Son. Verily, this is not giving a groat, or a florin, a cow, or a horse, an eye, foot, or hand—no, not a kingdom, not even the firmament, with its suns and stars, not the whole creation, but he gives his only begotten Son, who is as exalted as he himself is. Such gift, truly, should kindle and light up our hearts, and cause us unceasingly to dance and leap for joy. For just as the Giver, God himself, and the motive, that is, his earnest love, are boundless and incomprehensible, so also is the gift, which is his only Son. For, as he gives the Son, what does he retain? In giving the Son, he gives himself with all that he has, as St. Paul says, Rom. viii.: "He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not with him also freely give us all things?" With the Son everything must be given, whether it be devil, sin, death, hell, heaven, righteousness, or life. All things must be ours, because the Son is given to us as a gift, and is ours, and in him are all things." Coloss. ii.

"Therefore, if we rightly believe, and receive and accept this noble gift through faith, then must every creature, whether it be good or bad, life and death, heaven and hell, work for our good, as St. Paul says, 1 Cor. iii.: "All things are yours, whether it be Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, or the world,

or life, or death, or things present, or things to come; all are yours; and ye are Christ's; and Christ is God's." For if we rightly regard and contemplate such gift, we must acknowledge that it is a gift surpassing everything in heaven and on earth. What is gold, silver, the splendour and the pageantry of the world, compared with this treasure? Not as much as a grain of mustard seed compared with a mountain of gold. But here pernicious unbelief (as Christ himself complains afterward) appears, and the gross and shocking darkness, that we hear of such noble gift and treasure without after all believing; and thus such noble and consoling word rushes past our ears, and the heart is left untouched by it. Where there is a cheap purchase to be made of a house, or a castle, we eagerly endeavour to secure it, as if our very life were dependent upon temporal property. But here, where the glorious news is proclaimed, that God, purely out of love, gave his Son for the world, we are so sluggish and indolent, that it is a sin and a reproach. Who now causes us thus to make light of such gift and present—who prevents us from giving heed to such words, and from continually remembering them —from praising God for them, and permitting them to be our greatest joy and comfort? It is no other than the veritable Satan, who has possessed our hearts, and who causes us to be thus indifferent and cold, that we permit such noble sermon to pass by unheeded, and meanwhile give up our souls to temporal cares. Therefore I said at the outset, that we ought to arise and retire with these words every day, that we might at least in some measure impress them upon our hearts, and also at times praise God for such unspeakable blessings. These are three things,—the Giver, love, and the gift, Jesus Christ, with which all things are given.

"In the *fourth place*, we must also note the little word: give. The highest giver gives from the highest virtue—a boundless love, the highest gift—his only Son. He reckons the gift not as a reward for merit, but gives that it may remain a gift, which is neither to be borrowed, nor loaned, nor paid for, it being a gift for which nothing is given, and with regard to which we have nothing further to do than to reach forth the hand and willingly and gladly to receive such treasure. He wishes not only to point you to the treasure, and to permit you to touch it, but the treasure is to be your own, freely given. Truly it is sad and lamentable that there are not

hands and hearts prepared to receive such gift offered to us, and to remain wholly ours for ever. But now consider here how those are called of whom we say: that they will not accept of anything against their wishes? If a wealthy and beneficent prince should out of mercy present a poor destitute and starving beggar with a castle, and ten thousand florins yearly income, thus constituting him a lord, and say to him, all this I give thee freely, and the beggar should turn his back upon him, and say: I do not desire it, would not the whole world cry out against the beggar, and say: that there never had been a man more insane and foolish; that he ought not to be called a man, but a brute? Thus the world would judge. But now there is offered here to the world, not a castle or principality, not a kingdom or empire, but the Son of God himself, and God commands and says: reach forth thy hand and take, thus desiring us to be the recipients. But those that will not have the gift, and who turn their back upon God, are we ourselves. Therefore do thou calculate now how great and shocking a sin unbelief is, for it is not human to resist and to refuse to have a gift. Therefore it is manifest from this, that the whole world is insane and foolish, and possessed of the devil, because it does not rejoice at such gifts, and refuses to reach forth and to take what is offered. If it were a florin or a new coat, men would eagerly reach forth both hands and rejoice. But because it is the Son of God himself, every one deports himself as if he did not need him. This is the fourth point. It is simply to be called a gift; we are not to serve for it, nor to pay for the gift.

"In the *fifth place*, the recipient also is mentioned by name here, and is called the *world*. Truly, this is not only an ungrateful, but also an abominable, perverse recipient, especially if you contrast the world with the gift. For with what has the world deserved such love and gift of God, whilst it is the devil's bride, the enemy of God, and the greatest blasphemer of God. For next to the devil, the world is the greatest enemy of God; for out of Christ, we are all children of the devil. Yet we are assured here, that God so loved the world, that he gave his only Son. This point write in thy heart, and because thou hast heard what God is, and what the gift is which he bestows from love, therefore hear also and learn what the world is, namely, a great crowd of men who do not believe God, who charge God with falsehood in his Word, yea, who

blaspheme, profane, and persecute the name and Word of God. They are men who are disobedient to father and mother, who are murderers, adulterers, traitors, thieves, and knaves, and the like, as we then daily see and experience, that nothing but unfaithfulness, blasphemy, and detestable vices prevail in the world. To this dear bride, this golden daughter, that is, to this great enemy and blasphemer of God, God gives his Son wholly from love. And this contributes to the greatness of the gift, that our Lord God does not suffer himself to be influenced by our being such wicked knaves, but by one stroke obliterates all the vices and sins by which the world dishonours his name and Word, living in all manner of disobedience towards God. For because the Giver is so great, and the gift so noble, he might justly, because of such iniquity, withhold his favour, the sins of the world being innumerable. But God refrains, and, overlooking all the sin against the first and second table, does not wish to know it, yea, precisely because of such sin, distress, and misery in which we wretched sinners are involved, and on account of which, if it were not for the help of God, we would forever perish, he evinces such love and favour to us. Should we not now also in return from our hearts love this gracious God, and expect of him every blessing, who forgives sin, pardoning all the innumerable transgressions of a wicked and ungrateful world? For since the individual sins of one man are innumerable, who can enumerate the sins of the whole world? It is, nevertheless, written here, that God is willing to forgive and to pardon the world, notwithstanding all. For here there necessarily must be forgiveness of sin, because God loves the world which blasphemes him. Here we ought to open our hearts, and to meditate further upon this love, which leads God to give so much to the world, his natural enemy, that he gives himself to it. That we, truly, are not to look for anything else here than mere favour and goodness, let us fare in this temporal life as we may, well or badly, so that we are nevertheless to cleave to this love, and to expect of God every blessing, for Christ's sake. Such thoughts ought to render the heart joyous and happy, that God thus offers his beloved Son to such wicked knaves. For I myself must acknowledge that I celebrated mass for the space of fifteen years in the papacy, crucifying Christ, and practising all manner of abominations and idolatry, during my monastic life. Such idolatrous life

God has not punished as it deserved, but has revealed to me his dear Son and himself, thus loving me so greatly as to forget all my wickedness. Thus the world has defiled itself with various sins, yet has God permitted his love to shine, and through the Gospel, revealed the Son, whom he before gave to the world, so that we again hear this noble sermon, and learn that God is not angry with the world, but loves it, because he has given it his Son. But, O Lord God, how ungrateful are we that we do not at all experience joy on this account! Truly, we ought to rejoice, and not only willingly serve him, but also willingly suffer everything for his sake; yea, to rejoice aloud if we should be required to die for his sake, who has given us such a treasure. Should I not willingly suffer myself to be burnt in the fire, if I believe this? But our accursed unbelief, which prevents us from being thus joyful, and, in the devil's name, looks about in the world for other joy, which is all vanity and loss. Here we have five points now, which are all great,—the Giver, the motive, the gift, the giving, and the recipient, or the person to whom the gift is offered.

"Now follows the sixth point, *causa finalis*, the design of God with this gift. The object of his giving it is not that we should eat or drink of it, clothe or nourish ourselves with it, much less that it should prove injurious or destructive to us, (as he also gives his Word, baptism, and the sacrament, not for our injury, but for our salvation and benefit,) but it is given for the purpose *that those who believe in him might not perish, but have eternal life.* The object, you perceive here, is not that we should obtain great wealth, possessions, honour, power, or the whole world, and be lords over it for a short time here, (for even if we possessed all these things, we would still none the less be under Satan's power,) but that we are to be free from sin, death and hell, and be eternally saved. This it is what this gift, that is, the Son of God, given us from pure love, is to effect and to accomplish, so that the head of Satan may be crushed, hell extinguished, and we be delivered from eternal distress. This exalted gift will cause hell to be blocked up, and afford us a bold joyous heart instead of one that is weak; and not only this, but it will also enable us to have life, and that eternal life. Verily, this is an unspeakably rich and noble gift. Let us, therefore, ascribe praise and honour to the great and merciful Giver for ever. Amen. He

that can rejoice now, truly has cause enough for it here, since we here hear from the mouth of Christ, the Lord himself, that He has been given us for the purpose of locking up hell, and unlocking heaven for us; that we might abidingly have eternal life, and never see death, but experience the purest joy, because of the firm assurance that we have a gracious God in heaven, who loves us, and from pure love gives his Son, that we might not be lost, but have eternal life. These are the words which we cannot sufficiently learn or comprehend in this life; therefore a Christian is daily to pray that God would, through his Holy Spirit, impress these words upon his heart, and kindle them up in it; thus we might become true theologians, who would be able rightly to speak of Christ, to judge of all other doctrine, and willingly to suffer on account of such faith what God might dispense. But as this is not the case, and we simply hear such sermon with the ear, without receiving it into the heart, that thus it might remain fixed, and bring forth fruit, we continue to be to-day what we were yesterday, so that it is truly sad and shameful that with seeing eyes we are so stone blind, and with hearing ears deaf. And the damned will undoubtedly at the last day bitterly lament that they have permitted such consoling words to be proclaimed thus in vain, and to the wind, without their receiving them.

"In the *seventh place*, which is the way in which such gift is to be received? Which is the vase into which this precious and noble treasure is to be placed? for this is a very important consideration. Christ indicates this by saying, that *those who believe in him* might not perish, but have everlasting life. This is a clear and distinct testimony, that faith alone, that is, confidence in the goodness and mercy of God in Christ, is the true vase which we are to hold forth, and into which we are to receive such gift. For just as God gives through love, so we receive through faith. Here no work or merit will avail, no running into a cloister, or doing this or that. Our works do nothing at all towards our receiving such great treasure. This alone avails, that we through faith reach forth our hand, hold still, and receive. Thus God gives this treasure through love, and we take and receive it through faith, that is, if we believe what we hear, that God, namely, is gracious and merciful, and manifests such mercy and love to us, by permitting his only-begotten Son to assume human nature, and casting

upon him all our sins, as John the Baptist says in accordance with the prophet Isaiah: *This is the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world.* He that believes this is assuredly saved; for the gift is so great that it swallows up death, sin, and all misfortune, just as a great furnace does a drop of water: thus are the sins of the whole world to be estimated in opposition to this treasure. As soon as they come in contact with Christ, and this treasure is received through faith, they are swallowed up and devoured as a straw is consumed by a great fire, or a grain of sand is swallowed up by the ocean. This is the meaning of the text: *God so loved the world*, &c. They are words of gold and life. God grant that we may firmly embrace them with our hearts; for he that lays hold on them, will not be terrified either by the devil, sin, or death, but will rejoice and confidently say: I am not dismayed, for I have the Son of God, whom God in love has given me; and this is true, for here is the Word of God, the holy Gospel, which testifies of it. But thy Word, O Lord, and thy Son, Jesus, will not deceive me,—in him I trust and confide. But if I am not strong enough in the faith, do thou grant me grace to believe more firmly, for nothing else can I do towards such lofty gift and love. Thus every one is to learn daily more and more to console himself with such gift, for faith is necessary, as thou hearest of Christ himself. But the more firm faith is, the more joy, delight, and assurance will be experienced in the heart, so that we afterwards willingly do and endure everything, of which we know that God demands and wills it. All, however, because God is gracious and wholly disposed to exercise love towards us. Yes, say you, if I were as pious and holy as Peter, Paul, the holy Virgin Mary, &c., I would willingly believe and also console myself with this gift; they are holy, and for them, no doubt, this gift is meant. But how shall I, wretched sinner, be assured that this gift is designed for me, who have so variously sinned and offended against God. Such thoughts do not fail to arise, when the heart, under such a sermon, views itself in its true light, and remembers its misdeeds. Here we are to beware of departing from the Word of God, or of pursuing such a train of thought too far, but we are instantly again to return to the Word, and to judge according to it; for such thoughts are nothing but sheer unbelief, which attempts to draw us from this gift and consoling sermon. Now we can resist un-

belief with nothing else but with the Word of God, which our dear Lord Christ himself preaches, so that we have no cause to doubt such preaching and Word, for he says, that his Father in heaven, the eternal God, so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son. Now, verily, thou, with all men, must acknowledge that the term world does not mean Mary, Peter, Paul, &c., but the whole human race together, one and all. Dost thou now believe that thou art a human being? or if thou art not able to believe and to know this, then put thy hand into thy bosom, or to thy face, and satisfy thyself that thou art a human being, as well as other men. Why dost thou wish to exclude thyself from this little word (world)? Since Christ clearly and distinctly says, that God gave his Son, not alone for the Virgin Mary, for St. Peter and St. Paul, but for the world, so that all that are called children of men are to understand themselves as being meant. Now if I were not meant, it would follow that these words of Christ are not true, where he says that he is given to the world. Therefore thou art to draw the very opposite conclusion from these words, and art not to doubt but that the gift is just as well designed, and intended for thee as for St. Peter and St. Paul, because thou art a human being just as well as they, and a part of the world. For God did not give his Son for the devil, nor for dogs and geese, but for us men. Therefore we are not to charge God with falsehood in his Word, and say, who knows whether I also am one of those for whom this Son is given, and to whom eternal life is promised through him; for this is charging our Lord God with falsehood. Therefore if such thoughts occur to thee, make the sign of the cross, as if the devil himself were there, and do not suffer such thoughts to deceive thee, but say: What does it concern me that I am not Peter or Paul? If God had wished to give this treasure only to them, or others like them, who were deserving of it, he would have given it to the angels, who are pure and undefiled spirits, or to the sun and the moon, which abide in the course appointed them of God; but here it is said, that he gave him to the world,—for her this treasure is designed, as we have shown above. Therefore, though I am neither Peter nor Paul, I will nevertheless not be excluded from this treasure, yea, will have just as much of it as David, or any of the apostles. And, indeed, who was David? Did he not also sin grossly and grievously? Who were the apostles? Were they not all sinners

and unworthy men ?. Therefore no one is to follow this course of reasoning: I am a sinner, am not holy, nor as pious as St. Peter, therefore I cannot consider this gift as being meant for me, neither can I console myself with it. By no means, but speak thus: Let me be what I may, I, nevertheless, dare not charge my God with falsehood; for, truly, I belong to the world. Therefore if I did not believe that this gift was meant for me, I would, in addition to all my other sins, be guilty also of charging God with falsehood. Yes, say you, if God would promise it to me individually, I would believe it, and then could also be assured that it was meant for me. No, my friend; he says in general, that this Son and eternal life are promised and given to the whole world, that no one might be excluded. For, because he includes all men, neither I, nor thou, nor any one, can doubt of being meant. But he that excludes himself will have to answer for it; I shall not judge them, says he, but their own mouth shall judge them, because this gift was promised and given to the whole world. They, nevertheless, in their own unbelief of God's Word, refuse to receive it, although, rightly considered, our Lord Christ instituted the sacraments of baptism and of His body and blood, with the very purpose that each one might individually appropriate to himself this gift, and deem it his own, and use it as his own.

"This we wished in the simplest way to say concerning these words. They convey most noble instruction, which can never be apprehended too well, for it is the main doctrine upon which we are to die and to be saved, in which Christ is represented to us in the purest and loveliest way, as being our own, given to us by the Father from pure love, which love he, as a gracious God, bears towards a wicked, ungrateful world. Let every one learn, therefore, what a treasure and comfort we Christians have, what the world and God are, and how we attain to such blessing only through faith; for the instruction concerning good works which are to flow from such faith through the Holy Ghost, belongs elsewhere. Here we treat only of that which we receive from God, and of the manner in which we are to receive it. Let us pray God to enable us thus to believe it, and to suffer everything for the sake of it, even death, and so obtain eternal life. May a gracious God enable us all to attain unto this, through our Lord Jesus Christ! Amen."

AUTHORITIES.—Preface to the hymn-book of 1533, in Wackernagel, das deutsche Kirchenlied, p. 792. Description of it, p. 741. Paul Eber, in the preface to Nich. Hermann's Sonntagsevangel. Wittenb. 1560. David Chytraeus, in the preface to the Canticis sacris in usum juventutis, etc. Hamb. 1588. Walther's account in Prætorii Syntagma Musicum, vol. I., p. 447, sq. (These citations, according to Rambach, Luther's Verdienst, &c., p. 211, sq.) Tischreden, ed. of Stangwald, p. 476, sq. Works, vol. 22, app. 141, sq. Let. No. 1317, 1603. Tischr. Works, Hall. ed., vol. 22, p. 1150. Stangw. p. 316. Treatise: How to Pray, &c. Works, vol. 22, p. 377. Sermon on Whitsuntide Monday, 1534, vol. 15, p. 310.

NOTES.—1.) Originally written in Latin,—here according to the translation in the works.

2.) Senffel complied with this request of Luther's. Comp. Mathes. Pred. 8.

3.) It seemed advisable also to insert a complete sermon of Luther's by way of specimen. The choice, we trust, will justify itself.

CHAPTER IV.

THE TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE COMPLETED. 1534.

LUTHER having in December, 1523, completed the second part of the Old Testament, (which embraced the historical books,)[1] immediately proceeded to the third and most difficult part; but these difficulties delayed the publication of this third part.[2] "In the translation of Job," he complained to Spalatin, under date of 23d February, 1524, "we meet with so many difficulties in consequence of the exceeding loftiness of the style, that it seems as if Job would be even much less pleased with our translation than with the comfort of his friends, or at least seems resolved for ever to remain sitting in the ashes; yea, perhaps the author of this book did not wish that it should ever be translated." Also with regard to the prophets, to the translation of which he applied himself in 1527, he complained: "that it was only with great labour and travail that he rendered them into German;" and under date of the 14th June, 1528, wrote to Link concerning it. "Alas! what a difficult and great task it is to compel these Hebrew writers to speak German—how reluctant they are to forsake their Hebrew ways and suit themselves to our rude German, just as if you would compel the nightingale to cease from her melodious strains, and to imitate the monotonous, and to her odious, cry

of the cuckoo." Accordingly he, whilst at Coburg, where he with great assiduity applied himself to the translation of the prophets, (see p. 386,) laid aside Ezekiel, not only because of the affection in his head, but also because he was weary of the great difficulties, and, meanwhile, took up the lesser prophets, of which at that time (August the 15th) there only remained Haggai and Malachi.

In the missive concerning translating, written at Coburg, (p. 396,) he replies to the papists, who had found fault with his translation of Rom. iii. 28: "In the first place, if I, Dr. Luther, could have persuaded myself that the papists, all united, would have been able rightly and properly to render a single chapter of the Scriptures into German, I would certainly have been so humble as to request their aid and assistance in the translation of the New Testament. But because I knew, and still daily perceive, that not one of them rightly knows how to translate or to speak German, I have put neither myself nor them to such inconvenience. But this is very perceptible, that they are learning from my translation and German how to speak and to write German, thus stealing my language, of which they before knew scarcely anything; they are very remiss, however, in returning thanks to me for it, and much rather employ it against me. Nevertheless I grant it to them, for after all, it pleases me that I have taught even my ungrateful disciples and enemies how to speak."

In the second place he writes to his friend: "You may say that I have translated the New Testament to the best of my ability, and most conscientiously, and have compelled no one to read it, but left it optional with every one to do so or not, having wished to serve only those who cannot help themselves better. No one is forbidden to produce a better translation. Those that do not choose to read it can let it alone. I entreat no one to do so, and thank no one for doing so. It is my Testament and translation, and shall be mine and remain mine. If I should perhaps have failed in anything, (of which truly I am not conscious, and verily I would not designedly and willingly have rendered a single letter falsely,) I shall not permit the papists to be judges of it; for they are still too long-eared for this purpose, and their braying is too weak to judge my translation. I know full well, though they have less conception of it than a miller's brute, what skill,

diligence, discrimination and judgment are requisite, in order to translate well, for they have never tried it. The proverb says: 'He that builds near the road has many masters.' This I also find to be the case. Those who were never able to speak rightly, let alone to translate, have one and all become my masters, and I must become their pupil." Thus, he says, St. Jerome also fared when he translated the Bible; wherefore a man must be possessed of great patience if he desires publicly to do good. That he would rejoice to see the papist who could translate an Epistle of Paul, or one of the prophets, without employing Luther's German translation. That would be a sorry specimen of German and of a translation! It was evident what that dauber at Dresden, whose name he would not mention any more (Emser), had accomplished. "He was well aware that he could not produce anything better, and yet he wished to bring it into disrepute, wherefore he has proceeded to take up my New Testament, almost word for word as I rendered it, removed my preface, notes, and name, and, substituting his name, preface, and notes, sold my New Testament under his name." . . "For what he has patched and altered in a few places (although it does not at all please me), I can nevertheless well endure, and it does not particularly injure me as far as the text is concerned; wherefore also I never wished to write against it, but have been greatly amused at that consummate wisdom which has led them so shockingly to traduce, condemn, and prohibit my New Testament, because it was published under my name; whilst they, nevertheless, do read it published under another's name. How virtuous it is to traduce and abuse another's book, and afterwards to steal it, yea, even to publish it under one's own name, and thus to seek honour and praise through the traduced labours of another, I leave to the proper judge to decide. I meanwhile am satisfied and rejoice that my labours (as St. Paul boasts) are promoted even through my enemies, and that Luther's books, without Luther's name, are read under the names of his enemies. What better revenge could I desire?"

After having observed that he would not say anything in reply to the vain babbling of his enemies, but instead thereof point out to his friends the reason for his employing the word *sola* in translating Rom. iii. 28, he continues: "I diligently exercised myself to employ pure and distinct German; and it often happened to us that we were two, three and four weeks

searching and inquiring for a single word, and after all sometimes failed of finding it. In Job, M. Philip, Aurogallus, and myself, encountered so many difficulties, that we sometimes scarcely finished three lines in four days. Now, my dear friend, that it is translated and finished, every one can read and criticise it, and you can now run your eyes over three or four pages without once stumbling, but do not perceive what rocks and blocks once covered the ground over which you now pass, as over a smooth surface, where we were made to perspire and to labour most strenuously before we removed such rocks and blocks out of the way, that it might be easily passed. It is not difficult to plough if the ground is cleared; but to fell the trees, to root up the stumps, and to prepare the ground, to this no one is inclined. It is not possible to earn thanks with the world. God himself cannot gain any thanks for the sun, not even with heaven and earth, no not with the death of his Son; let the world therefore have its way."

Upon this he adduces several instances, showing what the nature of the German language is, and that we must not expect that the letters of the Latin language will tell us how to write German, but must inquire of the mother in the house, the children in the street, and the common people in the market, and, observing how they speak, translate accordingly, that they may understand and perceive that we speak German with them. He says, for instance, that he would sooner translate the address in the angelic salutation: *Du holdselige Maria!* (thou most kind Mary), *Du liebe Maria!* (thou dear Mary), than: *Du voll Gnaden Maria!* (thou full of favour Mary). "He that understands German, knows well what a cordial and endearing way of speaking it is to say, *die liebe Maria* (our dear Mary), *der liebe Gott* (our dear God), *der liebe Kaiser* (the dear emperor), *der liebe Fürst* (the dear Prince), *der liebe Mann* (the dear man), *das liebe Kind* (the dear child). And I do not know whether the word *lieb* (dear), can be employed in so cordial and endearing a way in the Latin and other languages, that it may thus pass into the heart and thrill through all the senses, as it does in our language. For I conceive that St. Luke, who was skilled in the Hebrew and Greek languages, wished to interpret and distinctly to render the Hebrew word, which the angel employed, by the Greek word Κεχαριτωμένη. And I imagine that the angel Gabriel addressed Mary as he did Daniel, whom he calls אִישׁ-חֲמֻדוֹת *vir deside-*

riorum, that is, *thou dear Daniel*, for this is Gabriel's manner of speaking, as we see in Daniel. If, now, in accordance with the art of our assinine critics, I were to follow the letter in translating the angel's language, I would have to say: Daniel, thou man of desires, or, Daniel, thou man of lusts. *Daniel, du Mann der Begierungen*, or, *Daniel, du Mann der Lüste.*) Would not that be admirable German! A German does indeed hear the German words, *Lüste* and *Begierungen* (lusts and desires), although they are not the best German, but *Lust* and *Begier* would be better. But when they are thus connected, thou man of desires, no one knows what is meant, and thinks that Daniel, perhaps, is full of evil lusts. That would then be an admirable translation! Therefore I must here discard the letter, and inquire how a German is accustomed to express what the Hebrew man calls אִישׁ חֲמֻדוֹת and then I find that a German speaks thus: Thou dear Daniel, thou dear Mary, or, thou lovely maid, gentle lady, tender woman, &c. For he that wishes to translate, must have a great stock of words, so that he may have his choice if the same word will not suit in every place."

Finally, he says concerning his translation: "This I can most conscientiously declare, that I prosecuted this work with the greatest faithfulness and diligence, and was never impelled by any improper thought in connection with it: for I have never taken or sought a farthing for it, or gained anything by it; neither did I seek my honour in the matter, God my Master knows, but I engaged in it to serve my dear fellow-Christians, and to honour Him who sitteth above, and who daily shows me so many favours, that if I were to translate a thousand times as much and as diligently, I would still not have deserved to live one hour, or to have a sound eye. It is all owing to his goodness and mercy that I am what I am, and have what I have; yea, it flows to me through his precious blood and bitter agony; therefore, also, (if God permit,) everything shall serve him, joyfully and cheerfully. If our daubers and papistical asses traduce me, I have the consolation that pious Christians, with their Lord Christ, praise me, and I am altogether too richly rewarded if only one Christian acknowledges in me a faithful labourer. I do not concern myself about the papistical asses; they do not deserve that they should appreciate my labours, and it should grieve me to my innermost soul if they should praise me. It is my highest

renown and honour to be traduced by them. I will still be a doctor, and an able doctor too, nor shall they deprive me of the name to the last day, that I know. On the other hand, however, I have not been too free in departing from the letter, but have, together with my assistants, exercised great care, so that if any importance was attached to a particular word, I retained it according to the letter, and did not depart from it too freely. For instance, John vi., where Christ says: *Him hath God the Father sealed*, here it would have been better German to say: him hath God the Father *appointed*, or, him God the Father *meaneth*. But I preferred to do violence to the German language sooner than to depart from the word. Verily, translating is not everybody's business, as our capricious saints imagine; it requires a very pious, faithful, diligent, fearful Christian, learned, experienced and expert heart. Therefore I conceive it impossible for a false Christian or fanatic to translate with fidelity, as is very evident from the Prophets translated into German at Worms,[3] in which there verily is evinced great diligence, and my German has been closely followed; but there were Jews connected with it, who did not show Christ much favour, otherwise there is skill and diligence enough."

In the year 1531, Luther again took up the *Psalter* and revised it for the last time, intending not to make any more changes in it in future. Of this edition he says: "If any one should wish to be overwise, and pretend that we have drawn the psalms too much from the words, let him retain his wisdom to himself, and suffer this our Psalter to pass uncensured, for we have done it designedly, and have truly most scrupulously weighed every word, and rendered it into German with all diligence and fidelity, having also had learned men enough to assist in the work. We nevertheless suffer our former German psalter also to remain, for the sake of those who may wish to learn from our example and footsteps, how we continually approach nearer and nearer in translating, for the former German Psalter is nearer to the Hebrew in many places and further from the German, the present one nearer to the German and further from the Hebrew." On publishing *the contents of the psalms nnd principles of translating*, he, for the sake of those good and pious men who were also conversant with the languages, but inexperienced in translating, made it plain from several examples why he had in many

places so freely departed from the letter, and also sometimes adopted a different sense from that which the rabbis and grammarians of the Jews inculcated; for where the words permitted it, and afforded a better sense, he had not suffered the grammatical rules of the rabbis to force upon him an inferior or different sense, since all schoolmen agreed that the sense ought not to serve and follow the words, but the words the sense; and Paul moreover taught that the countenance of Moses was hid from the Jews, so that they mostly failed of the true sense of the Scriptures, especially in the Prophets. "Again," continues he, "we have in some cases also translated directly in accordance with the words, although we might have given a different and more distinct translation, but preferred to retain the words, because there was some importance attached to them, as for instance here in the 18th verse (of the 68th Psalm): "*Thou hast ascended on high and led captivity captive.*" Here it would no doubt have been good German to say: 'thou hast delivered the captives;' but it is too weak, and does not give the deep and rich meaning which the Hebrew conveys when it says: 'thou hast led captivity captive,' which implies not only that Christ delivered the captives, but also that he took the captivity itself captive and led it away, so that it can never again take us captive, and thus it is as much as an eternal deliverance. In this mode of expression St. Paul delights, when he says: *Through the law I died to the law.* Again: *Christ condemned sin through sin.* These are the captivities which Christ has taken captive and abolished, so that death can no longer retain us, sin no longer accuse us, the law no longer terrify the conscience, as St. Paul everywhere inculcates this rich, noble, consoling doctrine. Therefore we must, in honour of such doctrine, and for the comfort of our conscience, retain such words, accustom ourselves to them, and thus yield to the Hebrew language where it surpasses our German."

In October, 1531, the *Prophets* were put to press, Luther devoting two hours every day to the correction of them; but not till February, 1532, did he employ himself upon the preface, in which he, among other things, says, that it is a great and powerful consolation "that we have such mighty and ancient witnesses for our Christian life, through whom our Christian faith is greatly sustained, being the approved station before God, in opposition to all invented, false, human sanctity and

factions, which, through their great display, and the multitude of their adherents, as also on the other hand, because of the cross and the small number of those who abide in the Christian faith, exceedingly disturb and assail a weak heart."

Finally, after Luther had also translated and published the Apocryphal Books in rotation, there appeared, in the year 1534 (in six divisions), "*Biblia ; that is, the complete Holy Scriptures in German. Mart. Luther. Wittenberg. Graciously privileged by his electoral grace of Saxony. Printed by Hans Lufft.* MDXXXIV." The labours connected with this translation of the Bible alone already engaging Luther so wholly at that time, "that," as he wrote to Amsdorf, "he was unwilling, on account of them, as well as on account of his professional labours,[4] to write against *Erasmus*, for he thought that the devil endeavoured in this way, as he had done before, to divert him from these his labours, in order that he might lose sight of what was more important, and engage in a useless strife with clouds and winds. He said, that he had before looked upon Erasmus as an inconsiderate babbler, but that he began to look upon his inconsiderateness as ignorance and malice, and upon Erasmus himself as nothing better than a Democritus or Epicure, yea, as a crafty reviler of Christ, since he employed ambiguous and suspicious language concerning the most holy things ;" and concludes : "Yea, I should wish to see Erasmus entirely banished from our schools, for even if he does not prove injurious, he does not prove of any benefit, he teaches and treats of nothing rightly. Nor is it of advantage to youth to be accustomed to Erasmus's manner of speaking ; for of him they do not learn to speak or to think with seriousness and thoughtfulness on any subject, but only, after the manner of babblers, to laugh at everybody, and to be engaged in nothing but nonsense and trifling. In consequence of such trifling and nonsense, however, they become gradually estranged from religion, till they finally utterly refuse to hear anything more of it, and become perfect heathens. He ought to be consigned to the papists, they are worthy of such an apostle."[5]

Authorities.—Let. vol. 2, No. 554, 582. Vol. 3, No. 866, 1005. Vol. 4, No. 1211. Works, vol. 12, p. 90, seq. Vol. 4, p. 401, seq. Let. 1403–4, 37. Works, vol. 12, p. 13, seq. Let. No. 1534.

Notes.—1.) It appeared most probably first in the year 1524, under

the title : *The second part of the Old Testament.* For further information refer to Schott, Geschichte des teutschen Bibelübersetzung, p. 42 seq.

2.) In consequence of this, the Prophets, which Luther intended at first to embrace in the third part, were published separately, in rotation.

3.) This translation of the Prophets appeared already in the year 1527, and Luther, from the very beginning, expressed himself favourably with regard to it ; he still, however, did not deem his own to be superfluous. Comp. let. vol. 3, No. 866.

4.) In this year his *Lectures on Isaiah*, which had appeared two years previously already, in a very imperfect state, however, were again published ; but in this edition, no more than in the former, was Luther in any way concerned. The German translation of them is found in the Works, vol. 7, p. 40, seq. *Luther's Sermons on the 5th, 6th, and 7th chapters of Matthew*, had also been published already in 1532, and that by Luther himself. Works, vol. 9, p. 185.

5.) This letter, together with that of Amsdorf's to Luther, which had occasioned it, was printed, and exasperated Erasmus anew against Luther ; the latter, however, remained faithful to his determination, and wrote nothing further against the former.

CHAPTER V.

LUTHER AND VERGERIUS, OR, THE NEGOTIATIONS CONCERNING THE COUNCIL. 1535.

The pope and the emperor had already, in the year 1533, issued an address to the Protestant Estates, in reference to a Christian Council. Luther published it, with a preface, in which he extols the pious emperor for having so earnestly persevered, till he had obtained the promise of a council from pope Clement VII., albeit, with the addition of articles, as might be seen from the sequel, and he calls upon all Christians to aid the emperor with their prayers, and to assist in procuring a prosperous issue. In June, the papal legate and imperial orator were at Wittenberg, and were very honourably received there, as the elector had commanded. They did not, however, have any interview either with Luther, Melanchthon, or any other theologians. Luther was required at that time to preach before the elector every day, and at the same time to submit to him his opinion concerning the answer which ought to be given to the ambassadors. In the first opinion submitted by him, he speaks his mind in reference to the first article in the address, which read thus : " The first condition

is, that the universal and general council, which is to be convoked and held, shall be free, and be conformed to the custom of the Church, observed for many centuries past, from the beginning of the general and universal councils, up to this time." "If this article," says he, "were clear and distinct, and if the pope would give the assurance that the council should be held in accordance with God's Word, and not in accordance with his own customs; there could be no question with regard to appearing, rendering obedience, and executing the decrees, since all this would then be a duty due to God, and then he would not for his own person make any objection to the other articles. But this article, he said, was knavishly and treacherously drawn up, dreading the light, and skulking in the dark, like a semi-angel and semi-devil: it said, that the council should be free, as from the beginning. That if hereby were meant the first councils, especially that of the apostles at Jerusalem, it would have to be conformed to God's Word. Again it said: according to the custom of the Church observed from ancient times to this time. By this it also embraced the last councils, those of Constance, of Basle, of Pisa, and that most disgraceful one held under Pope Leo X., in the Lateran at Rome, and which had become the scorn and laughing-stock of all the world. That such a council was a council in opposition to God's Word, and in accordance with the conceits and the perverse will of men. It is palpably evident, therefore," added he, "that the pope by this first article mocks and derides both the emperor and our petition. For such a council we have not desired, neither was it promised and resolved upon at the diets; he, the mendacious soul, nevertheless denominates it a free council, freely assuming for himself to proceed in it without hinderance, as he has been accustomed to proceed heretofore." — — — "The matter on account of which a council is desired and is necessary, concerns the pope and the custom of his councils themselves, and they are to be a party, and not the judges; but the Word of God is to decide between the pope with his councils and us; wherefore also it is called a Christian, and not a papal council. They are not controversies in Germany (as he pretends); they are controversies of all Christendom regarding the Word of God, in opposition to the pope and his doctrines, and Christendom desires a council and decision, or testimony, concerning God's Word and the papacy: there lies the difficulty."

In the second opinion, Luther advises that the articles should not be rejected, but unhesitatingly accepted, that the pope might have his mouth stopped in this way, and not have cause for charging everything upon the Lutherans, as if they refused to do anything, to yield in anything, or to suffer anything, being unwilling to submit to the council, to consent to the place of meeting, to aid in executing the decrees, but wishing to have everything to suit themselves, and to be the council themselves. That the articles should much rather be accepted, and the effort be made to cast all the charges upon the pope himself, by representing: That the prayer had been presented to all the diets for a free Christian council, and the promise had also finally been given, that his imperial majesty would endeavour to obtain such council from the pope. That the pope, however, in the first article, wholly refused such prayer, being unwilling to do his part, and plainly declaring that he would have the council held in accordance with former rules and customs. For such a council no one had prayed. Neither was there any need of a council to be held in accordance with former rules, least of all for the pope. "For we well know beforehand," added he, "what will and must be determined in a council held in accordance with former rules, namely, that in the first place, the decrees of former councils be confirmed anew; thus we have the whole sum of the matter, and the new council is at an end already. The council of Constance is, besides, so precious and excellent a council, held in accordance with former rules, that if the pope should institute a hundred councils in accordance with former rules, not one would be more precious! What need of incurring so much trouble and expense in vain, since we do not wish or need a council in accordance with former rules, and the pope needs it even much less! For in the council of Constance nothing has been forgotten, it having, on the contrary, been superabundantly fixed and settled what the former rules and customs were to be, as regards all teaching, living, avoiding, doing, omitting, &c., in the papacy. And all this has been so rigorously executed, that unspeakable quantities of blood have been shed between Germans and Bohemians, and many thousand Christians have been tortured, burnt and persecuted on account of it; and of such execution and persecution there is as yet no measure or end. What do we want of more councils in accordance with former rules?

Perhaps the pope also seeks such an execution of his new council between the Germans among themselves, as he before occasioned between Germans and Bohemians, the pernicious bloodhound and murderer."

In the third opinion, Luther, together with his colleagues, again advises: "that they should by all means guard against incurring the charge of endeavouring to prevent the council from being held." That this one article only should be insisted upon, for which all nations also called, that matters should be decided according to God's Word, and not according to papal statutes; thus misrepresentation would be guarded against. That other nations were just as weary of papal power, and the doctrines of the monks, as the German nation was. That it would be hazardous to propose special articles in regard to the holding of the proceedings, the appointment of impartial judges, &c., and that it would be more safe to request the emperor in general to cause all things to be conducted in a proper and christian manner. That an opposing council would also at present be unnecessary, and would be interpreted as defiance.

And in a *fourth* opinion they again advised: "Not to treat of anything further now, but what was necessary and plausible, and to give no occasion to the pope or the emperor to prefer charges against us. If they then institute or do not institute a council, there will be time sufficient to consult."

When, two years later, the negotiations concerning a council were again opened under pope Paul III., and the elector desired to know of Luther, "whether he ought to say anything in addition to the former answer, given to the legates of his imperial majesty and Pope Clement two years previous;" Luther (under date of the 20th August, 1535) replied, that said answer was sufficiently explicit and Christian in its overtures, and added, in reference to the place of meeting: "Although for my own part, it matters little to me where the place of meeting would be in the whole world, for I cannot yet persuade myself that they mean it seriously, and if they did mean it seriously, I have long since deserved that my enraged saints should get me into their power, and consign me to the flames; and your electoral grace will no doubt know what answer to return, in case they should further insist on the place of meeting. I hope and pray that God may so order matters that they may be constrained in earnestness to con-

voke a council, which might be called free and Christian. But I am here as the unbelieving Thomas,—I must place my hands in the sides and prints, otherwise I do not believe. God, nevertheless, can do more than this, in his hands are the hearts of all men."

The papal legate, *Paul Vergerius*, who had been despatched to Germany because of the council, came also to Wittenberg, and on the day following, invited Luther and Bugenhagen to breakfast. Both accordingly breakfasted with him at the castle. Concerning this meeting we have this report: "On the Sunday after All-Saints, the papal embassy having entered Wittenberg the evening before, with twenty horses and one ass, and been very honourably received by the bailiff, and conducted to their lodgings at the castle, Dr. Martin Luther was invited to an interview with the legate. Dr. Luther accordingly early that Sunday sent for a barber to have himself shaved and dressed. The barber having arrived, said: 'Doctor, how does it come to pass that you wish to be shaved so early this morning?' Dr. Luther replied: 'I have been invited to come to the legate of the holy father, the pope, therefore I must have myself dressed, that I may appear young: then the legate will think: what in all the world, if Luther is so young yet, and has occasioned so much trouble already, what will he not accomplish in future?' And Master Henry having now finished shaving him, he dressed himself in his best apparel, and hung a golden ornament around his neck; whereupon the barber said: 'Verily, doctor, that will vex them.' Luther said: 'For this very purpose I do it. They have vexed us more than enough, it is necessary to act thus towards serpents and foxes.' To which the barber replied: 'Now, good Doctor, do you go in the name of God, and may the Lord be with you, that you may convert them.' Dr. Luther rejoined: 'That I shall not do, but it may well happen that I shall read a good lecture to them, and leave them to themselves.' And Luther, having spoken this, entered the carriage, and drove to the legate to the castle, and, as he was seated in the carriage, he laughed and said: 'Behold, here drive the German pope and cardinal Pomeranus; they are God's instruments and witnesses.' And thus he drove up to the castle, and caused himself to be announced that he had arrived. Thereupon he was immediately admitted and received, and he in return received them, but not with such no-

ble titles with which the legates of the popes were received in former times. And among other things, they began to speak about a council, with reference to which Dr. Martin Luther addressed him thus: 'You do not seriously intend to hold a council, you are merely trifling; and even if you did hold a council, you would treat of nothing else than hoods, bald pates, food and drink, and other such nonsensical, useless, and needless things, of which we verily know beforehand, and are fully assured, that they are of no account. But concerning faith and justification, as well as other useful and important things, how believers, for instance, may be united in spirit and faith, it is not at all your intention to treat, for it would discomfit you. We are fully persuaded, through the Holy Ghost, on all points, and have no need of any council for ourselves, but desire it for the sake of those wretched men who are oppressed by your tyranny, for you do not know what you believe. Behold, now, if you are anxious, institute one, and, by the help of God, I shall come, even though I knew that you would consign me to the flames." Then the legate said: "In what city do you desire to have the council?" Luther replied: "Whereever you deem it convenient, whether at Mantua, Padua, or Florence, or where you see proper." Then the legate inquired: "Would you come to Bononia?" Luther inquired in return: "Whose is Bononia?" The legate said: "The pope's!" Luther answered: "Almighty God! has the pope also acquired possession of this city?—yes, I will come thither." Upon this the legate remarked, the pope would not refuse to come hither to you to Wittenberg. Luther rejoined: "Very well, let him come, we should wish to see him." The legate replied: "How do you wish to see him—with an army or without one?" Luther answered: "As he deems proper, we will expect both." Then the legate inquired of him: "Do you also consecrate priests?" Luther replied: "Certainly we do, for the pope won't consecrate or ordain any for us. And, behold, there sits a bishop whom we have consecrated," pointing to Dr. Pomeranus.

Concerning these and many other things they conversed together, which have not all become known. But, in short, Dr. Martin Luther told him everything he had upon his mind, and which the necessity of the case demanded, without the least fear or terror, and with great seriousness. And as the legate was now seated upon his horse, and about to ride away, he

said to Dr. Luther: "See to it that you be prepared for the council." Luther replied: "I shall come, sir, with this my neck."

In this year Luther also published several books in reference to the council, as for instance: *A number of Theses drawn up in opposition to the Concilium Obstantiense.* In the preface, he says, that he had lately, by accident, taken up the history of the council of Constance, and found it to be much worse than he had believed, it being impossible to express in words, or to reach in thought, what a pernicious game the veritable Satan had played there. That the praiseworthy town had a noble name, *Constantia*, signifying constancy, or a firm manly disposition, wherefore the council was called, *Constantiense*, but he, Dr. Martin, intended to re-baptize it, and to assign it its proper name, *Obstantiense Concilium*, *Obstantia* signifying opposition, and they truly had opposed themselves to Christ, and his Church there. In the 194th theses, he treats especially concerning the sacrament in both forms.

So he also issued a *Summons to a free Christian Council*, in which he represents the Holy Ghost as true God, highest Lord and governor of the universal holy Christian Church; as complaining of the tyranny and obstinacy of the pope, and publishing that He, because the pope had refused to do so, had resolved, in virtue of his divine might and power, without any intermediation, forthwith to summon, appoint, and assemble a general free Christian council, at which he himself would be present in all the sessions, preside over the deliberations, hear the affairs with regard to the Church and religion, carefully consider and investigate them, and bring them to an entirely successful and satisfactory issue and conclusion, before the termination of the council.[1]

During this year, Luther became sensible that he was growing old, not so much in years as in strength, becoming almost wholly unable to labour in the forenoon, and he prayed the friend to whom he wrote this, to entreat God that he might graciously remove him to a better world. Concerning the pestilence, which was reported to prevail at Wittenberg at that time, and concerning which the elector had caused him to be written to, he answered on the 9th July: That he could not believe that the pestilence existed there, as long as his unfailing weathercock, the bailiff, Hans Metzsch, still remained there, who had heretofore exercised so sober a vulture's nose

against the pestilence, that he would undoubtedly scent it even if it were buried six feet under ground. That the students, however, appeared to be well pleased with this cry about the pestilence, "for some," said he, "become afflicted with soreness from sitting, some become infected with the colic from their books, some with the scab from their pens, some with the gout from their paper. Many find their ink to have become mouldy; some also have swallowed the letters of their mammas, which have caused them to get the heart-ache, and a love for their country, and there may possibly be more such unfavourable symptoms for aught I know. And there is danger here, if parents and superiors do not earnestly apply the requisite remedies, and thus arrest these maladies, that there will be a general mortality, till it will be impossible to obtain either preachers, pastors, or school teachers, and swine and dogs will have to be suffered to pass for the best cattle, for which the papists also earnestly labour. But may Christ our Lord graciously and mercifully enable your electoral grace in future, as heretofore, as well as all pious Christian authorities, to keep an effective remedy and antidote in store for such disease, to the honour and praise of God, and to the vexation of Satan, the enemy of all liberal arts and discipline. Amen." On the 19th July, the rector, nevertheless, in consequence of the contagion, called upon the students to betake themselves to Jena, as being a healthy place, whither a goodly number of the doctors and professors would follow; Luther, however, remained, and thought that the devil was only keeping carnival with such needless terror.

Authorities.—Works, vol. 21, p. 111. Let. No. 1522. cll. Seckend. lib. III., 1523. I—IV., 1655, 1680. Works, vol. 21, p. 131, seq. Treatise: Several Theses, etc., ib. p. 122, seq. Treatise: Summons to a free Christian council, p. 139, seq. Let. No. 1656, 47. Corp. Ref. T. II., p. 890. Let. No. 1651.

Note.—1.) Among Luther's other labours of the year 1535, must be mentioned in particular the *second* and more extensive Exposition of the Epistle to the Galatians, the translation of which, by Justus Menius, is to be found in the Works, vol. 11, p. 1. Concerning the first, see p. 155.

CHAPTER VI.

THE DISPUTE CONCERNING THE SACRAMENT, AND THE WITTENBERG UNION. 1536.

Martin Bucer, who had already in the year 1530 visited Luther at Coburg, in order to negotiate with him concerning a union on the article of the Lord's Supper (see p. 389), had soon after transmitted to the same the confession of the four cities, for the purpose of opening the negotiations anew. Upon this Luther replied to him on the 22d January, 1531, that he was pleased with the confession, and praised God that they were at least so far united, as on both sides to acknowledge the body and blood of Christ to be truly present in the Lord's Supper, and to be dispensed with the words as food to the soul. But he was surprised, he said, both on account of Bucer's asserting Zwinglius and Œcolampadius to be of the same opinion, and also on account of their hesitating to confess that the body of Christ was dispensed also outwardly with the bread to the mouth of the pious and of the wicked, since, if it was admitted that it was dispensed to the individual souls, it necessarily followed that it was present, and dispensed in several places at once. That he, therefore, if they were not yet convinced of this, deemed it best to defer the matter till God might further grant his grace, as he could not depart from his view, that being required by the words of Christ. That he could not, therefore, now acknowledge himself to be fully and wholly united with them, unless he meant to violate his conscience, or even to sow the seed for still greater confusion and discord between the two churches. That the matter should therefore be committed to God, and the union meanwhile settled so far, as to acknowledge on both sides, that the body of the Lord was truly present, and was internally dispensed to the believing soul; it being better to choose the least of two evils, and to endure the smaller division, which at any rate afforded some peace, than to occasion still greater strife by such a union. He then, in conclusion, assures Bucer, as he had already done at Coburg, that he very anxiously desired the adjustment of the dispute, and if it should thrice cost him his life, because he had seen how greatly this division had been to the disparagement of the Gospel.

So he likewise wrote to Duke *Ernst of Luneberg*, at whose

desire he had replied to M. Bucer, and among other things said: "I would willingly die to have it true that the strife, as M. Bucer pretends, has reference only to words. Such a dispute should not have maintained itself long, nor ever have begun, if that were so. I verily desire union thus much, as I represented to him more in detail at Coburg. Therefore I deem this negotiation to suffice for the present, till God may further grant his grace, that we, namely, on both sides, desist from writing against one another, having sufficiently exhorted and understood each other on both sides. If God has graciously granted grace, that they admit the body of Christ to be bodily present in the sacrament to the soul, I entertain the hope that they will finally also admit, that it is in like manner present to the participant outwardly in the bread, for truly I cannot perceive any difference or difficulty. In short, we will pray and hope for a complete and happy adjustment, but will not fish in advance of the net, or rashly pronounce a union where there is none." To the elector, also, who had called upon him to declare to him his views with reference to this matter, he replied, that he could not yield any further, and in an especial opinion he once more repeated his views concerning Bucer's proposals for union. Having heard, therefore, how some boasted that a union had been entered into between himself and the Zwinglians, and that he even had wholly assented to their views, he declared that he had not in the least departed from his own views, but wished that their explanations might be endured for a time, in order to win them over.

Meanwhile he did not omit continually to warn both private individuals, as *Kaspar Huberinus*, of Augsburg, to beware of the fanatics and to avoid them, and also, in the year 1532, more particularly *Duke Albrecht of Prussia*, who had transmitted to him his writing on the Lord's Supper, and the 6th chapter of John, that he should by no means endure such men as the followers of Münzer and Zwinglius in his dominions, bearing in mind the advice of St. Paul and of the Holy Ghost, Titus iii., 10, 11. "For," said he at the close of this writing, "your princely grace must consider, that if you should admit and endure such fanatics, whilst you can withstand and prevent them, you would fearfully burden your conscience, and perhaps would never again be able to be at peace with yourself, not only because of the souls which would in conse-

quence be seduced and lost, and which your princely grace might well have preserved, but also because of the whole Christian Church, since the permission to teach anything in opposition to the ancient and universally received faith and uniform testimony of the Church, when you can well prevent this, would prove a most grievous burthen to your conscience." So he also, on learning that they had willingly and sincerely received the Word of God at *Münster*, prayed the council of this town to exercise all diligence and care, to beware of the Zwinglian and fanatic doctrine on the sacrament, as well as faithfully to exhort and to warn all their preachers, that they would by all means watch and pray, and guard themselves and their people against such false teachers.

Having upon this learned from such as were returning from the Frankfort fair, that the Zwinglian doctrine on the Lord's Supper was taught in that city, although in a way which made it appear as if it were one and the same thing with what he and his friends taught, so that no person knew to a certainty what was taught and believed, he in the beginning of the year 1533, wrote also "*To those of Frankfort on the Maine, to beware of Zwinglian doctrines and teachers*," and, because his advice had been desired on this point, he added to this writing a brief "*Instruction concerning confession*," as an ancient, praiseworthy, christian and necessary discipline, through which Christians were exercised and prepared to live properly, to learn Christ, and to confess him before the world. Similar reports had reached him concerning the preachers at *Augsburg*; it was said, namely, that they acted and pretended as if they were agreed with him on the doctrine of the highly revered sacrament of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, whilst they in reality taught differently, and dispensed nothing but mere bread and wine to the people. He therefore, also, in a letter of the 8th August of the same year, prayed the council of Augsburg to insist that their preachers might not boast to the people, as if they taught and believed as he did, because he did not wish that the people should be deceived under his name.

In the same year Luther had published a treatise "*Concerning private masses and the consecration of priests*," in which he showed, that private masses were not enjoined by God, but were a mere invention of men, and that it was a shocking doctrine to teach that a priest converted the bread into the

body of Christ, in virtue of the chrism or consecration; it being his design to aid by such writing in the abolishment of the chrism and the private masses, and in the collection of such scandals from the kingdom of Christ, as well as in again restoring to the Church the vocation or proper consecration and ordination to the ministerial office. But although he had, at the close of this writing, exhorted not only the papists, but also the fanatics, not to pervert this his book, some good people were nevertheless apprehensive that it might be understood as if he sided, or would in time side, with the fanatics or enemies of the sacrament. He accordingly, in the year 1534, found it necessary explicitly to declare himself in the letter "*to a good friend in reference to his book concerning private masses*," and once more to confess before God and all the world, that he believed and did not doubt, that where mass or the Lord's Supper was celebrated in accordance with the institution of Christ, there also was present, under the form of bread, the true body of Christ, given for us on the cross, and under the form of wine the true blood of Christ, shed for us; as also that such body and blood of the Son of God, Jesus Christ, were dispensed and bodily received, not only by saints and those that are worthy, but also by sinners and the unworthy. He here once more recurs to the private and sacrificial masses, and says that he did not contend against the sacrament, but against the mass, wishing anxiously so to separate the sacrament from the mass, that the mass might perish, and the sacrament alone, without the mass, be retained in its honours, and according to the institution of our dear Lord Jesus Christ.

Not long after, he received a letter from the *Landgrave of Hesse*, in which the latter desired that Luther would take the subject in reference to the sacrament into christian and serious consideration, that an enduring union might be established between them and the upland preachers. In his reply, Luther assured the landgrave that he had always most earnestly desired union, wherefore he requested the landgrave to learn from Bucer and his friends how they were disposed in reference to this matter, and how far they were ready to yield or not; that he himself would not at all be wanting, although he thought that there would not be many among the upland preachers that would follow Bucer. That the agreement, however, would have to be full, complete, and certain, other-

wise it would after all fail, although to his own heart nothing would be more agreeable than a permanent union. And although he apprehended that no complete union would be established, and that the journey of Melanchthon in this matter would be wholly in vain, he nevertheless permitted the latter to proceed to *Cassel*, in order to negotiate with Bucer concerning the union, and at the same time transmitted with him his opinion in writing, consisting of seven points, and reading thus: In the first place, the declaration cannot be in any way approved, that neither party has understood the other, for this is deemed false on both sides. Secondly, I cannot in any way deem it advisable to inculcate a new or intermediate doctrine, for the purpose of promoting the union; this would exceedingly perplex men, and would give rise to many thousand questions and opinions. Thirdly, we have the clear, distinct text of the Gospel, as well as many passages of the fathers, in support of our doctrine. Fourthly, the passages from St. Augustine concerning the signs, are not strong enough to subvert the three points stated. Fifthly, as to the strongest passage of St. Augustine against us, it easily admits of such an interpretation as to show that the meaning of Augustine is not opposed to the plain words. Sixthly, I cannot understand Augustine otherwise than as having of necessity, in opposition to the Jews and heathens, taught that the body of Christ was not eaten visibly or perceptibly, being constrained thus to defend the faith of the sacrament. Seventhly, if these points are admitted, it will not need much entreaty with me, for I would willingly, if possible, make an end of this strife at the expense even of my life.

The interview at Cassel took place in December of the year 1534, and Melanchthon having returned from Cassel with the information that Bucer and others offered to teach in accordance with the Confession and the Apology in regard to all Christian doctrine, as well as the sacrament, Luther, in January of the following year, declared to the elector that he could not for himself reject such union, but deemed it best not to conclude the union in such haste, lest the opposite party should be taken by surprise, and become divided. Wherefore he wished that on their own side the opinion of Osiander, Brenz, Urbanus Regius, &c., and on the other side, of those in the cities, might first be fully ascertained, in order that greater

confusion might not be occasioned, but rather a general union be established.

In the same year Luther was informed, through a letter and embassy from the Council of Augsburg, that they were disposed then to be united with the Wittenbergers on the doctrine of the sacrament. His great joy at this he expresses in the two letters which he on the 20th of July wrote to the council and the preachers of this city. The latter he assured that nothing had afforded him greater joy, since the Gospel had again arisen, than the prospect of at last seeing an end made of this sad division. "Therefore, I pray you, through Christ," said he, further, "who has begun this work in you, continue and firmly abide in this fruit of the Spirit, and do you evince such cordial and upright love towards us, as we evince true love and sincerity in receiving you. And you are to be assured in Christ that you shall not have occasion to charge us with any reluctance joyfully to do and even to suffer everything, for the sake of confirming this union. For if this union is confirmed, I shall sing with tears of joy: *Lord, now permittest thou thy servant to depart in peace!* because then I shall leave peace to the Church, that is, the honour of God, the punishment of Satan, and wrath upon all enemies and adversaries." Soon after this, the cities of *Strasburg*, *Ulm* and *Esslingen* had also applied to Luther and expressed their willingness to enter into a union. To these, as well as to the preachers of Strasburg, who had meanwhile written to him a second time, he replied on the 5th October, that he not only willingly accepted this union in the spirit, but also returned thanks to them for it, they having excited in him great confidence that they meant it honestly and uprightly with this agreement; wherefore, he exhorted them to continue in Christ, faithfully and watchfully to promote this cause among their people, as he anxiously wished, before his death, which he believed and hoped was not far distant, to see this, their union, confirmed." He also begged them to consult whether it would not be necessary for a number of the preachers very soon to come together at some particular place, for the purpose of conversing upon this and other subjects. In the letter to the preachers at Strasburg, he had further observed, that it would be necessary to hold an assembly, especially because the matter was one which concerned many and great princes and na-

tions, and he had proposed some place in Hesse or Coburg for the purpose. From these words the Strasburgers had concluded that the proposed assembly was made dependent upon the consent of the princes and cities; wherefore, he, in a letter of the 27th November, declared to them, that this was not what he had wished, he having thought merely that the assembly would be more likely to be held with their consent. That as far as he himself was concerned, he wished that the convention might be held, even if the princes or cities did not interest themselves in it. As regarded the time, he thought the convention could not well meet before the next Easter festival; he would nevertheless hold himself in readiness for any time, as he anxiously wished to be present himself. The place he offered to announce, as soon as the elector should have returned, to whom he would propose Eisenach, Gotha, or Weimar, as he would scarcely permit him to go beyond his dominions. Having accordingly besought the elector to state what place would be most agreeable to him, he, on the 25th March, 1536, informed Bucer, that the elector had appointed Eisenach as the place for the convention, and he proposed the fourth Sunday after Easter for the meeting; did not object, however, if the third or any other Sunday should be more convenient to him and the rest. He at the same time prayed him to give notice to Brenz, Schnepf, and whom else they wished to have attend, he himself would inform Osiander and other Nurembergers, but none of the other Uplanders. On the 12th May, however, he was constrained to write to Wolfg. Capito, that he could not be at the appointed place on the day specified, as bodily weakness prevented him from journeying that far; wherefore he prayed him and his friends to betake themselves to Grimma, where he would be present on the 5th Sunday after Easter; or, if this should be impossible in consequence of sickness, he could at least exchange letters with his friends there in one day. But because the strangers were anxious to see Wittenberg, they despatched a messenger ahead, requesting Cruciger and Philip to remain at home, for they wished rather to treat of all the matters, even more than was necessary, with the fathers there, having so long been anxious to meet them, than elsewhere, to surmise many things of which they could not be fully apprized.

Finally, on the Sunday which is called Vocem Jucunditatis, (at that time the 21st May), they came to Wittenberg, after

Melancthon, who had already been on his way to Grimma, had also returned again. The arrival of Bucer and his associates, however, did not please Luther, because he had banished all hopes of the union, and the letters of Zwinglius and Œcolampadius had just at that time been published, in which the pious elector and Dr. Luther were so severely assailed, that nothing was less to be expected than that the opponents should be believed to be sincerely desirous of union, there being not the least prospect of any from them. And although Menius and Myconius informed Luther of what they had themselves heard from the strangers at Gotha, and on the road, as they had disputed with them, they could still only with difficulty prevail upon him to admit that they had been sincere in all they had said and done.

Early on the 22d May, about 7 o'clock, Bucer and Capito paid Luther a visit, and at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, there assembled at Luther's house, Pomeranus, Jonas, Cruciger, Philip, Menius, Myconius, besides Weller and Rorarius, on the one side, and Bucer and Capito on the other. They being now seated, and Bucer being desired to reply in reference to what Luther had said to him in the morning of that day, Bucer delivered a lengthy and diffuse discourse, in which he expressed his joy at this convention, and afterwards related how he had laboured for nearly four years to have them all united. To this Luther replied, that he desired nothing more than that a true, enduring, proper union might again be established between them; but because the epistles of Zwinglius and Œcolampadius had lately been published, with the knowledge and consent of Bucer, with Bucer's own epistle prefixed, and other books besides had been published, in which the true doctrine was rejected; he could not see how a permanent and true union could be established between them, as they taught doctrines so directly opposite. That he therefore deemed it better to suffer the matter to rest and to remain in the former position, than to render the affair, which was bad enough already, a hundred times worse by a feigned and coloured union.

These remarks greatly confounded Bucer; he nevertheless began a lengthy, though very confused and irregular reply, saying that there was no *fucus* or deception in the matter, as they had declared their opinion before the government and in the churches, as well as in the consultations and conventions of the teachers of Upper Germany, and had afterwards declared it

in words, books, writings and sermons. He further declared that the epistles of Zwinglius and Œcolampadius had been published, not only without his knowledge, but also in opposition to his express desire, and that his epistle was not a preface, but a letter from the previous year, written to others, and not intended to be published, the publication being owing wholly to the avarice of the printer. Upon this Luther, with great earnestness, repeated, that there should either be a true union, or none at all. For this purpose, he said, two things in particular were necessary. In the first place, they would have to revoke and pronounce false their strange doctrine, which was not that of Christ, the Apostles, or of the Church, but which they had nevertheless hitherto taught and ventured to inculcate and impress upon others. In the second place, they would have henceforth, unitedly with them, to teach the true doctrine. Then he pointed out to them how they had thus far all the while approached nearer and nearer, and said: "It is therefore necessary, now, in order to remove all cause for doubt or suspicion on both sides, that you, and those who have been sent hither with you, declare to us, whether you teach and believe, that the bread is the body of Christ given for us, and the wine the blood of Christ, who has thus instituted it, whether the minister who dispenses it, or he that receives it, be worthy or unworthy." During these remarks and replies, Dr. Luther became so faint in consequence of bodily weakness, that he was constrained to cease, wherefore he prayed them to consult upon these matters between themselves, and after due deliberation, to state on the morrow what they could confess and were willing to teach with them.

In the forenoon of the 23d May, Luther likewise felt indisposed to treat, and the negotiation was accordingly not resumed till three o'clock in the afternoon. Then Luther briefly repeated what he had proposed on the day previous, and inquired whether they were willing to retract, each of them, what he had taught and spread abroad in opposition to the doctrine and meaning of Christ, the Scriptures, and the Church? Further, whether they were resolved, abidingly and conformingly, to teach the doctrine concerning the true presence of the body of Christ in, or with the bread of the Lord's Supper? Upon this Bucer confessed that he had renounced, revoked and acknowledged his error, and would also once more retract, by word of mouth and in writing, and in whatever way it could

be done. Then he confessed for himself, and also in the stead, and the name of the Swiss, that the bread in the Lord's Supper was truly the body of Christ, and the wine was truly the blood of Christ, and that the body and the blood of Christ were also truly received, namely, the natural, real body, &c., not only with the heart, but also with the mouth of those that receive it, worthily to salvation, unworthily to damnation. Thereupon, Luther, in the presence of all, questioned the other strangers, one after the other, and each one replied that he confessed, believed, taught, and defended precisely what, and as Bucer had now declared; and that they intended also to teach thus in future, wherefore they prayed that they might not be suspected of any design or fraud. They all also very humbly and earnestly prayed that they might, as members in Christ, be received into such union of faith and true brotherly love. Upon this Luther went into a side-chamber with his friends to consult with them what should further be done. Each one being questioned, therefore, they all replied with one accord: "That if they in their hearts believed as they had declared, confessed with their lips, and thus instructed the Church, they could be received." They having again returned, Luther related everything with great spirit and animation, which was perceptible also in his eyes and his whole countenance, and said: "Worthy friends and brethren: we have now heard the reply and the confession of you all, and learn that you believe and teach, that in the Lord's Supper there are given and received the true body and the true blood of the Lord, and not merely bread and wine; that this act of giving and receiving, moreover, truly occurs, and is not merely imaginary and feigned; your objections having reference simply to the wicked; but you confess, nevertheless, that, as St. Paul says, 'the unworthy cannot make the body of the Lord be absent;' concerning this we shall not dispute. Because, therefore, you are thus disposed, we are united, and receive you, as our dear brethren in the Lord, as far as concerns this article."

Thus, then, peace and union were concluded between those that were assembled. And Capito and Bucer began to weep, and on both sides, they with folded hands and reverend posture returned thanks to God the Lord. On the 24th May, the day of the ascension of Christ, they did nothing further than attend preaching. At vespers, Luther preached concerning Mark xvi. 15, so nobly and so instructively, that Myconius,

who was present, confesses: "I, indeed, had often heard Luther preach, but at that time, it wholly seemed to me, as if he did not speak only, but thundered from heaven itself, in the name of Christ." On the 25th May, the form of union, which Melanchthon had drawn up, was presented, and as but few from both sides were assembled, and it was nevertheless the common cause of the princes, churches, and other pastors of the flock of the Lord, it was resolved to communicate such negotiation to those that were absent, by writing, that they might also enter into such union. On the 28th, Capito and Bucer received the holy supper of the Lord, in testimony of their full union. In the morning, Alberus preached; at noon, Bucer; and at vespers, Luther. The latter having Bucer to sup with him in the evening, among other things, extolled the sermon he had delivered, with the addition, however, "I am a better preacher." Bucer upon this remarking, that Luther was justly regarded as such by everybody, the latter rejoined with sternness: "you must not imagine that I mean foolishly to laud myself; I well know my weakness, and could not deliver so acute and learned a sermon as we heard from you today, but I am accustomed, on ascending the pulpit, to look around, and to observe what kind of people sit before me, and because the majority are Vandals, (thus he denominates the common, simple people, because the Vandals in former times dwelt in those regions of country,) I preach to them as I think they can understand it; but you soar altogether too high in the Gaischt, Gaischt (spirit) (thus he pronounced this word in imitation of Bucer's Suabian or Alsatian dialect), therefore your sermons are indeed suited for the learned, but our simple people cannot understand you. Accordingly, I deal with these as a loving mother with her weeping child, into the mouth of which she gives her breast as well as she can, nourishing it with her milk, which tastes better to it, and is relished by it more than if she presented it with the most precious juice of roses and other syrups from the apothecary."

On the 29th May, the *form of union* was subscribed by those that were present, and afterwards also by a number of other theologians.

On the same day Luther despatched two letters, one to the council of Strasburg, the other to the council of Augsburg, in which he prayed them to do their part that such union might be strengthened and rendered enduring, and if this union

should be acceptable to them and all the preachers, to give written information of it in due time, as he again would also inform them of the acceptance of his friends, that it might then be published in honour of God, and to the reproach of Satan and his members. Shortly thereafter he transmitted to Amsdorf the negotiations which had been held at Wittenberg concerning union, and begged him that he would also communicate the same to the rest, especially the preachers in the larger cities, in order to obtain their opinion with regard to them, since he did not wish to have anything concluded upon without the consent of both parties. The preachers of Augsburg gave Luther their unanimous consent to the union in August, so likewise somewhat later did the magistracy of Ulm. The churches of the Swiss had thus far not yet assented to the union; it was nevertheless hoped and said, that the cities and the people, quite weary of the dispute, desired a union.

Authorities.—Let. No. 1347, 49, 52, 53, 65, 1429, 45, 96. Treatise: Letter to those of Frankfort on the Maine. Works, vol. 21, p. 66. Let. No. 1533. Treatise: Concerning private masses and the consecration of priests. Works, vol. 21, p. 34. Treatise: Letter of Dr. Martin Luther concerning his book on private masses, &c., ib. p. 61. Let. No. 1605, 13, 14. Corp. ref. T. II., p. 827. Let. No. 1629. Corp. Ref. T. II., p. 836, 843. Let. No. 1648, 49, 69—72, 69, 84. 97, 1704, 12. The account of the negotiations according to both reports, Works, vol. 21, p. 97, seq. and p. 101. MSS. of Ratzenberger, in Seckend. lib. III., p. 131. Let. No. 1714, 15, 18, 23, 28, 45, 18.

Note 1.) This letter was published under the title: *Missive of Dr. Martin Luther against several fanatics.* Works, vol. 20, p. 354.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CONVENTION AT SCHMALKALDEN, AND THE SCHMALKALD ARTICLES. 1537.

On the 2d June, 1536, Pope Paul III. issued a bull, in which he announced that a council would be held at Mantua, on the 23d May, of the year 1537, "in order, by means of such sacred and wholesome remedy, not only to eradicate all heresy and error from the field of the Lord, and to reform the morals of

Christendom, but also to establish a general peace and union among Christians, and, by means of a general expedition, under the banner of the holy cross, against unbelievers, again to regain our kingdom and dominion," &c. Upon this Luther, in common with Caspar Cruciger, John Bugenhagen, Jerome Schurff, Melchior Kling, and Philip Melanchthon, submitted the following opinion. As it, in the first place, is not yet known whether the legate, who is despatched to Germany for the purpose of convoking the princes to a consultation, will convoke the protestant princes as well as the other estates, or cite them as a party; it is not advisable to meet him with the message that he will not be heard. For if the elector and his friends are convoked as well as the other estates, the pope therewith consents to their being heard in the council, and constituting a part of it, and it would have the appearance of a free council, as well as be an admission, on the part of the pope, that they are not heretics. If the legate, however, is not heard, the princes on our side would not only be excluded by the other estates, but they would also with plausibility be accused to the emperor as having become contumacious, and as contemning his majesty and the whole council, which would then cause the adversaries to expedite the council so much the more, in order to proceed against them as *contra contumaces*. To the objection, however, that we, by accepting the vocation, approve of the pope's having summoned a council alone, and thus subject ourselves to the pope, we answer: This convocation of the pope is not a command, neither is it a summons of any one before his own bar, but before the bar of another, namely, that of the council. By giving audience to the legate, we do not subject ourselves to the decisions of the pope, for the pope here only exercises the authority committed to him by the other estates, just as the bishop of Mayence is authorized to convoke the electors; and although the pope does not possess this authority of convoking others in virtue of Divine right, the other ancient councils have nevertheless given him that authority, for instance, that of Nice, and we do not assail such outward ecclesiastical regulations. And though in former times some emperors did summon councils, the empire being then in one hand, it cannot be of any avail now, as foreign nations would not heed the summons. In the second place, if the summons is the same as to the other estates, a general answer can be return-

ed, similar to those previously given, representing that we have appealed to a free christian council, and hope that impartial men will be selected to decide upon the disputed points, in accordance with God's Word, not in accordance with customs and human traditions, where these are opposed to the Gospel, &c. Wholly to refuse the council is not advisable, for we have hitherto always appealed to the council, and there is not as yet any sufficient cause for such refusal. In the third place, if our princes are not summoned as the other estates, but only cited as a party, it must be inquired whether the citation proceeds from the pope or from the council, and how it is worded. If the princes on our side are cited *ad respondendum*, that is: for the purpose of showing ground for their doctrines and the alterations they have made in the Church, the citation, whether now it be submitted by the legate or by any other person, can be received with the protest, nevertheless that we have appealed to a free christian council. Nor is this a sufficient cause for refusal, that the citation proceeds from the pope, since the pope cites not before himself, but as president before the council. But if the citation declares that the affairs are not to be investigated, and that we are to be heard only for the purpose of being declared heretics, there would be just ground for complaint, and cause for rejecting the citation, nor could the emperor in this case suffer force to be employed.

In a later opinion concerning this matter, the theologians submitted their views also with reference to resistance to power. The Gospel, they said, gave instruction concerning the spiritual and eternal kingdom in the heart, and did not oppose outward bodily government, but confirmed it, wherefore it also allowed all natural and proper protection and defence, which natural right or other bodily government afforded. That the question here was not concerning preachers, they being appointed to teach, and not to wield the sword, but the question was concerning temporal government. That it was the duty of every prince here to protect Christians and outward religious services in opposition to all unjust power, as was his duty too in other temporal matters. That this was true of every government in opposition to any other equal government or private person; but the question now was, how it behooved a prince to act towards his lord the emperor in such a case? The answer was the same: Because the

Gospel confirmed the temporal government, every christian prince was to demean himself towards his lord, the emperor, according to natural and temporal government and order. That if the emperor was not judge, and yet attempted to inflict punishment, as long as the appeal was still pending, such a violent proceeding would be notorious injustice, and it would be allowable, according to the natural order of government, to resist it, and to take defensive measures against it. That accordingly, if the emperor should, previously to the council, whilst the appeal was still pending, take any violent step in matters which pertain to religion, and really and obviously violate the promised peace, he would have to be looked upon as a private person, and such injustice, committed in opposition to the appeal and the promised peace, would be notorious injustice. So likewise if the council should institute unjust proceedings in opposition to natural equity, and the order enjoined in the Scriptures, even if they should pretend the authority of their canonical law for it, such proceedings would, nevertheless, be null and void, and no council; the appeal would likewise remain in force, and whatever violence might be committed on the authority of such proceedings, would also in truth and reality be public violence and notorious injustice.

On the 11th December, 1536, the elector issued the command to Luther and the other theologians, once more to take the *a ticles of faith* into consideration, and as the convention at Schmalkalden was soon to be held, distinctly to state their opinion before the 25th January, as to what, and how far it was possible, and whether there was a disposition to yield to the papists, and upon what it was intended finally and abidingly to insist. Luther drew up the articles himself, and appointed the day of the Innocent Children (the 28th December), or the following days, for Amsdorf, Agricola, and Spalatin to meet him, since it was too far for Justus Menius and Frederick Myconius. To these (and the Wittenberg theologians), he proposed the articles, and because of the weakness which befell him, treated with them for several days concerning them, whilst he had hoped to spend only one day for the purpose. After they had confirmed them by their signatures, he, through his dear brother and good friend Spalatin, transmitted them to the elector, with the prayer: "Because some odiously speak of us, as if we priests (as they call us) were

resolved by our obstinate course to involve even the princes and lords, with their dominions and people, in danger, &c.; we pray your electoral grace graciously to advise us of your views with regard to this matter; for if it should involve others who are inferior, not to say your electoral grace yourself, together with the dominions and people of other lords, in danger, we would much rather take all upon ourselves. Therefore your electoral grace will well know how far to accede to these articles, for we do not herewith wish to burthen any one else with them, it being left optional with every one, to burthen or not to burthen himself with them as he deems proper."

These (Schmalkald) articles consist of three parts; the first part treats of "*the exalted articles of the Divine Majesty*," of which it is said: "With regard to these articles, there is no strife or dispute, they being received and confessed by both sides. Wherefore it is not necessary to treat further of them at present." The second part treats of the articles which regard "*the office and work of Jesus Christ, or our salvation.*" Here, it is said, the first or *chief article* is, that Jesus Christ, our God and Lord, has died for our sins and risen for our justification, and that he alone is the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world; that we are all sinners, and are justified out of grace, without merit, through the redemption of Jesus Christ in his blood, so that man is justified without the deeds of the law, through faith. "From this article," he says, "we cannot depart or swerve, and if the heavens and the earth, and everything else, should crumble into pieces, for there is no other name given us whereby we can be saved, says St. Peter, Acts iv. And through his stripes we are healed, Isaiah liii. And upon this article we base all our doctrines and lives, in opposition to the pope, the devil, and the world. Therefore we must be fully assured of it, and not doubt; otherwise all is lost, and the pope, the devil, and everything else will prevail against us." The succeeding three articles then treat of the mass, and what has flowed from it, of *convents* and *cloisters*, and of the pope and his authority. Here Luther says, that even if the pope—what he, however, never could do—should admit that his superiority was not based upon divine right, but that he was chosen superior by men who could depose him at pleasure, and substitute another in his stead, for the sake of better preserving the

union of Christendom, in opposition to heretics and fanatics, it would still be of no advantage to Christendom, and the number of divisions would only increase. "For," says he, in addition, "as such superior could not appeal to the command of God for subjection to him, but only to the good will of men, he would very easily and speedily be disregarded and despised, and at last have no subjects. Neither would he always be at Rome, or any other fixed place, but in whatever church God had placed a man qualified for the station. And truly that would be an extensive and perplexing business. The Church can therefore never be better governed and maintained, than by our all living under one head, Christ, the bishops being all equal as to office (although unequal as to talents), and diligent in preserving unity in doctrine, faith, the sacraments, prayer, and works of love, &c., as St. Jerome says, that the priests at Alexandria ruled the Church in common, which the apostles had also done, and which after them all the bishops throughout Christendom did, till the pope raised his head above the rest." At the close of this part, Luther says: "In these four articles they will have enough to condemn at the council, for they cannot and will not except the least member of a single one of these articles. For this we must be prepared, and console ourselves with the hope, that Christ our Lord has assailed his adversaries, and will pursue them both with his spirit and future events. Amen. For at the council we shall not, as at Augsburg, stand before the emperor, or temporal authority, who published a very gracious summons, and caused matters to be investigated in kindness, but we shall stand before the pope and the devil himself, who does not intend to listen, but only to condemn, to murder, and force us into idolatry. Therefore we dare not here kiss his feet, or say: You are my gracious lord! but like the angel in Zechariah said to the devil: God rebuke thee, Satan!

As to the articles of the *third part*, Luther said: "Concerning the following points or articles, we may treat with learned, sensible men, or among ourselves. The pope and his kingdom do not trouble themselves much about them. For *conscience* is a trifling matter with them. The things which they esteem are gold, honour and power." These articles treat of sin, of the law, of repentance, in connection with which true repentance is contrasted with the false repentance of the papists, of the Gospel, of baptism, of infant baptism, of the sacrament

of the altar, of the keys, of confession, of excommunication, of ordination and vocation, of the marriage of priests, of the Church, of the way in which we become righteous before God, and of good works, of monastic vows, of human traditions.[1]

The elector, in his answer to Luther, of the 7th January, expressed his gratitude to God, that he had enabled him to draw up the articles in so Christian, pure, and unadulterated a manner, and that his colleagues had given their assent to them. That he had read the articles twice, and although only a layman, was, nevertheless, firmly convinced that they were true, and agreed with the Augsburg Confession, wherefore it would not be necessary further to consult with any one concerning them, but he, the elector, would confess them, be it where it might, before the council and before the whole world. "As to the jeopardy and danger," said he in addition, "in which our dominions and people, even as to their persons, might be placed, we will commit that to God, He having declared that the hairs upon our heads are all numbered, and that not one can be lost without his divine permission; He will also, as regards this danger, direct and control all things according to his divine pleasure, for the good of our brother, ourselves and our children, as well as of our dominions and people. To his guidance we will commit it all, for he has chosen us to be a prince; if it is his will, He can also preserve us in this station; but if it is not his will, no anxiety about the danger will be of any avail, for He will direct all as it seemeth good to Him. To Him and to the prayers of yourself and of other Christians, we will commit this cause."

On the 31st January, Luther and his friends, (Melanchthon and Bugenhagen), set out for Schmalkalden. They travelled by way of Grimma and Altenburg, where they were very nobly entertained at the electoral castles. Luther had hoped to lodge with his old friend Spalatin, and had accordingly addressed to him the following lines:

Ut tua sunt Christo gratissima facta, Georgi,
Sic sit grata cohors hæc peregrina tibi,
Tendimus ad celebrem pro nostro Chalcida coetu,
Magna Dei cogit causa per istud iter.
Tu quoque nostrarum pars magna, vir optime, rerum,
Nobiscum venies, duxque comesque viæ.

(As Christ most kindly doth thy deeds receive,
So now receive this journeying band, O George.

JOHN FREDERICK THE MAGNANIMOUS,
Elector of Saxony.

To famous Chalcis now our steps are bent,
The lofty cause of God our journey's end.
And thou, O dearest man, in contests tried,
Shalt tread the road with us as friend and guide.)

At Weimar Luther preached on the 4th February. The attendants at the papal Nuncio (Vorstius, Bishop of Aix), who was there, were present at the sermon, and heard how he bitterly complained, that the princes and bishops hated the Evangelical Party worse than the Turks, whom they permitted to rave unrebuked. On the 7th, the Wittenbergers arrived at Schmalkalden, and on the day following, the Landgrave and the Duke of Wurtemburg held their entry. On the 9th, Luther preached before the princes in the capacious parochial church, in which, as he observed, his and Spalatin's voice, who had preached the day before, sounded like that of a shrew mouse. The place and the air agreed with him—as he wrote to Dr. Jonas—and at first he enjoyed very good health ; it also caused him to rejoice that so many excellent and learned men had assembled there, such as, in the opinion of many, there would not be found at Mantua, though they might have more mules, asses and horses there ; but in another letter to a friend, on the 14th, he complained that they had continued there for eight days already, all of them weary of the place and their stay, and anxious to return home. The princes and rulers, he said, treated of other matters than had been expected, and without their aid. He, however, prayed Christ to bless their proceedings and consultations.

At Schmalkalden Luther once more submitted the following opinion with regard to the *council.* He did not doubt but that the pope and his adherents dreaded the council and wished to see it prevented, but would like to be able to boast, that they had not been wanting, as they had summoned it, despatched messengers, and caused the estates to be convoked. "Therefore," said he, "in order to terrify and to dismay us, they hold up to our view this frightful devil's head, the summons to a council, in which they do not say a word of the affairs of the Church, of investigation, or of other such matters, but speak only of extirpating the poisonous Lutheran heresy, as they themselves interpret it in the *Bulla de Reformatione Curiæ.*"[2] That the Evangelical Party might accordingly here already read the sentence which would be pronounced upon them in the council, all appeal, investigation, defence and negotiation

being set aside, all pious, honourable men that might have been chosen as umpires, rejected the accursed imps of Satan, designing to proceed according to their pleasure, and not only to condemn, but also forthwith to begin to enjoin the execution and extirpation, although the Evangelical Party had not been heard, their writings not been read, and their doctrines not been acknowledged—their books having been everywhere prohibited, and only false scribblers and mendacious spirits been heard, whilst the bishops and princes in Germany, even on their own side, well knew that those were lying books and knaves. In evidence of which he states, that the papal orator Vergerius had declared at Wittenberg, that he had in many respects been very differently informed from what he found things. And Dr. Gervasius, the ambassador of the king of France, had publicly acknowledged, that his king was fully persuaded, that among the Lutherans there existed neither marriage, nor government, nor church, nor anything else. That the pope and his adherents, because they had so hastily credited these disgraceful and impudent falsehoods, were, on this very account, in duty bound to give the Lutherans a hearing, not to mention the matters which their own party would bring up against them, and which of themselves, without Luther's affairs, would require a council. That the bull, however, observed profound silence with regard to all these things. They wished merely to terrify the Evangelical Party, and cause them to refuse the council, that they might themselves be secure and cast all reproach upon these. "But," says he, in conclusion, "because we have the advantage, that (as the times presage) it will be a wretched and despicable council, at which few potentates will be present; that excommunication, moreover, (if they should resort to it,) has long since expired, and the opinion is also now entertained of councils, that they can err, and often have erred, which has deprived them of their influence and authority, so that it will require a most lofty and evident purity to restore them to their former honours; for if this bull should be published and exhibited in its true character, what a contemptible and ridiculous council would that which it convokes, appear in the eyes of all pious and worthy men, presenting a fair specimen of other councils, as that of Constance, for instance, &c., the folly of which has now also become manifest through the Word of God: wherefore I would not fear these hacklers, but suffer them to pro-

ceed, and to exhibit themselves in all their ridiculousness, not meeting the legate with a refusal, (which his haughtiness would gladly wish,) nor in any way entangling myself; for (if God permit) they shall exhibit the great fool as well as the little one. Nor is there any need that we should be in haste here, but we are to learn God's way of proceeding, who does not haste, but patiently entices forth the tongue, till he has driven a wedge which cannot be withdrawn. For if we should haste thus unnecessarily, and fish in advance of God's net, we might labour in vain. For we must have his assistance: for we, with our reason, are much too weak for Satan. It would also occasion great scandal, and perhaps even cause many well-meaning men to apostatize, if just at this time, in which the Turks are at hand, and the emperor in travail, we should refuse the council. Although I conceive that the Roman knaves (well knowing that this would be the state of affairs with regard to the Turks and the French) have appointed the council just at this season, in order that, if the Lutherans did not prevent it, it might at least be prevented by the Turks and the French; they would, nevertheless, be very glad if they could lay the prevention to the charge of the Lutherans. For this they would have interpreted as perverseness; in the former case, it would have been called necessity, the Turks having made the holding of it impossible. In short, they cannot endure a council, not even of their own men, unless they could direct it according to their pleasure.

From Schmalkalden Luther also (under date of the 17th February) wrote to the mayor of Basle, *Jacob Meyer*, informing him of the reception of his and other communications, from which he had learned their diligence and earnestness in promoting the interests of the Gospel of Christ, and he added the wish: "May the Almighty God further grant his grace, that we may all be united in true Christian union, unfaltering, unanimous doctrine and opinion, as St. Paul says, that we are all with one heart and one mind to praise God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that we also forgive and bear with one another, as God likewise forgives and bears with us in Christ Jesus." "It was no wonder," he continues, "if perhaps there still existed some suspicion on both sides, since they had not in this matter striven against each other in jest or mockery, but in earnest, the point in dispute not having been an indifferent and trifling one; wherefore it would be necessary

to forget the strokes and the pain, and the more earnestly again to seek union. He therefore calls upon him and the rest to aid in calming and furthering the matter; that he and his friends would not be wanting, there being also an absence of all excitement with them, both in the pulpit and among the people. "This business," he says, in conclusion, "will not adapt itself to us, but we must adapt ourselves to it. Thus God, who has begun it, will add his blessing and graciously conduct it to a happy issue."

On this day, Luther, who had suffered from the gravel, so that he could not participate in the proceedings, was able again, for the first time, to walk out. On the day following, it being the Sunday Invocavit, he delivered a sermon on the Gospel, in which he, in opposition to the silly papistical fasting, describes the true Christian fasting, which is mourning and sorrowing; that is, bearing all manner of misfortune, sent by God, and painful to man, for God's sake. That Christ had likewise fasted in this way, he having gone into the wilderness, not following his own counsel or choice, but urged by the Holy Ghost. That in the person of Christ and his temptations, however, was represented, not only what each Christian has to suffer for himself, but also what the entire Christian Church has to suffer from Satan.

If Luther had at first experienced only slight pains, and had seemed, after having been perfectly well for two days, to have wholly recovered, he, on the above-mentioned Sunday, after he had early in the morning delivered a noble sermon before an exceedingly numerous assembly, was seized with such excruciating pains, as, according to his own declaration, he had never before experienced, so that he also awaited death, and said: "Lord God, I die as the enemy of thine enemies, under the curse and excommunication of thy enemy, Antichrist, the pope, that thy enemy may again die under thy excommunication, and we both be judged on that day; he, indeed, thy enemy, Antichrist, to eternal dishonour and pain; but I, thy poor creature, who have openly confessed thy name and majesty, to eternal glory and honour." Not long after, he became troubled in spirit, that a good God designed thus to take him from this life in a strange country, and on a journey; he, however, finally overcame this sadness and temptation, became resigned, and said: "Into thy hands I commit myself, O Lord, thou faithful God; I shall willingly die, when, where, and in

what manner it seemeth good to thee, my God, for thy will is the best." When he had scarcely finished saying this, behold, there came the Elector of Saxony, John Frederick, to pay a visit to the afflicted Luther, who, in return, received him with a benediction. Upon this his electoral grace comforted the patient, saying, among other things: "Our dear Lord God will have mercy upon us for the sake of his Word and his name, and grant you, dear father, further life." Upon this he turned himself away, for the tears started into his eyes. Soon, Luther called upon the bystanders, as M. Philip Melanchthon, George Spalatin and Frederick Myconius, together with lord John von Dolzig, by all means diligently to pray against the great prince of the world, the devil, as there was no power, might or strength so potent as sincere prayer. "Behold," said he, "if I die, that beast, the pope's legate, and the bishops, will greatly rejoice at my death; but they shall be sadly deceived in their joy, for they will lose their intercessor, who has heretofore diligently interceded for them with God and the world. Of this there will be an end then, and distress upon distress will come upon them." He further said concerning his illness: "Yes, this is the apple of Adam, which is in my body; I cannot consume it; my Lord Christ, however, has consumed it." Upon this he expressly thanked the elector for his gracious visit, and for having endured and suffered so much with him for the sake of the Gospel, which precious treasure he wished now, herewith, further to commend to his electoral grace. To this the elector replied: "I fear, beloved Doctor, if God should take you away, He would also take his precious Word away." "Oh no, my most gracious lord, that is not the design of God," said Luther; "there are many more learned and faithful men, who are perfectly sincere and competent, and I trust that God will grant them grace to become a wall for the defence and maintenance of it: God, the Almighty, grant it!" and thus clasped his hands. But the elector said to the pastors that were present: "Dear sirs, see to it, that you preach to us the pure Word of God, that we may abide with our dear Lord God." Upon this he inquired, whether all the pastors had unanimously subscribed? Philip Melanchthon replied, that they had all subscribed the Augsburg Confession, and especially the article concerning the Holy Supper of the Lord, Blaurerus as well as the rest. The elector being now about to depart, he once more, with many kind words, comforted the af-

flicted Luther, and finally concluded thus: "If, however, it should be God's will, which he, however, trusted it was not, that He would take him hence, he should not be concerned about his wife or children. For your wife," said he, "shall be my wife, and your children shall be my children." Some time after—nearly an hour after the elector had left—Luther again began to speak, and said: I imagined that the air was the cause, but I find it is the devil, who takes what he can find and torments me with it. St. Stephen was stoned by the wicked Jews from without, and I also am stoned by a wicked knave, the gravel, from within." Soon after he began to pray and to sigh with the friends standing near him, and said: "Oh, thou dear Heavenly Father, thy will is still the best, and doeth much good in heaven and on earth. If God wishes to keep me here, I will willingly live, and still do what I am able; but if He wills it differently, the will of my Father also be done; I wholly submit myself to his merciful dispensation." When the gravel afflicted him more intensely, he exclaimed: "Is this *stimulus carnis*, the thorn in the flesh, the club of Satan, with which he drives me through the spears and torments my flesh?" As he further expressed his fears that the greatness of the pain might at last rob him of reason, he comforted himself, and said: "Behold, if I even grow raving and foolish, I, nevertheless, will remain wise to God, and Christ my Lord will be my wisdom and my God." He having learned that the Christian Church was continually and without ceasing praying to God for his restoration, he said: "God has been sufficiently prayed, entreated and called upon; if He wishes to hear, He can do what seemeth good to Him. It is the gravel, that is Satan, and even if God casts me before him, and permits him to tear me in pieces, he will nevertheless in return tear him in pieces, and my Lord Christ will verily revenge me on him."

On Dominica Reminiscere Day, Melancthon, while sitting and contemplating Dr. Luther very anxiously, began to weep bitterly on his account. Luther interrupted him by saying, "John Löser is accustomed to exclaim: It requires no skill to drink good beer, but to drink bad beer requires skill. Thus you may also conceive me now to be learning to practise this art with these nauseous medicines And praised be God, I am able, even in this death-struggle, and with all my great pains, to be of good courage; for if we have received good at the hand of God, shall we not also receive evil? That does not

rhyme, and such people our Lord God can obtain every day. Our motto must be, The Lord gave, the Lord hath taken away; praised and blessed be the name of the Lord. I verily have sufficiently wrestled with the pope and the devil, but have, nevertheless, through the power of God, always escaped without hurt. Even if I must now suffer death, according to the will of God, yet is our death, compared with the death of his Son, my Redeemer, Jesus Christ, to be accounted nothing. Many valiant and pious people have besides been sent before us, with whom we are not worthy to dwell; yet if we desire to be with them, as we then certainly do desire, we must die with them, and there is no other alternative. Behold, what a change has come over me, who was so fresh and healthy yesterday; to-day all my strength has forsaken me. Yesterday I would without difficulty have passed over mountains. But how utterly insignificant are we poor men, with all our doings and enterprises, even when they are most deserving! I would willingly, by prayer, or rather murmuring, have obtained permission from our Lord God to die in the dominions of my elector, but it has not been so ordained. Therefore, whenever it seemeth good unto him, and wherever he calleth me, I am prepared, and shall die an enemy of the enemies of my Redeemer. And though I die under the excommunication of the pope, the pope shall in return die under the excommunication of my Lord Christ, for ever and ever. Amen!"

Before his friends took leave of him, the next day, he prayed with fervency: "Oh, my dearest Father, thou hast said, Let him call upon me, and I will hear him; I am with him in distress, I will deliver him and honour him: hear thou my sighs and cries, and help me." In the same hour he was greatly concerned about the Church, lest God might again take from her the dear precious Word of the Holy Gospel, adding, "Did we not, under the pernicious papacy, in the temples, at table, at the mass, at the matins, read, babble, sing, and bawl out the Latin Bible, but what did we understand of it? Less than nothing. If it should again be thus, alas, what a wretched state of things would that be! I trust, however, that the last day will come, and prevent it." All these lamentations he uttered amidst many tears and sighs. "Alas, what contentions and brawlings will there be then! Every one will exalt his own dreams and conceits, and defend them. For it has already afforded matter for great laughter at Rome, that there

should be people who, from mere simplicity, believed that their souls were immortal." He here related the anecdote of two learned men, who had disputed a long time concerning the question whether the soul of man is immortal. Finally, Pope Clement interrupted them, and said to the theologian: You have indeed produced good, strong, and substantial arguments; the opinion of the philosopher, however, pleases me better, and gives me more courage, for otherwise, if body and soul were not to expire at the same time, we would always have to be in dread of the future. "Behold! thus it would constantly have grown worse; but may God, in mercy, for Christ's sake, preserve us from this. Amen."

When the strangury had continued for eight days, and would not yield to any remedies, Luther, despairing of life, desired to be conveyed away from Schmalkalden. Although he was very weak, they nevertheless complied with his wish, and the physician, Dr. Sturz, for whom Melanchthon, at Luther's desire, had written to Erfurt, was himself not opposed to it, because at Schmalkalden, where there was no apothecary, he was without the necessary remedies. On the 26th February he accordingly departed, being accompanied by Bugenhagen, Spalatin, (Myconius,) and Dr. Sturz, and the elector caused a wagon to be filled with warming utensils and other instruments, to follow after, that if it should be necessary they might be able to warm him on the way. On the road, however, the gravel became so exceedingly excruciating, that he exclaimed, "If there only were some Turk here to slay me, as I must at any rate, with a strong healthy body, perish in this distress; and indeed I would die willingly, if the devil's legate were not there at Schmalkalden, and to herald it forth to the world, that I had died from great fear and terror."

When he the same day arrived at *Tambach*, God graciously gave his blessing to the remedies and the exercise, and regarded the sighs and the tears of the pious; during the night the passages became opened to the patient, so that after he had for eleven whole days endured the most excruciating pain, he was delivered from his distress and burthen; as he also the same night wrote to M. Philip concerning it: "To my most beloved Magister Philip Melanchthon. Praised be God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercy, and all consolation, my dearest Philip, for this night, about the second hour, he mercifully regarded your prayers

and tears, and quite unexpectedly opened to me the urinary passages, on my arising for the purpose of making futile attempts. Scarcely has a quarter of an hour passed, and some eight times already has the urine passed from me, and every time more than a pint, so that I have passed more than a gallon. Thus does joy urge me to observe even the quantity of this despicable water, which is now so precious to me. Therefore I did not wish longer to leave you in uncertainty. I pray you to state all this to my most beloved and gracious lord, and all the rest. For I have fully experienced, how very anxiously they desired to help me. Let whatever God may dispense, come to me, for life or for death, I am still prepared, because I not only have come forth from the shaft to firmer ground, but also have obtained grace again to arrive at the silver source. For it follows up without cessation, so that I have also written this letter, albeit in great haste, *mutatis vicibus urinandi et scribendi.* Ochlopectes, the joyful messenger, who would not be persuaded from hastening to you, will verbally give you further particulars. Do you join with me in returning thanks to the Father of grace and all blessings, that a most gracious God may complete his work. Yes, from this instance, we can learn to pray, and can venture to hope for help from Heaven. May God preserve you all, and trample under your feet Satan, with his disciples, the monsters of the Roman court. Amen. Towards half past two o'clock at night, 1537, from Tambach, the place where the Lord has blessed me; for here is my Phanuel, where the Lord has appeared unto me! "When the messenger arrived at Schmalkalden early in the morning, and passed by the lodgings of the cardinal, he exclaimed with a loud voice: "Vivit Lutherus, vivit Lutherus! Praise and thanks to God, Luther lives, is perfectly well!" and reporting this joyful news to the elector, John Frederick, the latter presented him with ten new "*Schaugroschen*," by way of reward.

To his wife he wrote from Gotha: "Grace and peace in Christ. You may meanwhile hire special horses for your need, dear Kate, for my gracious lord will retain your horses, and return them with M. Philip. For I myself set out from Schmalkalden yesterday, and drove hither in the coach of my gracious lord. The reason being, that I have not been in health here for more than three days, and from the first Sunday up to this night, have not passed a drop of water having

neither rested nor slept, nor been able to retain any food or drink. In short, I was sick unto death, and committed you and the children to God, and to my kind lord, expecting never to see you again, being very much distressed on your account, and yielding myself up to the grave. Now they have prayed so earnestly for me to God, and the tears of so many people have prevailed, so that God, during this night, opened to me the urinary passages, and in two hours I have passed something like a gallon, and I now feel as if I had been born anew. Therefore return thanks to God, and let the dear children, with aunt Lehne, return thanks to the true Father; for you would certainly have lost this father. The pious prince caused men to run and to ride in every direction, to provide means and help, doing all in his power to afford me relief; but all proved in vain. Your prescription with regard to the manure, did not help me. God has wrought wonders in me, this night, and still works them, through the intercession of pious men. I write this to you, because I presume, my gracious lord has directed the bailiff to send you to meet me, that if I should die on the road, you might perhaps yet be able to speak with me, or see me, which is not necessary now, and you may as well remain at home, because God has so abundantly helped me, that I trust to come to you in health. To-day we are at Gotha. I have written four times before, and am surprised that you have not received any thing. Tuesday after Reminiscere, 1537."

In the night of the following day, nearly all bodily strength departed from Luther, and he did not expect to live to the next day. Dr. Pomeranus being alone with him now, for he did not wish to have any one else with him, he said: "Praised be God, I know that I have done right in storming the papacy with the Word of God, for it is blasphemy against God, Christ, and the Gospel." Then he desired him to request his good friends, Justus Jonas, Philip Melanchthon, Cruciger and others, to forgive him, if he had sinned against them. "Do you also greet my Kate," said he; "and admonish her from me in patience to bear my final departure, and to remember that she has lived with me for twelve years in peace and joy. She has truly, as a pious wife, not only faithfully nursed and attended to me, but also served me as a maid; God reward her for it, on that day, and do you also help to provide for her and my children as it becomes and behooves you. Do you also

greet the ministers of the Divine Word from me, besides the pious citizens of Wittenberg, who have often served me." And, finally, he said: "Do you also, in my name, greet our noble elector, and my gracious lord, the landgrave, and tell them, that they should not suffer this and the like clamours to terrify or to dismay them: they do not purloin the property of churches, as the other princes do, and permit the true religion to fall into disrepute. For when church property lies useless, no one has a better right to dispose of it, and lay claim to it, than the sovereign; certainly not those beggarly knaves, the papists. Do you therefore exhort them in my name, confidently to do in the name of God what they are doing, and what the Spirit of God directs them to do. I will nevertheless not have them hemmed in by prescriptions. But may a merciful and mighty God preserve them, that they may abide in the truth once known and confessed, and be eternally grateful to him for having delivered them from the kingdom of Antichrist. I have earnestly interceded for them with my merciful God, and hope confidently that he will preserve them from ever regarding the accursed papacy. And though there are among them many that are frail, and not clean and pure in all respects, on which account the adversaries also find fault with them, they are nevertheless to confide in the mercy of God, who can render them unblameable. Contrasted with this, the ungodly life, blasphemy and sodomy of Antichrist, surpass all these defects, like a boundless ocean, from which, by the grace of God, we have been delivered. Therefore be strong in the Lord and the power of his might, and fearlessly proceed. I indeed am now prepared to die, if this is the will of my Saviour, Christ Jesus; I would nevertheless wish to live till Whitsuntide, that I might more severely in print, before the whole world, assail the Roman beast, the pope and his realm, which I verily shall do, if God spares my life, and no devil shall prevent me. But if I die, there certainly will be others after me, who will not forget him. And now I commit my soul into the faithful protection of my Redeemer, Jesus Christ, whom I have preached and confessed before the world. Amen."

Thursday after Reminiscere, (the 1st March,) Luther again confessed to Dr. Pomeranus, at Gotha, and received the absolution. When the day dawned, he said, "Yesterday I laid myself down, supposing that I should be a corpse to-day, but God has not yet willed it thus. Behold, Father, thy will be

done." Friday and Saturday he treated with Dr. Frederick Myconius concerning his burial, at Gotha, and thanked God that he should die and be interred there. But Pomeranus replied: That he trusted to God, that he would recover; that he would also cause him to be interred in the castle-church at Wittenberg, from which the streams of life had flowed out into all the world.

Bucer and Lykosthenes, (Wolfhart,) who, not having been able at Schmalkalden, in consequence of his weakness, to see Luther, for the purpose of further consulting with him in reference to the union on account of which they had come, had followed him on his journey, and found him at Gotha, where he also, although still weak, sent for them to come to him, hearing them, and returning them a friendly answer. This, said he to Bucer, would be the best course in the matter, if your people would teach the truth and frankly confess! Dear friends, God has suffered us to fall: we have erred, and taught false doctrines, let us now grow wiser, be more circumspect, and teach the truth. For this cloaking and hiding will certainly not avail, neither is it possible, in this way, to quiet our own or other men's consciences. For these crooked ways do not please God, who will demand of us a rigorous account, especially with regard to doctrine. Therefore, we dare not, in our office and life, approve of anything false, as authorized by God and his Word, let it be as glittering, handsome, noble, mighty, artificial, crafty, as it ever can be imagined or produced. "Exercise yourselves," said he, further—"to teach your populous congregations, for which you have to render an account to God, not by means of difficult, lofty and obscure words, nor foreign questions, but faithfully, clearly, and in the simplest manner possible."

Six stones had passed from Luther at Gotha, one of which being nearly the size of a bean. This was succeeded by great prostration. The elector, who had previously enjoined upon Dr. Sturz to make a stay of several days with Luther at Weimar, and if the latter could, and wished to journey thence to Wittenberg, to betake himself thither with him, being informed by the physician what character Luther's illness had now assumed, gave his consent to their remaining at Erfurt,[3] for a day or two, when they should proceed to Weimar, and he once more desired Dr. Sturz to remain with him, and to exercise all his skill in the case, or at least to stay with him so

GEORGE SPALATIN,
Consil. Eccles. Saxoniae etc.

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long till the other physicians, whom the elector had caused to be ordered, should have arrived. At Altenburg, Luther, with Melanchthon, who had followed him, and the rest, took up his lodgings with Spalatin, and again addressed to him several lines:

Christus in infirmo venit hic, Spalatine, Luthero,
Et tua pro requie tecta benigna petit.
Quidquid huic facies, factum sibi judicat ipse,
Qui nos membra sui corporis esse docet.

(In Luther frail and weak, here comes thy Lord,
And seeks thy kindly roof, O Spalatin.
The favours Luther shown, thy Saviour owns;
Who members of his body deemeth us.)

On the 13th March, Melanchthon wrote from Grimma, that, by the help of God, Luther's strength was gradually returning, since he had rested considerably here, and previously taken some food, he having also been more serene, and on the day previous dictated to him several verses of the 23d Psalm.[4] On the 14th he returned to Wittenberg with his friends, and on the 21st, he could inform Spalatin, that he, by the grace of God, was gradually recovering, and again learning to eat and to drink, although the thighs and the knees could not yet rightly bear the body, he having lost more strength than he had imagined.

Authorities.—Works, vol. 21, p. 143. Corp. Ref. T. II. p. 119, seq. 126, seq. Seckend. lib. III. p. 126. Preface to the Schmalkald Articles. Let No. 1754. The Schmalkald Articles, in all the editions of the Works, and in the Symbolical Books. Seckend. p. 151. Corp. Ref. T. III. p. 265. Let. No. 1756. Corp. Ref. p. 266. Let. 1756 to 60. Corp. Ref. p. 268. Works, vol. 12, p. 441, seq. Corp. Ref. p. 296. The original reports concerning Luther's illness, especially those by Myconius and Bugenhagen, are collected in the rare little work: Kurzer Bericht, wie der, pp. Dr. Lutherus in seiner Krankheit zu Schmalkalden, Ao. 1537, sich habe erzeigt und verhalten, u. s. w. By M. J. A. Graulius, Leipzig, (1617,) 42 pp. (which Keil, vol. 3, p. 88, seq., has copied verbatim.) Mathes. 11. Pred. Corp. Ref. p. 291, 296, 269, are also used. Let. No. 1762, 63. Works, vol. 21, p. 106. Corp. Ref. p. 327. Seckend. lib. III. p. 164. Let. No. 1764.

Notes 1.)—In the year 1538, Luther published the articles with a preface and additions. For further particulars concerning them, and for a correct copy of them, see the Author's Treatise: Der Tag zu Schmalkalden und die Schmalkaldischen artikel. Eine Reformations geschichtliche Denkschrift. Leipzig, 1837.

2.) This had appeared soon after the summons to the council, and is found, Works, vol. 16, p. 2322.

3.) He felt reluctant to remain at Erfurt, because he did not wholly trust those of the electorate of Mayence.

4.) They run thus:

Ipse Deus pastor meus est, nil deficiet me;
  Lætis me fecit pascere graminibus,
Quæque sitim sedant, ad aquas deduxit amœnas;
  Hinc redeunt vires artubus atque vigor.

(My Shepherd, God himself, supplies my wants;
In pastures green he causeth me to feed;
To quickening waters he doth lead me forth,
And strength returns, and vigour to the joints.)

PART VI.

THE LAST YEARS OF LUTHER'S LIFE.

FROM THE RETURN FROM SCHMALKALDEN TO HIS DEATH.

FROM MARCH, 1537, TO THE 17TH FEBRUARY, 1546.

CONTENTS OF PART VI.

Although exhausted by labours and sickness, and sensible of the approach of old age, Luther, nevertheless, continually requires the vigour of youth, having to enter the lists against new enemies of the Divine Word. He is greatly distressed on account of the opposition to the law occasioned by Agricola, one of his friends; but neither does he spare this his Absalom, for the Word of his Lord is endangered. On the other hand, he experiences the joy to behold how God, through the death of Duke George, brings to nought the counsel of the princes against his Gospel; and he is permitted to preach at Leipzig. He continues to labour faithfully; and especially in revising the translation of the Bible, he tasks himself to the utmost. In many important affairs is his advice requested. And even though growing old, he still fights the battles of the Lord, and wields the sword of the Spirit against the falsehoods of the Jews and the Turks, and the errors of the Papists and Sacramentarians. But old age comes apace: old friends depart; in Magdalena he loses a member of his own family by death; and Wittenberg, for a time, wholly disgusts him. There is an end of his stay here below. A work of peace forms the last labour of the aged combatant; and in his native city, Eisleben, he is overtaken by death. He now commends his soul to the Lord, and dies confessing the doctrines which he has preached. Amidst many tears his body is interred in the castle church at Wittenberg.

CHRONOLOGICAL SYNOPSIS.

1538.	January 12.	Luther Disputes against Agricola, - - -	Chap. 1
1539.	May 25.	—— Preaches at Leipzig, - - -	" 2
1540.		—— Revises the Translation of the Bible, -	" 4
1541.	April (?).	Treatise against Jack Cade, - - - -	" 6
1542.	December.	Treatise against the Jews and their falsehoods,	" 6
1544.	Spring.	Shorter Confession concerning the Lord's Supper	" 6
1545.	Spring.	Treatise: The Papacy at Rome instituted by the Devil, - - - - - - -	" 6
1545.	End of July.	Luther resolves to leave Wittenberg forever, -	" 7
1546.	February 18.	—— dies at Eisleben, - - - -	" 8

CHAPTER I.

THE ANTINOMIANS. 1537 AND '38.

After Luther had recovered from the illness which had befallen him at Schmalkalden, the report was circulated among the papists that Luther had died. A messenger accordingly came to him from Halle, in the Innthal, and informed him that it was commonly reported in Italy, to the great joy of the papists, that Dr. Martin Luther had died, and that his epitaph had been written in Hebrew, Latin, and Greek characters; which clamour having greatly terrified many pious hearts, they had prayed him to bring them a copy of that same epitaph. "But because I now find your reverence alive, I pray you graciously to give me a writing concerning your grave, that I may be able to comfort those pious people who have troubled themselves." At this the Doctor laughed, saying, "That is a strange request for a writing. Why I have never in my life written any concerning my burial." Finally, he wrote thus for him: "I, Doctor Martin Luther, confess by this, my handwriting, that I do not at all agree with the devil, the pope, or any of my enemies, for they would like to be able to rejoice at my death, and I would most cordially wish them such joy, and would willingly have died at Schmalkalden; but God has not yet wished to confirm such joy. He will, however, confirm it before they imagine, though not for their weal, and they will one day sing, Oh, if Luther were now alive! That is the copy from my grave, in German, Greek, Latin, and Hebrew."

In the year 1537, Luther, who enjoyed very good health, faithfully supplied Bugenhagen's place,[1] who had gone to Copenhagen. He and Melanchthon, as Jonas was also absent, were so overwhelmed with business and affairs, that he, in the spring of 1538, complained of not being able, as an aged man, unfit for service, to enjoy the quiet of old age, and in the gardens to contemplate the marvellous works of God in the trees, flowers, herbs, birds, &c., which quiet he would have deemed justly owing to him, if he had not by former sins deserved to lose it through burthensome and often useless engagements. But though old, exhausted, and weary from so many labours, he

nevertheless—as he wrote on another occasion—continually again became young, that is, there continually rose up new sects against him, to resist which it required a second youth. But he comforted himself, saying, "If there were no other evidence that we are called and chosen for the kingdom of heaven, and have the true Word of God, this one would be sufficient, that we are assailed by so many sects, which are continually arising anew, some even from among ourselves,[2] not to speak of the papists, of the personal contests in which we are involved with Satan, or of the contempt for the Word of God among us. But we are no better than the apostles and prophets, or our Lord himself."

Particularly was Luther distressed on account of the *error in reference to the law*, occasioned by *Agricola*. Mathesius testifies of the anxious sighs and mournful lamentations which he had witnessed of him in this matter, which caused him to experience such unfaithfulness and shameful knavery in his dear friend, to whom, on his setting out for Schmalkalden, he had confided his church, school, wife, children, and house, as to his most familiar and most intimate friend. "But," he said, I also need a teacher and instructor to explain to me that verse in the 41st Psalm, *He that eateth my bread lifteth up his heel against me.*" As far as I myself am concerned, I would indeed willingly be silent and forget," he often said, with fervent tears, "but that he should fall off from the acknowledged truth, and knowingly and wickedly strive against it, alas, most merciful and eternal God, that I must behold my dearest friend tormented in hell-fire!"

Agricola had, in the year 1536, requested of his lord, the count of Mansfeld, a dismissal from his office at Eisleben, having at the same time complained that the treatment shown him had not been very friendly, and that what had been promised him, had not been performed; the count, on the other hand, had accused him not only of ingratitude, but also of avarice, of negligence in the office committed to him, and of being addicted to the use of intoxicating drinks, as well as of having preached more against the Evangelical Party than against the papists. He betook himself to Wittenberg, and there obtained permission from the university to lecture; it is also certain that he received a salary from the elector. But he began again to spread abroad his former views,[3] and taught that the law should be banished from the church to the

council-house, and that the people were to be enticed to true repentance and a knowledge of their sins, wholly through the preaching of Christ crucified. He for this purpose, albeit only secretly and among a small number, circulated several theses, but also began to publish a number of sermons, in which he sufficiently betrayed himself. Luther reproved him in a learned and instructive sermon which he published, caused the printing of the Postil to be interrupted, and when Agricola, being questioned by him concerning the theses which he had drawn up, began to disown them, he declared, that he would have them publicly discussed, and append his condemnation to them. Agricola, indeed, at the instance of Melanchthon, prayed Luther not to publish the theses, saying that he did not acknowledge them, and that he would obey Luther in every thing that he desired; but they were already printed. To others Agricola expressed himself differently concerning his theses, saying, that several were by him, but that he had formerly once, merely as a pupil, given them to Luther, and prayed him to fix something definite concerning them for the future, since he himself employed a twofold method of teaching repentance, sometimes merely from the Gospel, sometimes from the Law and the Gospel. This he accordingly also once more wrote to Luther; the latter, however, became so much the more provoked at him, because it seemed as if he meant by this to represent their doctrine as uncertain.

In the preface to the (irregularly held six) *disputations* against the Antinomians, or opposers of the Law, Luther says: that he had met with several theses, the author of which, without publicly acknowledging them, called them *Positiones inter fratres sparsas.* As many now were influenced by them, and they were continually spreading farther, that he might not either be suspected of countenancing them by his silence, he had caused them to be published, for the purpose of informing every one disposed to take warning that he greatly disapproved of such blasphemous fanaticism, as he would evince by the maintenance of irrefragable antithesis.

In the positions which are prefixed it is said: "Repentance is to be inculcated, not from the ten commandments of God, or from any laws of Moses, but from the sufferings and death of the Son of God, through the Gospel," in support of which, Luke xxiv. 26 and other passages are adduced.

Further, it is said that the law is not in any way necessary for justification, wherefore it was not necessary to teach the law of Moses, either for the beginning, middle or end of the justification of man. In order that the Christian doctrine might therefore be preserved in its purity, those would have to be resisted, who teach that the Gospel ought not to be proclaimed, except alone to those whose hearts have previously been alarmed and rendered contrite through the law. That those who maintained the necessity of first teaching the law, and then the Gospel, did violence to the words of Christ. But just as it was necessary firmly to cleave to the simple sense of the words, *This is my body*, so it was also necessary to insist upon the simple meaning of the words, *Go, preach the Gospel and baptize them*, &c. That the law only reproved sin, and did so without the Holy Ghost, wherefore its reproofs tended to damnation. That there, however, was needed a doctrine, which not only with great power condemned, but likewise at the same time saved, this doctrine being the Gospel. Upon this several passages are cited from some of Luther's and Melanchthon's writings, concerning which it is said, that they do not harmonize with one another, since, in one passage, the doctrine of justification was taught rightly, in the other, falsely. Finally, there follow some other articles, in which it is said, among other things: "The law does not deserve to be called the Word of God." "Art thou a harlot, a knave, an adulterer, or a sinner in any other respect, if thou believest, thou art in the way of salvation." "The decalogue, or ten commandments, have their fit place in the council-house, not in the pulpit." "All that deal with Moses must perish. To the gibbet with Moses!"

In opposition to this, Luther shows in the *first* disputation, that repentance, according to the true and certain testimony of the ancient teachers, is sorrow or terror on account of sin, with the resolution to do better. That this sorrow or terror properly is, and cannot be anything else but the feeling of the law, which touches the heart or conscience: this first part of repentance, accordingly, proceeding only from the law; that the other part, however, or the resolution to do better, cannot proceed from the law, since man, terrified by the law, cannot of himself resolve to do anything good, but, being overpowered by sin, falls into despair and hatred against God, and thus perishes; wherefore, the Gospel, or the promise concerning

Christ, must soon follow the law, in order that the terrified conscience may be pacified and consoled, and man be able to form a good resolution. That repentance which is produced by the law, is only half a repentance, as the beginning of repentance; and if it proceeds no further, becomes a repentance like that of Cain, Saul or Judas. That the scholastics had taken the true definition of repentance from the ancient teachers, but had not understood or been able to teach to others the parts of the definition, namely, sorrow, sin and resolution, because they had not read the Bible, and had not understood what the Law or the Gospel was; having been so wholly absorbed in human statutes and traditions, that they had judged of holy and divine things as in a dream. That if the Gospel now, in opposition to this doctrine of the sophists, which perplexed the conscience and led into doubt, taught the penitent not only to tremble and to despair, but also to conceive hope, and thus from love to God, to hate sin, this being a truly good resolution. Some, at the present time, who did not consider the true ground of the doctrine, understood this as being spoken against the law of God, and falsely and perniciously taught that the law of God should be wholly abolished from the Church; of such shocking blasphemy and robbery of divine honour and truth were they guilty. He then shows from many passages of Holy Writ, that repentance is to begin with the law, this also being sufficiently demonstrated by the order of the whole subject itself, and by experience.

In the *second* disputation, Luther represents how the law is not only unnecessary, as far as the justification of man is concerned, but wholly useless and altogether impotent; that the article of justification, accordingly, must be based upon nothing else than the promise of the grace shown us in Christ; that it, however, does not follow from this, that the law is to be abolished and to be banished from the churches and the pulpits. That on this very account, it is much rather necessary diligently to teach and to inculcate that it is not only unnecessary but also impotent in affording righteousness, in order that man, who is proud, and relies upon his own powers and ability, may thus learn that he cannot be justified through the law. That nothing but the law teaches whence sin and death come, from which it was evident, how useful and necessary the law is. That everything, however, which points out sin, wrath, or

death, exercises the office of the law, whether it be in the Old or in the New Testament. That without law—written or natural law—there is no sin, and no sin is understood; but that if, on abolishing the law, there is no sin, then there is no Christ who delivers from sin. That Christ, however, had come not *to abolish the law, but to fulfil it:* if, accordingly, there were no law to be fulfilled in us, he verily would have come in vain. From this he then draws the conclusion: "That through these, his instruments, Satan indeed treats of sin, repentance and Christ, but merely in words, and in reality takes or rather tears away Christ, repentance, sin, and all the Scriptures, yea, even the Author of the Scriptures, God himself, designing to occasion the most pernicious security, contempt for God, unrebuked malice, and eternal impenitence, more than Epicurus himself. This is evident from the declaration, in which they pretend that the law rebukes sin without the Holy Ghost, and only to condemnation. Here it appears that they wish us to teach of such a sin, which does not condemn, yea, which perhaps even saves without Christ." Having fully explained this, he adds: "It is also utterly false, that the law rebukes sin without the Holy Ghost, whilst the law, nevertheless, is written by the finger of God; and all truth, wherever it is found, proceeds from the Holy Ghost, and to prohibit the law is to prohibit the truth of God." Finally, he concludes this disputation with the words: "All their doctrine (of the Antinomians) concerning sin, repentance, Christ, and forgiveness of sin, is mere filth, and foul, diabolical falsehood. For, as the law was before Christ, and accused us, but under Christ was silenced and pacified through the forgiveness of sin, and is now henceforth to be fulfilled through the Spirit, so it will, after Christ, remain fulfilled, when the creature, as the law meanwhile demands, will have become wholly new. Therefore, the law will never be abolished, but will forever remain either to be fulfilled in the wicked, or fulfilled in those that are saved. But these disciples of Satan, it seems, conceive that the law was given only for a time, and was abolished after the advent of Christ, as was circumcision.

In the *third* disputation, Luther says, concerning the repentance of the papists, Turks, Jews, all unbelievers and hypocrites, that it is partial and evanescent, being sorry for some sins only, and continues but for a time. That the repentance, however, of those that believe on Christ, is directed not only to

particular sins, but is general and eternal; that is, it continues throughout life, till death. That all works, after justification, accordingly, are nothing else but a continual repentance, or a good resolution against sin, there being nothing else to be done than that sin, pointed out by the law, and forgiven in Christ, be henceforth purged out. He further shows how the Lord's Prayer, prescribed by the Lord himself to his saints and believers, is a part of repentance, and an instruction, in which much of the law is embraced; so that the enemies of the law would also have to banish the Lord's Prayer from the churches, if they would not endure the law in them, and even the greater part of the sermons of our Lord Christ, who (Matt. v.) not only repeats the law, but also, as the true teacher, explains it. Finally, he says, that even if sin could be learned through anything else besides the law, which was impossible, this would still be no ground for the rejection of the law. And though it were possible to banish the written law, who would tear from the conscience the living law, which is written in the heart, and is a writing against us which cannot be obliterated?

In the *fourth* disputation Luther warns his hearers against the papistical doctrine on repentance, as against hell and Satan himself; but still more, says he, is it necessary to beware of those who will not leave any repentance in the church as was done by those who refused to have the law taught. Upon this he refutes their argument, that nothing was to be taught which was not necessary to justification. He further shows, that favour and forgiveness of sin do not render men secure against sin, death and the law, as if these no longer existed now, but rather make them diligent and careful daily to overcome sin, death and the law, through Christ their Saviour; and concludes: "In short, the law is not useful or necessary to justification or any good work, much less to salvation; on the contrary: justification, good works and salvation are necessary to the fulfilment of the law. *For Christ came to seek and to save that which was lost, and to restore all things*, as St. Peter says, Acts iii.; wherefore the law is not abolished through Christ, but re-established, in order that Adam may again become what he was; yea, much better."

In the *fifth* disputation (held in the year 1539) Luther advances the position: "*The law rules over a man, as long as he lives.* Rom. vii.; but he is delivered from the law when he

dies: therefore if a man is to be delivered from the law, he must die. But if the law rules over a man as long as he lives, then also does sin rule over him as long as he lives. Therefore a man must necessarily die, if he is to be delivered from sin. For the power of sin is the law; but the sting of death is sin. 1. Cor. xv. These three, the law, sin and death, cannot be separated." From this he then concludes, that those who attempt to banish the law from the Church, must also at the same time banish sin and death, since death and sin originate from the law. Wherefore they should first demonstrate that the righteous are wholly free from sin and death. As they however could not do that, and experience demonstrated the opposite, it was madness in them to wish that we should free even the ungodly from the law and not preach it to them. For if it was necessary to hold up their sin and death, that is, the law, to holy and righteous man, for whom it was not given; was it not much more necessary to hold up the law to the ungodly and wicked, for whom it was properly and especially given? He further elucidates this thus: "In Christ, raised from the dead, there certainly is neither sin nor death, nor law, to which he was nevertheless subjected during life; but our Lord Christ is not yet fully risen in his saints, yea, he begins in them as first fruits to rise from the dead. In the ungodly, however, who are mingled with the pious in the Church, and whose number exceeds that of the pious, he is yet wholly dead, or rather he is not in them at all. They are wholly under the law, and must be terrified through the law, and if it were possible, with bolts of physical thunder. As far, therefore, as Christ is risen in us, so far we are without law, sin and death. But as far as he is not yet risen in us, so far we are and remain under the law, sin and death: Therefore the law (as well as the Gospel) must be preached, without distinction, both to the righteous or believers and the ungodly: to the ungodly, that they may be terrified by it, learning to see their sins, death, and the inevitable wrath of God, which humbles them. To the pious, that they may be reminded by it how they are to crucify and mortify their flesh, together with their lusts and vices, that they may not become secure; for security takes away both faith and piety, and causes the latter case to be worse than the first." He then shows that the error of the Antinomians consists in their dreaming that sin is taken away through Christ as to its sub-

stance, they not understanding, that it is taken away only in such a manner, that God does not impute it to men. He further speaks of the fourfold way and manner of preaching and instructing men concerning salvation, in accordance with the four works of God, God terrifying with threatenings, comforting with promises, exhorting by means of tribulation, alluring and enticing through benefits, and shows that these four parts do not abolish the law, but establish and confirm it. Finally, he concludes with the positions: "In short, to abolish the law and to suffer sin and death to remain, is nothing else than hiding and concealing from men the infectious malady of sin and death to their eternal destruction. When death and sin are abolished and taken away, as Christ has abolished and taken them away, then may the law be blessedly abolished; yea, then it will be rightly established. Rom. iii.

In the *sixth* disputation (held in the year 1540) Luther, taking up the words of St. Paul: *Where there is no law, there is no transgression*, makes the following deductions: Where there is no sin, there is also no punishment nor forgiveness of sin. Where there is neither punishment nor forgiveness, there is no wrath or favour. Where there is no wrath or favour, there is no divine or human government. Where there is neither divine nor human government, there is neither God nor man. Where there is neither God nor man, there is nothing, except perhaps the devil. And from this he deduces, that these spirits, the enemies and assailants of the law, are certainly either devils themselves, or the devil's kinsmen, and that it is of no avail for them to boast of their teaching much concerning God, Christ, grace, the law, &c., it being no new thing even for devils to abuse the name of God.

In the second disputation, which was held on the 12th January, 1538, Luther called upon Agricola to come forth, and advance his arguments. The latter confusedly replied, that he did not wish to dispute as if he disapproved of the theses, which he deemed true and correct, but merely in order to comply with the invitation, and this for the purpose, in the first place, that he might derive some profit from this friendly exchange of opinions; and in the second place, that he might declare to all, in case he had seemed to any not to teach what was right concerning the Law and the Gospel, that he nevertheless had correct and christian thoughts on these subjects. Upon this he advanced two arguments. Luther having very ably and

satisfactorily replied to these, called upon all, thenceforth not to entertain any suspicions against Agricola, if any had perhaps entertained such, he having now publicly confessed himself of the same mind with them; himself, however, he earnestly exhorted to preserve faith and fidelity, and not to deal secretly or craftily, but honestly and openly.

Luther also permitted him to preach again, in order to enable him publicly to testify to the congregation, that he held the truth in this matter; it was, nevertheless, necessary particularly to enjoin this upon him at Easter, for up to that time, he had not done it. Luther, himself, published a letter to *Dr. Caspar Güttel*, pastor at Eisleben, under the title: *Against the Antinomians*, in which he says: "That he could justly have hoped that he had sufficiently declared and secured himself in his disputation; that Satan, however, was continually again mingling him up in the affair, as if he and these spirits were not greatly at variance; and if he had died at Schmalkalden, he would forever have had to be the patron of such spirits, they having appealed to his books. That he had accordingly been constrained to take Magister John Agricola to task, he having been the prime-mover and master-spirit in this matter, and more than once to state to him all that was to be stated. That the same had indeed humbled himself, and promised to desist, where he had proceeded too far: but because it had continually been boasted, and writings had also come to Wittenberg, representing that Dr. Martin and Magister Eisleben were on good terms, he had found it necessary further to insist upon Agricola to publish a revocation, as there was no other means to extirpate this poisonous weed at Eisleben, and in the regions round about. That the latter had been willing to do this, but having feared that he could not just state the matter so clearly, had committed it to him. Luther, accordingly, declares in Agricola's name, that the latter wished to have everything considered as revoked which he had taught or written against the law, and to have it known that he agreed with the Wittenbergers and the Augsburg Confession. "I would willingly," added he, "praise him for having thus humbled himself; but as it is known how he has been one of my best and nearest friends, I will leave this to some one else, that the suspicion may not arise in the matter, as if I were not in earnest. If he continues in this humility, God can, and no doubt will, exalt him; but if he passes beyond it, God can verily

also again cast him down." He then prays Dr. Güttel to state these particulars to all, as there was no other way of resisting Satan. He was surprised, he said, at his being suspected of having rejected the law or the ten commandments, whilst he daily preached and inculcated them in the Church, and in so many ways, that he did not know what should be further done in the matter, only that they were not, alas, as yet, practised in daily life and conversation as they should be. He had, indeed, taught, and still taught, that sinners were to be allured to repentance through the preaching or representation of the sufferings of Christ, in order that they might see how great the wrath of God is on account of sin, so that no remedy could avail against it, except the death of the Son of God. That this was not his own doctrine, but what St. Bernard, yea, all Christendom, prophets and apostles, taught; it did not, however, follow from this that the law was to be abolished. The Antinomians, however, seemed to have entertained the view, that those who heard preaching were all perfect Christians, without sin. That if there were none but sad and distressed hearts, who felt their sins and feared God, they ought to be comforted, and to them Christ could not be represented in too lovely a light. That these spirits, however, were not themselves such Christians; otherwise, neither they nor their hearers would have been so secure and bold. That all should, accordingly, continue to allure sinners to repentance, not only by means of the abounding grace and suffering of Christ, but also by means of the terrors of the law, since we could observe different ways of preaching, as the prophets and apostles also had done. "But, suppose for a moment," added he, "that I had taught or said that the law should not be inculcated in the Church, the opposite of which all my writings, nevertheless, testify, as I have also from the beginning always inculcated the catechism, should they, therefore, so pertinaciously cleave to me, and (not much rather) resist me, for in many things I have always taught differently, and thus have fallen off from myself, as I have done in the doctrines of the pope. For I can in truth boast, that no papist at present is such from such conscientious and serious motives as I was. For those that are papists now, are such not from fear of God, as I, poor wretch, was, but from other motives, as is easily seen, and they themselves know. I have had to follow St. Peter's advice: *Grow in the knowledge of the Lord.* (2 Pet. iii. 18.)

He further observes, that he could well expect to be left undisturbed by his own friends, as he had enough to do with the papists, and like many others, might almost exclaim with Job: "Would that I had never been born!" so he too might almost say, "Would that I had never issued my books!" nor would he trouble himself about it if all of them had already perished, and the books of such lofty spirits stood arranged in all the bookstores, that they might have their anxious wish gratified; that he, however, on the other hand, durst not deem himself any better than our dear Lord Jesus Christ, who also complained: *In vain have I laboured and toiled!* and for the sake of the pious who desired salvation, he was constrained to live, to preach, to write, to do and to suffer everything. That if devils and false brethren were to be regarded, it would be better neither to preach, nor to write, nor to do anything, but only soon to die, and to be buried. Having then shown how pride and presumption had been the cause of this newly-invented doctrine, he says: "That the history of the Church, from the earliest times, demonstrated that when God's Word had arisen anywhere, Satan had perceived the light, and had employed all his arts to extinguish it. That thus things would proceed to the end of time. That he alone had encountered some twenty tempests and sects which Satan had raised up." Having then enumerated these, he adds: "And if I should live a hundred years longer, and by the grace of God had overcome not only the former and present sects and tempests, but would be able also thus to overcome all future ones, I see, nevertheless, that I would not by this afford our descendants rest, as long as Satan lives and rules. Therefore, I also pray God graciously to take me hence, and to deliver me from this state of things. Do you, our descendants, also pray and diligently attend to God's Word, preserve the feeble torch-light of God, take warning, and be prepared as those who must expect that Satan may at any time break a pane or a window for you, tear open door and roof, in order to extinguish the light, for he will not die before the last day. We must die, and when we are gone, he still remains. He has always been the same, and cannot cease his storming." But he also, by way of comfort, adds: "God help us, as he helped our forefathers, and will also help our descendants, to the praise and honour of His holy name, forever. For it is not we who can help the Church, neither was it our forefathers, nor our de-

scendants; but He it was, still is, and will be, who says: *I am with you to the end of the world;* and Hebrews xiii., *Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and forever;* and Rev. i., *who was, and is, and is to come.* Yes, thus the man *is* called, and *so* no other man is called, and no one *shall* be called.[4]

Luther was besides annoyed and vexed in various other ways. Thus he was very indignant at the nobility, who were not satisfied with the qualifications of their pastors, wherefore he wrote to John Schreiner, pastor and superintendent at Grimma: "Who can furnish the nobility mere Doctor Martins or Magister Philips for such a beggarly service? If they want to have mere St. Augustines and Ambrosiuses, they may provide them themselves. If a pastor is good enough for his Lord Christ, and is faithful, a nobleman. who is considerably less than Christ, should justly also be satisfied. Must not a prince also be satisfied in his temporal government, if he can find three able men among all his nobility, being constrained patiently to employ the rest as filling-up stones? They wish to have everything select, but will not themselves be selected."

Magister Simon Lemnius, a young poet at Wittenberg, had at Whitsuntide, 1538, secretly published a book of *Epigrams*, against which Luther, in a public notice, warned all, as against "a most shameful, slanderous and lying book, abusing many honourable and well-known men and women of this town and these churches." He further wrote: "As this same scandalous poetaster, moreover, extols that despicable town-clerk at Halle, pardon the expression, bishop Albrecht, and makes a saint of the devil, I cannot silently permit this to be done in public print, in this church, university and town, because that same wretched bishop is a false lying character, and, notwithstanding, is accustomed to call us the Lutheran knaves," &c. Concerning this abuse of their relative, all the Brandenburg princes entered complaints with the elector; and Duke Albrecht, of Prussia, wrote to Luther himself, praying him to have patience, and rather to build up than to tear down. It was not merely, he said, because he did not wish to see the house of Brandenburg assailed, but most of all, that the Word of God might spread, and many and all the electoral and princely houses become well-disposed towards his beloved father Martin, that thus, through the favour of the person, the cause of the wholesome Word might also be promoted. "Therefore," said he, "my beloved pious doctor and christian

teacher, it is my most earnest, christian and diligent prayer that you would take all this into christian consideration, and reflect what further mischief Satan might occasion from such things, that you may not leave Satan too much room." But Luther replied to the duke: That he was not indeed surprised at such a request from him, as being a near relative; that if the duke, however, would read his reasons, he would not himself think or speak very highly of the bishop, who went beyond all bounds in his malice and knavery. That there, however, never had been a family so exalted and noble, in which some degenerate child had not been found; that the duke should, therefore, leave the desperate priest to the judgment of God.[5]

During this time, Luther suffered severely from diarrhœa; with reference to which, he said: "I must permit the posterior parts to exercise their authority, for God punishes us also in the secret parts of the body, as he did the Philistines, 1 Sam. v." He was also afflicted with violent and sudden pains in his limbs, so that he was constrained to use a staff, and thus to walk along as upon three legs, which he did with great difficulty. Then he said: "Oh, merciful God, have I not lived long enough? Oh, suffer me to pray with the prophet Jonah: 'Therefore, now, O Lord, take, I beseech thee, my life from me: for it is better for me to die than to live.'" And upon Philip's asking him whether he felt any other sickness afflicting him? he said: "The body is somewhat weak, for this I need no help; but in the soul I need a stronger faith. For Satan hates us and assails us in every way." On the 8th August, he said: "God has, after all, severely afflicted me, and I have also been impatient, because I am exhausted from so many and such great afflictions; but God knows better why he sends affliction than we do. Our Lord God is a printer, who preserves the types He composes; we see and feel them, but the impression from them we will see in the next life; meanwhile, we must have patience."

In the year 1538 Luther published the "*Counsel of a Committee of Cardinals drawn up and delivered to Pope Paul the III. at his command,*" adding his Notes, and observed concerning it in the preface: "The pope is encumbered with the wretched council, as a cat is with her young. In Germany he does not wish it held, at Mantua he cannot hold it, as he pretends, now it is to be held at Vicentia, where it cannot be, and they

do not mean it to be either. He will yet be as unfortunate with his council, as Marcolfus was, who could nowhere find a tree on which to hang himself. Let us not disturb these holy people with a council, they cannot bear one at any rate, and will not institute one unless they are permitted to do in it what they choose. They are apprehensive that if a council is held, they will lose feathers and hairs, and even their own patron. They burnt their fingers at the council of Constance, and have become fully sensible of this. For if they should only in the least point be found censurable or in error, the pope, with his crown and keys, would be prostrated in the dust, and this would be death and perdition to his exalted majesty, which heretofore rested upon this article, that the pope and his See or Church could not err; that, on the contrary, what he did or said was an article of faith, and was to be believed by all Christians, on pain of eternal death. Danger to his majesty, accordingly, forbids the holding of a council, in which the question might be discussed: whether the Roman See has erred or been in the wrong, or whether it may err? For Daniel xi. it is written of Antichrist, *that he would be a king, who would do what seemed good to him*, that is, that he would be a god, subject to no law, but a lord and master over all law. As they therefore dread the council, they have recourse to the most crafty manœuvres, and imagine that these will not be perceived. Thrice they have removed the council; so they have likewise published the reformation of the Roman court, in order that the council, if it should perhaps be held against their will, might not find anything to be reformed at Rome; and as the Roman court before, so now the whole Church is reformed with this little book, that the council might not have anything to reform or to do in the Church; the pope having already begun with this, thus the council would be nothing more, than that one would greet the other, and return home again. But this reformation properly reforms nobody, as everything is at any rate yielded to the pope, and the pope and the cardinals are represented as never having done a wrong act. Unhappy Mr. Nobody has done all the mischief, and this reformation is a true nobody's reformation. Luther also illustrated the contents of the book (concerning the Reformation of the Church) by means of a likeness: the pope was represented as sitting upon an elevated throne, and around him were standing several cardinals, who, using fox-tails, fastened to

long poles, as brooms, were sweeping out every thing above and below.

Luther likewise wrote a preface to the little work, entitled: "What the pope, at the diet of Nuremberg, sought to obtain from his imperial majesty's vicegerent and the estates of the realm, in reference to the Lutheran cause," &c., in which he says: Just as Moses most earnestly commanded his people, never to forget the bondage of Egypt, from which God had delivered them, so we must also now, with regard to the papacy, remember the cruel tyranny which it exercised over Christians, and never forget, from what a shocking bondage of conscience the Lord has again, through his Holy Word, delivered them. Therefore this and similar books are diligently to be preserved, that posterity also may see what tyranny and knavery the pope has resorted to in Christendom, for the papists are now beginning to adorn themselves, endeavouring to persuade men that they have never done an exceptionable deed. But it is of no avail, there are too many books and testimonies extant, even their own decretals and bulls, which they cannot adorn and gloss over.

Authorities.—MSS. of several conversations of Luther, in Keil, vol. 3, p. 107. Corp. Ref. T. III., p. 397, 99. Let. No. 1800, 1820. Mathes. 11. Pred. Seckend. lib. III. p. 306. Corp. Ref. T. III. p. 386, 391, 420, 454, 461. The disputation against the Antinomians, Works, vol. 21, p. 349, seq. Corp. Ref. T. III. p. 482, seq, 495, 513. Treatise against the Antinomians, vol. 21, p. 344. (Let. No. 1835.) Let. No. 1772. Works, vol. 22, p. 592. Seckend. lib. III. p. 198. Let. No. 1815. Table Talk, Keil's ed. vol. 3, p. 117. The preface to the book: What the pope, &c. ib. p. 239.

Notes.—1.) At Easter, 1538, for instance, he preached nine days in succession. Corp. Ref. III. p. 513.

2.) Besides the Antinomistical error, which after Agricola was supported chiefly by the Freiberg court-preacher, Jacob Schenk, there were other points also upon which erroneous opinions were entertained at Wittenberg. Especially was the suspicion excited against Melanchthon and Cruciger, that they differed from Luther on several points, and the elector consequently caused Chancellor Brück to speak to Luther concerning the matter, who intimated, that in reference to the article of the sacrament, no firm reliance could be placed upon Melanchthon; he nevertheless always continued to esteem him as well as Cruciger very highly, and does not upon the whole seem to have done or said much with regard to the matter. In the letters and documents in the Corp. Ref. T. III. beginning at p. 366, there is repeated mention made of these misunderstandings.

3.) He had first manifested these in reference to the articles of visitation, on account of which he severely assailed Melanchthon, for which he, however, was reprimanded by Luther. Compare p. 346, Note 2.

4.) The dispute, as is known, did not end here; we did not, however, deem it necessary to pursue it any further. Agricola, namely, complained that Luther had proceeded too far against him; the latter defended himself in a writing, (Works, vol. 21, p. 360,) whereupon the elector wished to make an end of the dispute by bringing about an understanding between the parties. Agricola, however, meanwhile, contrary to his promise, left Wittenberg, and proceeded to Berlin, where he received an appointment from the elector of Brandenburg, and whence he also issued a complete revocation, and begged Luther's pardon. The latter, however, never rightly trusted him again. Compare Seckend. lib. III. p. 308, seq.

5.) Luther was exasperated against the archbishop, especially because of the inimical proceedings allowed against the Evangelical Party at Halle. He had attacked him before, and was only with difficulty restrained from quite relentlessly assailing him. In the notice referred to, he for once gave vent to his indignation against him. Comp. Seckend. lib. III. p. 791, seq.

CHAPTER II.

THE LEIPZIG WHITSUNTIDE FESTIVAL, 1539.

At Nuremberg a league had been formed, at the head of which stood the dukes, Louis of Bavaria and Henry of Brunswick, and the latter especially was wholly intent upon disturbing the public peace, and insisted upon commencing the war againt the Protestants. Luther being questioned with regard to this matter, replied to chancellor Brück, that his gracious lord could with a secure and good conscience, in case of necessity, defend himself against the nefarious designs of the opposing princes, that he also was required to protect his subjects. "But to attack," added he—"and to attempt frustrating such design of the princes by means of war, is by no means advisable, but most scrupulously to be avoided. For here is the Word of God: *He that takes the sword, shall perish by the sword.* Now there is no command here to employ the sword, because the guilt or the deeds of the adversaries are not yet evident or manifest, and these inimical princes are not under the authority of our gracious lord." "And if they," continues he, "were attacked now, as long as they have not publicly furnished occasion, this would not only afford them plausibility,

but also the greatest right, to defend themselves from necessity. Greater reproach could not be cast upon the Gospel, for this would occasion, not an insurrection of peasants, but an insurrection of princes, which would involve Germany in utter ruin." "But if," says he in conclusion, "my gracious lord, the landgrave, should be unwilling to acquiesce, and resolve to proceed, my gracious lord is not required to observe the league. For we must obey God rather than men: and all leagues must be and remain subject to God and right, so that nothing may be done or undertaken in opposition to these. But if my gracious lord, the landgrave, or those of Magdeburg. were attacked, my gracious lord is obligated by the league, to make every effort for them as he would for himself, acting as above stated; for God requires us to observe faith and fidelity.

If Luther no longer opposed the view, that the emperor might also be resisted, he did this chiefly because, as he said, it was not the emperor who began this war, but the pope and the bishops, who had engaged the emperor to defend their tyranny and diabolical practices against the acknowledged truth. That the emperor had nothing against the princes as emperor; that the pope, however, wished to make causes of things which were not causes, and thus to involve the emperor in this dangerous war. That, therefore, if it were permitted to wage war against the Turks, and to defend one's self against them, how much more against the pope who was worse than the Turks! That if the emperor were found among the soldiers of the pope or the Turks, he might abide the consequences, as such nefarious conduct would deserve. That in this case the emperor could not be considered emperor, but the soldier and robber of the pope. And in an opinion submitted in common with Jonas, Bucer and Melanchthon, Luther wrote: "It is undoubtedly the veritable, divine truth, which we are in duty bound to confess, even unto death, that not only defence is permitted, but that it is also truly and earnestly enjoined upon all potentates, as a service due to God, to defend and to protect themselves, in case any one government, or others, attempt to force them to engage in idolatrous and prohibited worship; so also, if any one should venture to exercise unjust authority over their subjects."

But he once more stated that this was all to be understood of defence; and then taking up the question: "Whether he that acts on the defensive, is in duty bound to wait till his en-

emy makes an actual attack?" and replying to it as follows: "If the ban is published against one or more of the allies, the enemy has declared war, and those on the defensive can use preventive measures; as natural and written law demonstrates, in accordance with the prescribed rule, that the Gospel does not prohibit, but confirms the office of the government and natural law;" he nevertheless adds: "Although this is true, therefore, it still does not behoove us to conclude, that we are therefore forthwith to begin, but the lords must themselves consider, whether it would be advisable, and whether other means cannot be employed with success. Here we are also all to call upon God, that he would graciously grant peace and victory, and the people are to be earnestly exhorted to such prayer."

Therefore Luther also issued an address "To all pastors in Christ, who love the Gospel," in which he says, that the conflicting reports and clamours about the approach of the Turks had wholly confused men, and he was apprehensive that the wrath of God was nearer than was imagined, and that the Turks would come, when men would be most secure and accustomed to the clamour. That the best defence, accordingly, would be to arm ourselves against them with prayer. That the Papists had, moreover, long since endeavoured to occasion some calamity in Germany; that they could not cease, but were raving more and more, being stone blind, and not considering that they could indeed make a beginning, but not an end. That he was not apprehensive of their being able to accomplish their designs: but of this he was apprehensive, that, if they should begin, and the other side should be constrained to defend themselves, a war would be occasioned by it, which would not cease till Germany would be completely ruined. "But now because,"—continues he—"our sins on both sides are very ripe, great and crying; there, with falsehood, blasphemy of God, violence, murder, persecution of the innocent, &c.; here, with ingratitude, contempt for God's Word, avarice and much wickedness; I am greatly apprehensive that God, his wrath being so exceedingly tempted, will at last send one of these two rods, or perhaps both, to scourge us Germans: That I may therefore do my part, I most earnestly pray all pastors, faithfully to admonish their people, and diligently to represent to them these two rods of God, that they may fear and become pious. For there is no trifling here, and I

am shocked at our sins; nor am I a willing prophet, for it commonly comes to pass as I prophesy. That they would, in the second place, earnestly pray and entreat God, as it cannot be otherwise at any rate, Germany must at last be rewarded for its folly, because its sins, being excessive already, daily increase in number and guiltiness; that He would, in his divine mercy, chastise us with some other rod, be it pestilence or something else, that principalities, stations and authorities at least may remain, and the Turks may not come upon us, wrapt thus in security and sleep; but that he would much less permit us to be devoured and consumed among ourselves, through the raving of the papists. Verily, there is time and need for prayer. For Satan does not sleep, the Turks are not idle, and the papists do not rest; there is no hope that they will cease from their blood-thirstiness; they are not wanting in will, wrath, property and money; they have everything of this description in abundance for a beginning, except that God has not dispensed to them courage and power enough; otherwise Germany would long since have been drenched in blood, as the pope and his adherents also have threatened us. Now, as human counsel and power cannot avail to check these blood-hounds, but God alone can check them, as he has done thus far, let all be pious, who can be so, and pray God not to withdraw his hand from us, but cause us to be curbed, according to the demerits of our grievous sins on both sides. The papists do not pray, their blood-thirstiness does not permit them; neither do they see their complete corruption, and their blindness, malice, pride and riches do not permit them to see it; therefore let us, at least, be pious, watch and pray, who by the grace of God, see and pray; we also know that we are truly heard, as we have thus far experienced what great things our prayers have accomplished; albeit, no blasphemous papist perceives it, as it is written: Let the wicked be taken away, that he may not see the glory of God.

From February to April, 1539, a convention was held at Frankfort, for the purpose of adjusting the disputes between the estates. Luther very diligently and kindly wrote to Melanchthon, who was there, but he entertained little hope of the negotiations, for one part, he thought, desired an open door for the Gospel, the others wished to close it, the posture of the matter being, that Christ and Belial would have to be united, or one part would have to yield to the other.

About this time Luther finished his treatise "*Concerning the Councils and the Church.*" In the preface to it he says, that thus far all the world had cried and waited for a council; the good emperor, together with the whole empire, had laboured for it these twenty years already, the pope also always comforting them with promises, and still deferring, and always holding up the bait to the emperor, as to a dog. That as the pope, accordingly, with his adherents, wholly refused to hold a council, and to reform the Church, but defended his tyranny and nefarious proceedings, it was necessary for them, themselves, as being forsaken by the pope, to look for counsel and help elsewhere, and firstly, beseechingly to seek a reformation from the Lord Christ, and to hold a council, and undertake a reformation without the pope, and without their consent. Having upon this shown, in the introduction, that those were greatly deceived who imagined that the pope, with his adherents, would also consent, or would have to consent, to such a reformation, inasmuch as he deemed himself above the councils, fathers, kings, God, and angels, and it would be difficult to constitute the fathers and the councils his masters, he shows in the sequel that it would be just as useless to undertake a reformation from the fathers and councils, without the pope, even if he refused, or attempted to hinder it. For that St. Bernard boasted of having first drawn his knowledge from the Scriptures themselves, saying that he did indeed highly esteem the holy fathers, but did not receive everything that they had said, and that he therefore rather drank from the source itself than from the streamlet. It was evident, moreover, that the councils not only differed from one another, but were also, in some cases, directly opposed to each other as well as the fathers. That every one could here extract what pleased him, and suffer to remain what did not please him: but who was to be umpire here? Then he demonstrates from the example of St. Augustine, that it is impossible to bring back the Church to the doctrines and customs of the fathers and the councils, inasmuch as the same would not have the fathers, bishops, councils, no matter how holy or learned they might be; nor did he wish even himself to be trusted; he directed us to the Scriptures, and added, without these, all is uncertain, lost, and in vain. But that if St. Augustine was rejected from the number of the fathers, the rest would not be worth much, since St. Augustine was justly deemed one of the best of the fathers, and was esteemed

as the ablest throughout Christendom. "Behold," continues he then, "we will set St. Augustine, Bernard, and others like them, aside, and will take up the councils and fathers themselves, and see whether we can regulate our lives according to them;" and shows, from the example of St. Cyprian and St. Augustine, as regards their views concerning baptism, how difficult it is to reconcile the fathers with one another, in order that we might be certain as to what and how we are to preach to Christians; having then demonstrated, from the example of the four chief councils, that there is no council or father from whom every christian doctrine can be obtained or learned, he passes over to a more detailed account of the four chief councils, which constitutes the second part of this treatise. Here Luther shows that the councils have no power or right to establish new articles of faith and to change former ones, and that the councils are to be judged and also held according to the chief article which furnished the occasion for the council, this being the council substantially, the body of the council, to which everything else was to adapt itself. Thus he shows that the council of Nice firstly maintained the ancient article of the faith, that Christ is very and true God, in opposition to the new conceits of Arius, who attempted to falsify, yea, to change and to condemn, this article, in conformity to reason; but that besides this it also treated of some incidental, bodily, outward, temporal matters, which are justly esteemed secular, and not to be compared to the articles of faith, they not concerning our times, it being not possible nor useful to observe them. That the council of the apostles at Jerusalem had likewise thus, after the chief article, ordained some incidental, outward regulations, as concerning blood, that which was strangled and sacrificed to idols, these being required at their time, but they did not institute them with the view that they should continue in the Church as eternal laws or articles of faith. "Now, from all this it is evident," says he, in concluding this account of the council of Nice, "that this council did not invent or ordain anything new, but through the Holy Scriptures condemned the new error of Arius, in regard to the ancient faith. So that from this the power cannot be granted to the councils (much less to the pope at Rome) to change old articles and to invent or establish new ones." Having then given an account of the second chief council, that of Constantinople, which firstly establishes that the Holy

Ghost is true God, secondly, deposes the heretics and bishops, and thirdly, constitutes Bishop Neklarius of Constantinople, a patriarch, he again adds: "And from this we not only learn that the councils have no power to institute new good works, much less new articles of faith, but it also admonishes us that the councils are not to establish or to institute anything new whatever, as those who are to know that they are not assembled for any such purpose, but for defending the ancient faith against new doctrines." Concerning the third chief council, held at Ephesus, he, after giving a somewhat detailed account of it, says, "Behold, neither did this council establish anything new in the faith, but defended the ancient faith against the new conceits of Nestorius, so that from this the councils cannot take the example or the authority for establishing new or different articles of faith." Finally, after he had demonstrated also that the fourth chief council, held at Chalcedon, did not establish any new article of faith, he added: "If these four chief councils neither wished nor could establish anything new in the articles of faith, as they themselves confess, how much less can such authority be granted to the other councils, which must be deemed inferior, if these four are to be called the chief councils. In the same way now we must look upon all other councils, be they great or small; and if there were many thousands of them, that they, namely, cannot establish anything new either in faith or good works, but are, as highest judges and bishops, under Christ, to defend the ancient faith and all good works, according to the Holy Scriptures." * * * "But if they establish anything new with regard to faith or good works, it is certain that the Holy Ghost is not there, but the unholy ghost with his angels. For that they do without and aside from the Holy Scriptures. Therefore such councils, without the Holy Scriptures, are councils of Caiaphas, Pilate and Herod, as the apostles say, Acts iv. They take counsel together, or hold councils against God and his Christ."

Then he shows what the business of a council is, and says that it, firstly, has no power to establish new articles of faith; secondly, has power and is required to suppress and to condemn new articles of faith; thirdly, has no power to enjoin new good works; fourthly, has power, and is also required, according to the Holy Scriptures, and the ancient customs of the Church, to condemn evil works, which are opposed to love; fifthly, has no power to impose new ceremonies upon Chris-

tians, to be observed under pain of mortal sin and danger of conscience, as fast days, &c.; sixthly, has power and is required to condemn such ceremonies, according to the Scriptures; seventhly, has no power to meddle with temporal laws and policy; eighthly, has power, and is required, according to the Scriptures, to condemn such received customs and new laws; ninthly, has no power to adopt such statutes and decrees which aim at nothing else but the establishment of tyranny; and finally, tenthly, has power to institute some ceremonies, such only, however, which do not confirm the tyranny of the bishops, but are useful to the people and promotive of good order and discipline. At the close of the second part of this treatise he describes what a council properly is, and says that it is nothing else but a consistory, a superior or supreme court of judicature, or the like, in which the judges, after hearing the parties, pronounce sentence, in humility, nevertheless, and in accordance with right, not according to their own conceits or wishes, or new-invented statutes, but according to the ancient statutes, that is, according to the Holy Scriptures, which are the statutes of the holy Church. He thereupon added the admonition to the emperor and kings to hold a noble, severe, and powerful council, and if the pope did not willingly yield, to compel him to submit to it, as the emperors had done in the four chief councils. And if other monarchs should not consent to a general council, the emperor Charles and the German princes could, nevertheless, hold a provincial council in Germany.

In the third part of this treatise, Luther treats of the Church, and in accordance with the creed, states distinctly what the Church is, namely, a communion of saints, that is, a collection or assembly of such men, who are Christians, and are holy, from which it could at once be concluded, that the pope, bishops, priests, and monks, were not a holy, christian people, as they did not believe in Christ, nor did they lead a holy life, but were the wicked and scandalous imps of Satan. That edifices of stone which were called churches, did not constitute the true Church, but a holy christian people, in whom Christ lived, worked, and ruled, through his grace and the forgiveness of sin, and the Holy Ghost, through the daily purging out of sin and the renewing of life, so that they did not continue in sin, but were enabled to lead a new life as was required, performing all manner of good works. That the

Christian Church, or this christian holy people, were known, firstly, by having the Holy Word of God; secondly, by teaching, believing and using the sacrament of baptism according to the institution of Christ. Thirdly, by dispensing, believing and receiving the sacrament of the altar according to the institution of Christ; fourthly, by the keys which they use publicly; fifthly, the Church is outwardly known by consecrating or calling ministers, or having offices which it fills; sixthly, the holy christian people are known by prayer, by publicly praising and thanking God; seventhly, by the holy cross, they having to suffer all manner of distress and persecution, temptations and evil from Satan, the world and the flesh, that they may become like unto their head, Christ. Other outward ceremonies, which do not render the Church holy, neither have been instituted or enjoined by God, are to remain free, because such things are wholly outward, and are completely and entirely subjected to the direction of reason. In conclusion, he adds the admonition, firmly and diligently to sustain schools, as these were true, youthful, eternal councils, which were probably productive of more good than many other great councils, wherefore the princes and the lords should apply the property of the cloisters to schools, and many persons should found stipends. If posterity did misapply them, they would at least have done their part during their time.[1]

The death of duke George of Saxony, which occurred at the time of the Frankfort convention, frustrated the designs of the princes who had confederated against the Evangelical Party, so that duke Henry of Brunswick is reported to have said: That he would rather that God in heaven had died. But Luther said that duke George was an example, which should be well considered in these last times, of a father with his two well-formed, full-grown sons perishing in a short time. For when duke George, in his enmity to the Gospel, severely oppressed his brother, duke Henry, at Freiberg, Luther had prophesied to him that he and his race would perish, saying: "God will turn the leaf, and cause him that is rich in heirs to wither, and him that is withered to flourish through his blessing." John, the elder of the two sons of duke George, had been so enraged against Luther, that he on one occasion sent him word through the painter, Lucas Kranach: "That if after the death of his father, the reins of government once come into his hands, he should find in him a severer enemy: that if his

father had been iron to Luther, he would be steel to him." Luther smiled when Kranach related this to him, and replied: "That duke John should only look to it how he might die happily; that he did not dread his menaces, as he well knew that duke John would not live to see his father's death."[2] The same died on the 21st January, 1537, and on the 26th February, 1539, the second son, duke Frederick, died, both without heirs. Duke George now constituted his brother Henry, with his sons, his heirs; under the condition, however, that they should not introduce any changes with regard to religion, in which case his dominions were to fall to the emperor and King Ferdinand. Before the ambassadors, however, who had been despatched to duke Henry, in reference to this matter, returned with the answer of the latter, duke George had unexpectedly died on the 17th of April, and his brother Henry forthwith came to Dresden, and took possession of his dominions. In the same year, on the 3d May, the ambassadors of the princes of Pommerania, who had returned from Frankfort, supped with Luther, and observed, that duke George had died very opportunely, as his death had extinguished the match which might have occasioned a great conflagration. "Yes," said Luther, "all the thoughts, designs and enterprises of the papists have for their aim the destruction of us Lutheran knaves, as they call us, even if the Church must perish. But God has discomfited their counsellors and brought their counsels to nought, for he can hurl the mighty from the throne, and exalt those of low degree; he can scatter the nations that delight in war, as the Psalm says. So he also knows how to bring to nought the confidence which is placed in men and princes, and which the 146th Psalm prohibits, saying, that we are not to confide in princes, as they are men and cannot help, for the spirit of man must pass away, and he must return to the dust; then all his projects perish; thus we are to learn to confide in God, and to follow him."

As duke Henry now, at the instance and with the aid of the elector, began the reformation of his dominions; the elector ordered Luther, with Melanchthon, Jonas, Cruciger, and Myconius, to be at *Leipzig* by Whitsuntide. Friday, previous to the festival of Whitsuntide, the duke received the oath of allegiance from the city, and on holy eve Luther delivered a sermon in the court-chapel of the Pleissenburg, concerning the Gospel for Whitsuntide, from John xiv. 23–31. In it he sets

out with the words: "If a man love me, he will keep my words: and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him," and says, here Christ pronounces a severe sentence, prophesies, and forgets the abode at Jerusalem, of which all the prophets said, *Here I will abide for ever and ever.* This abode the Lord Christ demolishes, constructing and erecting a new abode and a new Jerusalem, not of stone or wood, but, "*He that loveth me and keepeth my words*, shall be my castle, dwelling, and abode." Herewith Christ adjusts the dispute with regard to the true Church. "Upon this point," continues he, "we agree with the papists, that there is one Christian Church. But Christ designs to be otherwise in the country. These are precious and noble words, that God will come down to us: He will come down to us, we need not climb up unto him; He will be with us to the end of the world: thus the Holy Spirit operates, and directs all things, and dwells in the Christian Church. But what is the dispute between the papists and ourselves? Answer: Concerning the true Christian Church. Are we not to obey the Christian Church, then? Most assuredly; all believers are required to do so. For thus St. Peter, in his 1st epistle, and 4th chapter, commands: *If any man speak, let him speak the word of God.* If any one preaches, let him leave his own words to temporal and domestic affairs; here in the Church he is not to speak anything but the word of this rich Lord of the house. Therefore we must be able to say, *God speaketh.*" * * * "And although there is much babbling aside from the Word of God, such babbling does not, after all, constitute the Church, even if they become frantic in crying, the Church, the Church; you must hear the pope and the bishops. For if they are asked what the Christian Church is, what it enacts, and what it commands, they reply: The Church looks to the pope, the cardinals, and the bishops. That is not true. Therefore we must look to Christ, and hear of him how he describes the true Christian Church, in opposition to their false clamours. For we must credit Christ and the apostles more than them, that we may speak God's Word, and do as St. Peter and the Lord Christ say here: *My abode is in him that keepeth my word.* Thus saith the architect: My Word must remain in it, or it shall not be my house. Our papists venture to improve upon this; therefore they may abide the consequences." He then shows how baptism, the Lord's Supper, absolution, and

prayer receive their sanctity and power only from God's Word, and then proceeds:

"In short, the Church is an abode, in which God is to be loved and heard, it being constituted not of wood or stone, nor of irrational brutes, but of men who know, love and praise God. Further, that you may be able confidently to trust God in all things; in afflictions and sufferings, you are to know, that it is the true Church, although there are scarcely two believing men in it. Therefore Christ says: He that loves me, keeps my Word, in him I have my abode, there you have my Church. Wherefore beware of the varnished church of the pope, which is adorned with gold and pearls. For Christ here teaches the opposite. To love God, and to keep his Word, consists not in the long robe, the crown, or the decretals of the pope. There is a great difference between what God enjoins, and what men enjoin. Behold, how the pope babbles, that we are to worship the saints and observe his human statutes. Does God's Word also require this of you? I do not yet see that it does, but this I well know, that God's Word says: I, Christ, go to the Father, and he that believeth in me, shall be saved. For I, I, I have suffered for him, and I also give him the Holy Spirit from on high. Thus, then, the Lord Christ and the pope each has his Church, but with a mighty difference, as Christ, the best dialectician, here describes what and where it is, namely, where his Word is preached in its purity. Therefore, where you hear this, there know that the true Church is. For where God's Word is not, there there are also no orthodox confessers and martyrs. And if this were false, we would be deceived by Christ, and this would be a sad deception. Oh, that we did only rely upon Christ, and on the other hand did mock and deride the pope. Because the Lord Christ here plainly says: Not he that has my Word, but he that keeps my Word, loves me, and is my disciple. For there are many who indeed have the Word, but after all do not keep it, and in time of persecution, they, perhaps, wholly fall off and deny Christ. It would indeed be desirable, that we might always retain both the Word and temporal convenience; but that dear game, peace, is very rare in the kingdom of Heaven. It is therefore to be considered a great gift of God, if peace and a good understanding exist between temporal princes. But if this cannot be, then let us part with property, honour, wife and children, that we may at least retain this treasure. But I fear that there,

alas! are among us many weathercocks, false brethren, and such like weeds; I do not wish, however, to be a prophet any more, because I cannot prophesy anything but evil at any rate. And who can exhaust it all? The truth will yet appear. We possess it; let us see to it, that we preserve it. Let us be on our guard against Satan, who designs to winnow us as wheat. For perhaps you gain your livelihood under the protection of a pious government: here Satan will soon strive to make you secure and presumptuous, that you may not confide too much in God's Word and give too much attention to it. Therefore Christ says: *My sheep do not only hear me*, but also obey and *follow* me; they daily increase in the faith, through the hearing of the Divine Word and the right and proper use of the highly revered sacrament. Thus strength and consolation are received in this Church. And this is the true Church; not hoods, bald-pates and long robes, of which God's Word knows nothing; but where two three or are assembled, be it on the ocean or in the depths of the earth, if they only abide in God's Word, with them certainly is the true, ancient, veritable apostolical Church." In conclusion, he once more draws attention to the description which Christ gives us of the Christian Church; that it, namely, is "an assembly of men, who not only have his Word, but also love and keep it, and from love for it, forsake every thing," and says that this description is "a fierce clap of thunder against the pernicious pope and his decretals, by means of which he has made a sink of corruption of the Church, the detestable wretch." Thus was fulfilled what Luther had prophesied a few years previous, saying: "I perceive that duke George will not cease to persecute God's Word, the preaching of it, and the poor Lutherans. But I will live to see him and his whole race perish, and will yet preach God's Word at Leipzig."

On the 25th May, it being the first of the Whitsuntide Holy Days, the princes early drove to the Church of St. Nicholas, where Dr. Justas Jonas preached. Luther preached at vespers, on the Epistle concerning the coming and the office of the Holy Ghost.[3] The services were all conducted in the German language, hymns of Luther's were sung before and after sermon, all the prayers also being uttered in the German language. There was so large a collection of people at the preaching, that they also stood on the projections from the pillars over the pews of the female portion of the

audience, and wherever they could find a place to stand; yea, that, because they could not all come into the church, many planted ladders against the windows from without, and listened through the broken panes of glass. The most of the hearers fell upon their knees on the occasion, and with tears returned thanks to God for this merciful deliverance.

Luther, who had, whilst at Leipzig, lodged with the physician, Dr. Stromer, drove to Grimma on Whitsuntide Monday, the 26th May, in company with the elector and duke Henry, on which occasion duke Henry complained greatly of his brother, duke George, saying, that he had not had a greater enemy in all his life, than his own brother.

The bishop of Meissen, who had immediately upon the death of duke George demanded of duke Henry, that he should not introduce any innovations in religion, as he designed himself to undertake a reformation, on the 9th June, transmitted a writing to the duke entitled: "Common Christian instruction concerning articles, which every Christian must needs know." In reference to this writing, Luther, together with his colleagues, submitted an opinion. He himself advised, that the monks should, if they desired it, be permitted to pray their horas, and to preach, till it would appear what would likely result from it; but that as duke George had knowingly protected the devil and condemned Christ, so duke Henry, on the other hand, should protect Christ, and condemn the devil; wherefore he could not permit any private masses to be celebrated either at Meissen, Stolpen or Wurzen. "For," added he, "princes are required, if they can do so, forthwith to put down Baal and all idolatry, as the former kings of Judah and Israel, and after them Constantius, Theodosius and Gratianus did. For princes and lords are obligated to serve God and Christ with their ability, just as much as others." Finally, he says, that the people and the villages subject to the abbots and bishops, would have to be visited, especially, because they desired it, lest it might seem, that there was an intention of forsaking them. The visitation took place, too, but because, as Luther wrote, it has been far too negligently prosecuted, and there were more than five hundred pastors, virulent papists, who had not been examined at all, and who now boldly lifted up their horns in defiance; he prayed the elector, for the sake of the poor souls, of whom many thousands were unprovided for under such pastors, that he would insist upon a second visitation

in Meissen. "If it were not the cause of God,"—added he—"and the cries of so many thousands of souls, we would much rather content ourselves with our own churches and schools, with which we have enough to do, without being required to serve in other dominions also."[4] On the other hand, he did not wish that Caspar Cruciger, (who in connection with Dr. Frederick Myconius was labouring in reforming the university of Leipzig,) should forever remain in Leipzig, as the council of that city had written to Wittenberg and desired, for Leipzig, he thought, would not so soon come up to Wittenberg, and he would not be able to accomplish as much good there as here: wherefore it would be sad that he should neglect much here and accomplish little there. "A gun of smaller calibre than this,"—he observed,—"will do for Leipzig, that this university be not wholly denuded, especially because Dr. Caspar is a most able lecturer on theology, on whom I calculate for supplying my place after my death."

In the spring of 1539, Wittenberg and the university suffered greatly from scarcity, so that the majority of the students were constrained to depart. Luther, accordingly, addressed himself to the elector, and prayed him to show himself gracious, "not only by affording present necessary relief, but also by the exercise of his authority, that those of the nobility might not thus alone in future buy up all the grain, and take it off for the purposes of their shameful speculations, to the destruction of your electoral grace's land and people." This year, however, yet turned out very favourably; all the grain and the fruit prospered abundantly. As Luther, on the way to Leipzig, observed the grain standing in the field in all its beauty, loveliness and luxuriance, he prayed, gave thanks, and said: "O Lord God, thou wishest to give us a prosperous year, truly not on account of our piety, but because of thy name. Grant, dear Father, that we may reform our lives, and continually increase in the knowledge of thy Word. For it is nothing less than a miracle, that thou causest the blade and the ear to spring forth from the earth, yea, from the sand, which is as powdered gravel. Dear Father, give us, thy children, our daily bread." In October, on the other hand, the pestilence, or, as Luther thought, only a contagion, began to prevail at Wittenburg. "A much more dangerous pestilence," he wrote, "is this fear, which causes one to flee from the other, so that it is not even possible to find an attendant or waiter. I con-

ceive that the devil has possessed the people with the true pestilence, causing them to become so shamefully frightened, that a brother forsakes his brother, and a son his parents, and this is undoubtedly the reward for the contempt of the Gospel and the madness of avarice. I have taken the four children of Dr. Sebaldus (whose wife had died, and who himself lay dangerously ill) into my house. Good God, what a clamour has been raised against me on account of this!" To the pastor, John Mantel, at Wittenberg, who had requested a letter from Luther, from which he might derive consolation and solace in his lingering and dangerous illness, Luther wrote at that time, that he himself needed a letter of consolation, "who am not alone with Lot, yourself and other pious Christians, in being vexed, plagued and tormented in this shocking Sodom, through disgraceful ingratitude and frightful contempt for the blessed Word of our dear Saviour, when I see that Satan so powerfully controls and possesses the hearts of those who conceive themselves to be the first and the chief in the kingdom of Christ and of God." "But that you write and complain," continued he, "concerning temptation and sadness, because of death, you know from our creed, in which we say and confess that the Son of God suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified and buried, that he might through his death entirely and completely deliver from death all who believe in Him. My good sir, of what account is it that we die, when we rightly consider that He, the dear Lord, died, and died for us? His death is the true and only death, which ought so to engage and to absorb our hearts, senses and thoughts, that we should not imagine otherwise, than as if nothing now lived any longer, not even the kindly sun, and as if everything had died with our dear Lord, in such a way, nevertheless, that all will again rise with Him at that day. Into this, his death and life, our death and life are to be immerged, for we are eternally to live with Him. And, truly, He has preceded us with his death, from the beginning of the world, and waits for us also to the end of the world, in order that when we depart from this short, wretched life, (of which alone the ungodly know anything, but of which they are never for a moment secure,) He may receive us, and admit us into his eternal kingdom."

AUTHORITIES.—Sleidan, lib. XII. p. 339. Works, vol. 21, p. 229, seq. Let. No. 1837. Works, vol. 21, p. 305, seq. Let. No. 1844. Sleidan as above, p. 341. Mel. Epp., in the Corp. Ref. Tom. III., p. 670.

Let. No. 1846. Treatise: Concerning the councils and churches, vol. 21, p. 242, seq. Seckend. lib. III., p. 222. Tischreden, ed of Stangwald, p. 749. John Spangenberg, Mansfeld, Chronick, p. 630. Sleid. p. 343, seq. Tischreden, p. 753. The description of the Leipzig festival, according to Seckend. p. 218. The writings of Vogel, Weber and Schneider. The sermon, Works, vol. 12, p. 498. Keil, vol. 3, p. 133. Seckend. lib. III., p. 215. Let. No. 1866, 78, 79, 89. No. 1848, 50, 65. Tischreden, p. 129. Let. No. 1888, 94, 93.

NOTES.—1.) Luther was not himself pleased with this writing. He writes to Melanchthon, No. 1846: Mire me piget ejus scripti, quod tam tenue et verbosum sit. Verum singulare tractare et testimoniis exemplisque solidare forte non fuis set omnino ultra vires meas; sed tempus et labor fuit ultra vires meas.

2.) When Kranach had again returned to the prince, and at the latter's urgent wish, had reported to him Luther's answer, the same is said to have become greatly terrified, to have fallen into a state of melancholy, and, though greatly addicted to the use of intoxicating drinks, never to have become rightly joyous again.

3.) This sermon is no longer extant.

4.) A number of the electoral Saxon theologians, namely, were engaged in the Visitation.

CHAPTER III.

LUTHER IN THE FAMILY CIRCLE AND AT THE TABLE.

"THERE is not a more lovely, endearing, blessed relation, communion and society," said Luther, once, "than a happy marriage, in which husband and wife live in peace and union with each other. Neither is there, on the other hand, anything more distressing or painful, than when the bond is severed by a separation or final parting. Next to which is the death of children, when they die, which I have tasted and experienced." Again: "When marriage is peaceful and agreeable, it is next to a knowledge of God and his Word—the highest favour and blessing of God. For many married people are very obstinate and whimsical, neither concerning themselves about their children, nor cordially loving each other. Such people are not human beings." Again: "The highest favour and blessing of God is a pious, endearing, God-fearing and thrifty wife, with whom you can live in peace, to whom you can confide all your property, and what you possess, yea, your body and life, with whom you bring up children. But God plunges many into the married state, without con-

sulting them, before they rightly consider the matter, and it is well he does so. Kate, you have a pious husband, who loves you; therefore, you, as other pious wives, are an empress—acknowledge it and thank God. But it requires a person that is pious and God-fearing for such a station." Again: "Next to God's Word, the world has not a more lovely and endearing treasure on earth than the holy state of matrimony, which He himself has instituted, preserving it, having adorned and blessed it above all stations, from which not only all emperors, kings and all saints, but even the eternal Son of God, though in a supernatural way, are born. Whoever, therefore, hates the married state, and speaks evil of it, certainly is of the devil." * * * "I live, continue and die, praising the holy state of matrimony."

On this account, he so ardently longed for his family when he lay so dangerously ill at Schmalkalden. (Part V. ch. 7.) "I thought," said he, afterwards, "I would not see my wife and children here again: how greatly did such separation pain me! I believe, indeed, that the natural inclination and love which a husband has for his wife, and parents for their children, are most intense in persons that are dying. But as I have now, by the grace of God, again been restored to health, I love my wife and children so much the more. No one is so spiritual that he does not feel such natural inclination and love. For it is a mysterious thing, this union and communion between man and wife."

Luther's second child, his little daughter *Elizabeth*, born to him in the year 1527, (see p. 345,) had again been taken away by death on the 3d August, 1528. "I am surprised," he wrote in reference to this, to his friend Haussmann, whom he thanks for some toys, which the latter had sent to his little John, "at the frail, almost effeminate heart which she has left me, so greatly am I distressed on her account. I would scarcely ever have thought that a father's heart could become so tender towards his children." God, in return for this, on the 4th May, 1529, presented him with another daughter, *Magdalena*, and on the 7th November, 1531, with a son, *Martin*. Accordingly, in the year 1531, when the princes of Anhalt had presented him with a wild boar, and Jonas, Philip, Pomeranus and Cruciger dined with him, he celebrated three birth-days at once—that of St. Martin, and the birth-day of Martin, father and son. On the 29th January, 1533, God again blessed him and his

Kate with a son, *Paul*, and he prayed his patron, the hereditary marshal, John Löser, to humble himself and to show himself favourable to this his young son, " in order that, " he writes, " he may, through the holy sacrament of baptism, be brought from the old nature of Adam to the new birth of Christ, and become a member of the Christian Church, if God the Lord would perhaps raise up in him a new enemy to the pope or the Turks." On the 27th December, 1534, finally, his third daughter, Margaret, was born, and as he had previously promised, he requested the prince Joachim, of Anhalt, to become sponsor at the baptism of this child.

Being poor himself, he might well have been concerned for his wife and children; but he considered such concern vain, and committed them to Him who had to this day richly granted everything. On one occasion, he blessed one of his children, which an aunt carried upon her arm, and said: " Go, and be pious; money I shall not leave to thee, but a rich God I will leave to thee, who will not forsake thee. Be pious; which may God grant thee to be. Amen." The children themselves he considered the greatest blessing of God.

Dr. Jonas having once suspended a beautiful branch with cherries over the table, in remembrance of the creation, and praising the noble blessings of God in such fruits, Dr. Martin Luther said: " Why do you not much rather consider this in your children, as the fruits of your own body, which are more excellent, beautiful and noble creatures of God than any fruits of trees? In them you have displayed the omnipotence, wisdom and skill of God, who created them of nothing, in one year giving them body, life, and all their members, of such admirable perfection and beauty, and now also nourishes and preserves them. We, nevertheless, live on without greatly regarding such gifts of God, yea, perhaps, even become blind and avaricious because of them. As is commonly the case, that people, when they are blessed with children, become worse and more avaricious, scraping, flaying and shaving wherever they can, that they may lay up treasures for them, not knowing that a child, even before it enters the world and is born, has its portion, what and how much it is to have, and what it is to become, assigned to it, as the Scriptures testify, and as the common proverb says: " The more children, the more blessing." O, dear Lord God, how great, alas, is the blindness, folly and even wickedness in a man that does not consider

this, but does the opposite with regard to the best and noblest gifts of God, which he perverts to all manner of sinful and shameful uses, in accordance with his pleasure and lusts, never singing a *Deo Gratias* to our Lord God for them! Once he beheld his children and said: "O, what a great, rich and noble blessing God confers upon the married state! What joy does not a man experience in his descendants, who are numbered from him, even after his death, when he lies and decays! Is that not the most delightful and the greatest joy?" Again: "Children are the most lovely fruits and bonds of marriage, which confirm and preserve the bond of love." He, however, also knew that the married state had its burthens and the holy cross (through the children.) On New-year's day, his child once wept and cried so that no person could quiet it; then he and his wife were sad and distressed for a whole hour. Afterwards, he said: "That is the disgust and the burthen in the married state, on account of which every one shuns and dreads it and hesitates to marry. We all dread the whimsical notions of the female sex, the bawling and crying of the children, great expenses, bad neighbours, &c. Therefore we wish to be free and unfettered, that we may remain free lords, and do what we choose."

The occupations and the manners of the children afforded Luther great joy. "The faith and life of children," said he, "are the best, for they have nothing but the Word. To this they cleave, in simplicity, giving God the honour, that He is true, being assured that He will do what he promises. But we, old fools, are subject to wretched, infernal doubt, which causes us first long to dispute about the Word, which they, the children, simply receive in a pure faith, without disputing. And, finally, if we wish to be saved, we must, in accordance with their example, base ourselves wholly upon the Word; as Christ says and avers with a solemn oath: "Verily, I say unto you, except you be converted and become like little children, you cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven," &c. Matt. xviii. It is one of the devil's artifices and tricks, that we suffer ourselves thus shamefully to be diverted from the Word through other business and matters, imagining that these are more important than God's Word (upon which, after all, our welfare and salvation, temporal and eternal, are wholly based.) Sometimes, too, we do so, ignorantly, not remembering that the matter is so important. Truly, we are unhappy people.

Therefore, the best thing is, soon to die, and to be buried." On another occasion, Luther took his little son, and said to him: "Thou art our Lord God's little fool, under his favour and forgiveness of sin; not under the law, thou dost not fear, art secure, and dost not trouble thyself about anything. What thou doest is well done."

On another occasion, he observed the simplicity of his children, and praised their innocence, saying that they were much further advanced in the faith than we old fools. For that they in all simplicity, without disputing or doubting, believed that God was gracious, and that there was an eternal life after this life. How happy are children that die at such an age, although such an event would grieve me most greatly, for it would be a part of my body and a part of the body of their mother, that would die, and this natural love and inclination do not cease in pious and upright Christians; that they should not be affected or grieved or take it to heart, as is the case with obstinate, obdurate heads and dolts, when their children or relatives, whom they love, are afflicted. For such emotions and inclinations are works of divine creation, which God has implanted in the nature of man, and which are not in themselves sinful. Children live in admirable simplicity and purity of faith, not troubling themselves with the objections of reason, as Ambrosius says: reason is in fault, not faith. From Coburg he wrote the following letter to his little son John: "Grace and peace in Christ, my dear little boy: I am glad that you learn so well, and pray so diligently. Always continue to do so, my dear boy: when I return home, I will bring you a handsome present. I know a beautiful, delightful garden, in which there are a great many children, who wear golden coats, and go about under the trees, picking up beautiful apples, pears, cherries, and plums, singing, leaping about, and rejoicing; they likewise have handsome little horses, with golden bridles, and silver saddles. And I asked the man to whom the garden belongs, whose children those were? And he said they were the children that prayed and learned well, and were pious. Then I said: Good man, I also have a little son, whose name is Johnny Luther, might not he also come into your garden, and eat such beautiful apples and pears and ride upon such fine little horses and play with these children? Then the man said: If he prays and learns well, and is pious, he also shall come into the garden, Lippus and Jocelin too, and

when they all come together, they also shall have fifes, tymbals and lutes, making all manner of music, on stringed instruments, and shall dance too, and shoot with little cross-bows. And he showed me there a pleasant meadow in the garden, prepared for dancing, and it was hanging full of golden fifes, tymbals, and beautiful silver cross-bows. But it was early, and the children had not yet taken their meal; therefore I could not stay for the dance, and said to the man: My good sir, I will go straightway, and write all this to my dear little boy, Johnny, so that he may pray diligently and learn well and be pious, that he too may come into this garden; but he has an aunt, whose name is Lehne, her also he must bring with him. And the man said: yes, it shall be so, go and write all this to him. Therefore, my dear little boy, pray and learn diligently, and tell Lippus and Jocelin too, that they also learn and pray; then you will all come into the garden together. With this I commend you to Almighty God; greet aunt Lehne, and give her a kiss in my name. In the year 1530. Your dear father, Martin Luther."

On one occasion he was playing with his little daughter, Magdalena, and asked her: "Magdalena, what will Christ bring you?" Then he said: "Little children have such admirable thoughts of God, that he is their God and dear father in heaven." Then his wife brought to him his little son, Martin. Whereupon he said: "I wish that I had died at the age of this child, I would gladly for the sake of it give all the honour which I have obtained or might yet obtain in the world." "Alas, how much murmuring and pollution does our Lord God bear within us, more than a mother from her child!" On another occasion, observing his little son Martin, as he was playing with a little dog which he had, he said: "This boy preaches God's Word by his actions, where God says: *Have dominion over the fish of the sea and the beast of the earth;* for the dog endures everything from the child." Once again he beheld his children, and observing how different their natures and dispositions were, he marvelled at the work and creation of God, and said: Just as the dispositions are different, so the gifts also are different, and one man fares well, another evil; the one experiences more happiness or misfortune than the other. Therefore we are to have regard only to God, the creator and originator, to trust in him, and to call upon him.

Concerning the offering up of Isaac, he once said: "Good

Lord God, how must the heart of Abraham have beaten, when he was required to offer up his only and most beloved son, Isaac. How distressing must his journey to Mount Moriah have been to him! he scarcely said any thing to Sarah about it. Verily, I would have disputed with God if he had proposed such a thing to me, that I should do it. Then his wife rejoined, and said: "I cannot pursuade myself that God would require so shocking a thing of us, as the slaying of our own child." To which Dr. Martin Luther replied: "Dear Kate, can you not believe that God was willing to have his only-begotten Son, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, die for us? He had nothing dearer in heaven or on earth, than this beloved Son, yet does he permit him to be crucified for us, and to suffer the shameful death on the cross. Should not human reason here judge and say, that God showed himself much more kind, gracious and friendly to Caiaphas, Pilate, Herod and others than to his own Son? Abraham believed that there would be a resurrection from the dead, when he was required to sacrifice his son Isaac, concerning whom he nevertheless had received the promise, that from him the Messiah of the world should come, as the Epistle to the Hebrews testified."

Luther nevertheless was very strict towards his children. Once he for three days refused to see his son, or again to take him into favour, unless he would first humble himself and ask forgiveness. And when his mother, Dr. Jonas and Dr. Teutleben interceded for him, he said: "I would rather have a dead than a disobedient son. St. Paul did not in vain say, that a bishop should be a man who ruled his own house well, and had obedient children, that other people might be edified through them, take good example from them, and be not offended. But our disobedient children cause others to take offence, and the boys commit wrong, presuming upon our privileges. Yea, and though they sin often, and are guilty of all manner of knavery, I still do not find it out, I am not informed of it, and it is concealed from me. Thus we fare according to the common proverb: The wrong that is done in our own houses, we hear last. Therefore he must be chastised, and not at all indulged or suffered to go unpunished."

His servants he also admonished not to occasion any scandal in the house. "The devil watches me closely," said he, "being intent upon disparaging my doctrine, or casting some reproach upon me." Faithful servants he esteemed. When

John Rishmann, who had for a number of years faithfully, diligently and humbly served him, left his family, he not only gave him a testimonial, in which he prayed all that love God's Word to show him favour, and to assist him as much as possible, considering the Lord, for whose sake he had served him; but he also from Torgau wrote to his wife concerning him: "As John is leaving us, necessity and honour require, that I dismiss him honourably. For you know how faithfully and diligently he has served, having verily demeaned himself humbly according to the Gospel, doing and suffering everything. Therefore consider, how often we have given to wicked knaves and ungrateful students, which was all lost: accordingly now exert yourself, and be not wanting to so pious a youth, as you know that it is well applied, and pleasing to God. I know indeed that there is little at your command; but I would give him ten florins if I had them. Less than five florins, however, you dare not give him, because he is not clad. If you can give more, give it, I pray you. The public treasury might, indeed, in honour of me, make a present to such a servant of mine, considering that I have to maintain my servants at my own expense, for the service and good of their churches; but as they choose. Do you not be wanting, as long as you have a cup to dispose of. Consider where you'll get it. God will provide again; that I know. Herewith adieu. Amen."

For his dear servant, Wolfgang Sieberger, who received a pension from the elector, he also, in the year 1535, when the same became lame in his arm, was anxious to purchase a small house, that he might know where he could abide after his death, and might not be constrained as a beggar and homeless wanderer to seek refuge in a hospital. With this his servant, Wolfgang, he had formerly once (in the year 1525) begun the turning business, "in order that," as he wrote to Link, "if the world wholly refuses to support us for the sake of the Word, we may be able to earn our bread with our hands, and thus, in imitation of our heavenly Father, serve the unworthy and the ungrateful." He sent his friend a gold florin, and prayed him, in return, to send them some turning tools, as they could be had of a better description at Nuremberg. Also for various kinds of seeds he prayed him; "for," said he, "as Satan with his members raves, I will despise him, and contemplate the gardens, that is, the blessings of the Creator, and enjoy them to His praise." In the following year,

accordingly, he could write to Spalatin: "If you come to me, you shall witness some old monuments of our love and friendship. I have cultivated the garden,[1] and built the well,[2] both with very good success. Come to me, and you shall be crowned with lilies and roses." The turning tools also arrived from Nuremberg, and Luther wrote to Link, that they had tools enough for the time being, unless there should be some new ones, which would turn of themselves, when Wolfgang was sleeping, or indisposed to work.

In the year 1534, this Wolfgang had once established a finch-decoy. Upon this Luther drew up the following complaints of the birds against him: "To our gracious lord, Dr. Martin Luther, preacher at Wittenberg. We throstles, ousels, finches, flax-finches, gold-finches, together with other pious honourable birds, herewith inform your honour, that one, called Wolfgang Sieberger, your servant, having, as we are credibly informed, from great wrath and hatred against us, dearly purchased a large nefarious decoy, and several old injured nets, for the purpose of establishing a finch-decoy, presuming to deprive not only our dear friends and finches, but all of us of the liberty of flying in the air, and of gathering grains on the earth, which God has allowed to us. Besides this, he has designs even against our lives, whilst we have not committed against him the least wrong, nor deserved such insidious and sudden treachery from him. All this now, as you yourself can imagine, being an excessive and great grievance to us poor free birds (who before have neither barns nor houses, nor what is contained in them); we humbly and earnestly pray you, to cause your servant to desist from such treachery; or if you cannot do this, at least to insist, that he, in the evening, scatter grain upon the decoy, and do not in the morning arise and go to the decoy before eight o'clock; thus we will then take our passage over Wittenberg. If he does not do this, but thus nefariously makes designs upon our lives, we will pray God that he would frustrate his designs, and cause him during the day to catch frogs, grasshoppers and snails on the decoy in our stead, and at night to be annoyed by mice, fleas, lice and bugs, that he may forget us and not obstruct our free passage. Why does he not employ such wrath and fierceness against sparrows, swallows, magpies, jackdaws, ravens, mice and rats, which verily do you much injury, stealing and robbing, and even carrying the grain, oats,

malt and barley, &c., out of your houses, which we do not do, as we seek only the small crumbs and single scattered seeds. We submit this our cause to the decision of unbiassed reason, whether he does not unjustly thus fiercely spread his nets for us; we however trust to God, that as so many of our brethren and friends have fortunately escaped his wiles this fall, we also shall escape from those nefarious rotten nets of his which we saw yesterday. Given at our heavenly seat under the trees, under our usual seal and feathers.—*Behold the fowls of the air, for they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; yet your heavenly Father feedeth them. Are ye not much better than they?* Matth. vi."

Of Luther's daily life and conversation, Mathesius relates: Although, in his old age, he was often constrained in consequence of weakness and giddiness to remain at home, he still was not idle. At and after table he often wrote for his friends, that wished to preach; thus he composed that beautiful book, his Matthew, after supper, for his table-companion, Dr. Weller, and wrote the 23d Psalm over table. So he was also frequently constrained to correct or revise after table. When he was able, he delighted in going to church, and he always carried a book about with him. For, as he intimated, he could pray with more delight in the congregation than at home. His pew he had near the high altar, but during sermon he stepped into the university pews, and listened attentively and devoutly. On one occasion, he drove from home on a Sunday, and as the bells were ringing for service in a village, he with his companions alighted, and proceeding into the church, stayed during the whole sermon. On the road they spoke of the sermon, and some one remarking that the preacher might have explained the Gospel better, he said: "If a preacher can preach Christ in simplicity from the catechism, he is a blessed preacher. There are not only golden and silver vessels in the tabernacle of Moses, but also copper and iron ones; they all, however, serve the one Son of God." Besides this, he frequently went to Confession and the Lord's Supper, powerfully comforted himself with his absolution, when he was spiritually distressed, and in the church he always waited, till all was ended. But, although he was rather corpulent, he ate and drank little, and seldom anything particular, being contented with common food. In the evening, when he could not sleep well, he found it necessary to take a drink for the

purpose of procuring sleep, on account of which he often excused himself: "You young lads must permit our elector and me aged man, to take a richer drink; we have to seek our cushion and pillow in the cup."

He also sometimes went to take supper with good people, with whom he was not acquainted, and on some occasions was joyous and full of instructive remarks at table. Mention being once made of St. Paul's diminutive and weak voice, he said: I also have a diminutive and puny voice." "You are, nevertheless, heard at a great distance," said Philip. A doctor at Wittenberg once invited him, together with others, to become his guest. He, however, came to the table with gloomy thoughts, wherefore all observed silence. The repast being finished, Philip, who very well knew how to adapt himself to the Doctor's manner, proposed a separation; the host desired them to content themselves an hour or so longer with him. Meanwhile, some one took away the bench, and as the Doctor delayed, the host attempted to sit down again, and fell flat on his back. This occasioned a good merry laugh. But the Doctor said: We have an unfriendly host, he presents the best dish last; upon which all became joyful and merry, and continued together in good cheer for a considerable time longer. As he once came home from a collation, he toasted his guest with a good joyful drink, and said, "I will and must be joyful to-day, for I have heard bad news, against which nothing avails better than an earnest Paternoster and good courage, for it vexes the melancholic devil that we attempt to be joyful."

At table, Luther also sometimes sang; he was also a skilful performer on the lute. In the intervals between the singing, he introduced instructive discourses. "Josquin," said he once, "is the master of the notes, they had to do as he wished them; other composers have to do as the notes wish them. He, no, doubt, also had his good spirit, as Bezaleel, especially when he so skilfully and endearingly arranged the *Hac dixit Dominus*, and the *Circum dederunt me genitus mortis*."

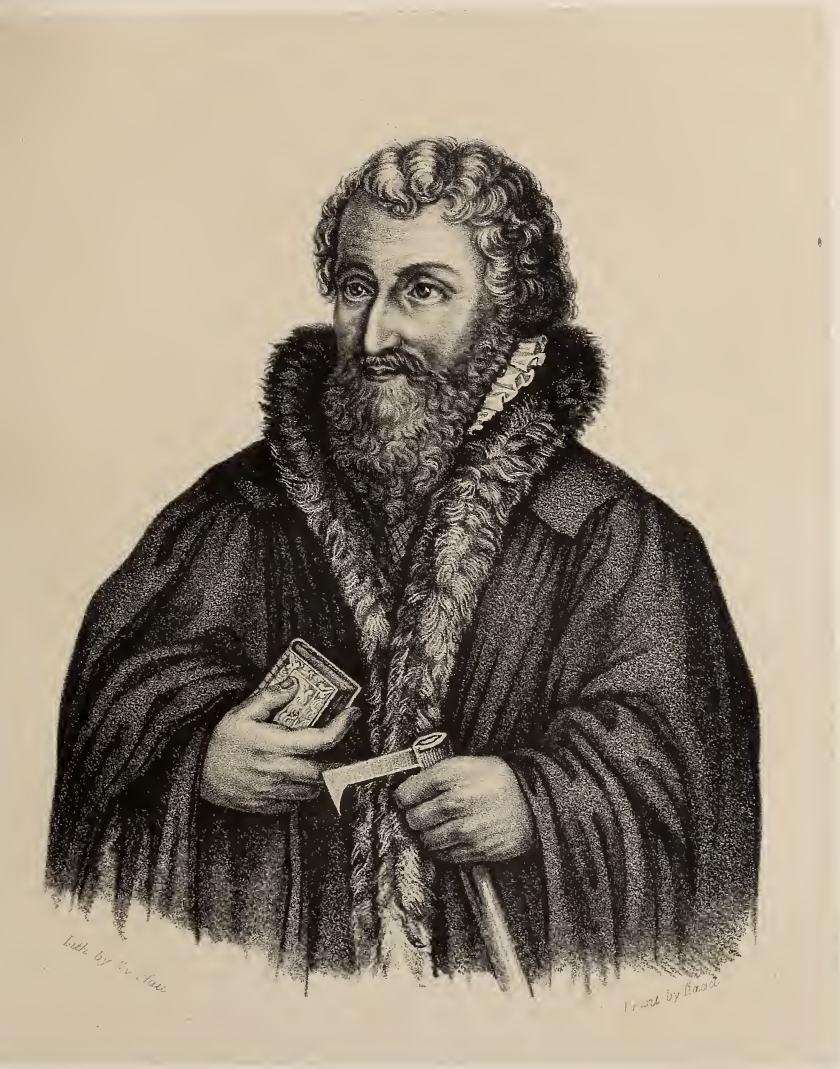
One of his table companions once presented him with a hundred beautiful oranges. "Oh Lord, our God," said he, "what wilt thou not once bestow upon thy dear children who love and honour thee and thy dear Son, because thou permittest so many noble fruits to grow for those cardinals and courtiers who despise and blaspheme thee. Let us, dear children, faithfully

abide with our holy Lord; he preserves our portion for us, and will give us something better."

At table, he explained many beautiful and precious texts, and gave satisfactory instruction when any question was proposed from the Scriptures. John Mathesius, of Joachimsthal, M. Veit Dietrich, of Nuremberg, Dr. Weller, of Freiberg, Antonius Lauterbach, of Pirna, M. Casper Heiderich, superintendent at Torgau, M. Jerome Besold, of Nuremberg, M. Plato, and others of his table companions, put a great deal of what he said on paper. Frequently, indeed, he brought gloomy and deep thoughts with him to the table, and during the whole time of the meal observed his old cloister *silentium*, so that not a word was spoken at the table; as occasion offered, nevertheless, he was very joyous and instructive, and his table companions were accustomed to call his discourses *condimenta mensæ*, which they relished more than the most delicate food.

"When he wished to engage us in conversation," says Mathesius, "he was accustomed to propose some question: "What is the news?" The first admonition we suffered to pass by. If he continued, "You prelates, what news in the land?" then the older guests at the table began to speak. Dr. Wolff Severus, who had been preceptor to his royal Roman majesty, sat at the head, and when no stranger was present, he, being an experienced courtier, always introduced some subject. When the conversation became lively, though keeping within the bounds of propriety and respect, others too sometimes added their mite, till the Doctor was drawn out. Sometimes appropriate questions were proposed from the Scriptures, which he solved with admirable skill and brevity, and if any one sometimes ventured to oppose, he could also endure it, and would skilfully refute him. Frequently honourable men from the university, as also from strange places, were present, on which occasions very noble discourses and remarks were heard.

Once, as his little dog was begging before the table, some one proposed the question, "Whether there would also be irrational animals in yonder world, as there were in this?" "Assuredly," said he, "for the new heaven and earth will not be desolate and waste, but filled with beautiful creatures; every little dog will have a golden collar, studded with gems, and on each hair will be a pearl. For the pomp and splendour of the present world will then belong only to irrational animals; the redeemed from among men will be adorned with



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true and perfect wisdom, righteousness, splendour and glory of the Lord Christ, which as yet no eye hath seen, nor ear hath heard, and no heart conceived." In the year 1541, when during a very beautiful spring, every thing flourished and bloomed, Luther said to Justus Jonas: "If only sin and death were absent, we would be satisfied with such a paradise. But it will be much more beautiful, when the old world and the old state of things will be entirely renovated, and an eternal spring begin, which will be and continue forever." The computation of those who confidently fixed the year and the day of the final judgment being once referred to, he said: "No, verily, the text is too plain in Matthew xxiv.: Concerning the day and the hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels in heaven, but alone my Father; therefore neither I, nor any man, nor angel, can fix the day or the hour. I believe, nevertheless, that all the signs which are to precede the last day have already happened. The Gospel is preached throughout the world, the child of perdition is revealed, and destroyed in the hearts of many, the kingdom of Rome is declining to its fall, all the elements and creatures are in commotion, and declining; there is no longer any love or fidelity on earth, and Christ may come when he may, he will find but a small flock of believers; excess in eating and drinking, the practice of usury, anxious cares, covetousness, extravagance in dress and building, and all manner of irregularity, verily being as prevalent now as they were at the times of Noah, wherefore I conceive that the signs preceding the last day are fulfilled. Unless it should be that Gog and Magog, together with the papacy, should yet be crushed and destroyed previously, in a temporal respect too, and that particular and supernatural darkness should perhaps be witnessed in the sun and moon, as was the case at the death of Christ, and that the Gospel should, previously to the last day, be banished from all the churches, schools, and pulpits, and be found only with pious heads of families, within their four walls, as it was at the times of Elijah, and as it verily almost seems it will be now. Otherwise, every thing is fulfilled which is to precede the last day. Methinks Christ our Lord is already publishing his summons in heaven, and the angels are preparing for the journey, and because during these six thousand years all the great and marvellous events of which Elijah prophesied, have occurred in spring and about Easter, I trust Christ will also appear about Easter, and cause his

voice and thunder to be heard in a morning tempest, and then with one stroke, confounding the heavens and the earth, in a moment of time transform the living, raise the dead, create a new heaven and earth, hold his judgment in the clouds, wholly fulfil the Scriptures, together with his last: *It is finished;* this we await. For in this vale of tears we at any rate have no life, joy, or consolation, except in so far as we hear, contemplate, believe, and preserve God's precious Word. This Word, Lord Jesus, thou eternal Word, continue unto us; then we are and continue in life, and will triumph over death, the devil, and all their hosts, and finally prevail. Basing myself upon the verbal and written Word, I began my cause upon and with this Word; I have thus far, through the power of God, safely maintained it; with this Word I am superior to all my enemies; upon this Word I still stand and base myself; upon this Word I will pass through death, to my dear Lord and Redeemer. Whoever, therefore, with me, and together with me, yea, indeed, together with Christ, will venture to rely upon this Word, let him do it. I know nothing more secure and sure than the Word of God, recorded in the prophets and the apostles."

Sometimes Luther referred to the evangelical preachers, remarking upon the peculiar talents and gifts in which one excelled the other, as also upon the faults and defects which many of them took with them into the pulpit. In one he praised the simplicity of language and manner, in the other the clever and well-suited illustrations. Those he praised who properly conceived and arranged their subjects, and expressed themselves clearly and in good German. One, in particular, he praised for basing his sermon upon one passage, continuing in this, explaining the words of the proposed text and theme clearly and distinctly, and often rehearsing the same thing to the common people, thus firmly impressing it upon his hearers. "Those are preachers who come down," he said, "and consider to whom they are preaching." Three preachers he compared to a full barrel, from which, if the spigot was withdrawn, everything would flow out as fast as it could come, and as long as there was anything in it, and mould and dregs would sometimes, too, flow out with the rest. Those he also praised, who, in the pulpit, began to speak, and at the proper time stopped again. Mathesius having requested of him some directions, by which a young preacher might guide him-

self, he gave him this rule: "When you perceive that the people listen with great earnestness and pleasure, then conclude, the next time they will come the more willingly."

Once a preacher had caught himself on a nail, in the pulpit, and torn his gown. This having been reported to the doctor, he said: "I thought that he was nailed fast because he could not stop." He often warned his table-companions, and said: "My good sirs, do not greet all, and do not explain every passage that occurs to you. Take up one and handle it well; this will enable the common and simple people to retain it."

He often spoke very highly of the schools. "In them," said he, "something good still remained under the papacy; for the Lord's prayer, the creed, the ten commandments, were still retained in them, and from them the churches were furnished with men. Former emperors expended much upon schools: thus Charles the First maintained thirty doctors at Fulda, from which he himself supplied his bishoprics and offices. But the drones expelled the bees from this bee-hive, and the monks and canons, who took possession of the schools, shared with the poor school-teachers and anchorets, as that farmer did with Mercury, who, in accordance with his prayer and promise, that he would devote the half of what was granted him to the Church, gave the outward part of the nuts and the inward part of the dates for pious purposes, the rest he devoured alone. If it were with me to make regulations, I would say, that no one should be chosen deacon or pastor, if he had not previously for a few years served in the schools, teaching the children, and diligently repeating with them the catechism, as well as useful arts. Schools, also, are temples of God, in which that is taught and learned which a minister must needs know. Wherefore, the ancient prophets were pastors and school-teachers at the same time, which is said still to be the case among Christians in Turkey at the present day."

When distinguished jurists and courtiers and his good and confidential friends were around him, discoursing and speaking of the courts and ministers of great princes, he, as an experienced man, made very sensible remarks, as he was also accustomed playfully to say: "We must help to reform heaven and earth. For the great reformation, with which the popes have so long mocked the pious emperors and kings, is resolved now at last to begin. For the great prelates insult Christ for the sake of gain. Faith and fidelity are also be-

coming very scarce at court above; fraud is everywhere on the increase; wicked knaves are promoted; pious men must stand back; licentiousness is gaining the ascendancy, and those who deem themselves the best, oppose our Gospel, and refuse to open their doors and gates, the dioceses and churches, to Christ. Therefore, Christ now mocks the great prelates, and will soon practise the second psalm and the Magnificat with them, and pay them such a visit, that doors and gates will fly open, and bastion and rampart lie in a confused heap. Many are evangelically minded, as long as there still are chalices, rich vases, and cloister property to be had. But it will shortly appear who has supported the Gospel in sincerity. God cannot be deceived, nor can his sight be obscured; He sees into the heart. I am apprehensive that many of those that have supported our doctrine, will yet make shipwreck of their faith. As I also entertain the hope that many of those, who now with fervent ardour and pure papistical zeal oppose us, will yet receive the Gospel. For there is much more dependence to be placed upon a pious papist, who is sincerely attached to his religion, and hopes to be saved through his good works, than upon those, who from love of carnal freedom and from malice, denounce and persecute the pope, and assist in plucking out his feathers, gladly hearing only such preachers who valiantly assail the abbots, canons, and other adversaries.

An aged preacher, on one occasion, was reading in one of Luther's books. On his perceiving it, he said: "The Bible, thanks to God, is now finished; therefore, there is no longer any need for my books; they form the scaffolding to the Holy Scriptures; an aged preacher should have only one book, which is called the Bible, for this is the source; all other books are merely rivulets. Upon the Bible you can rest yourself firmly and securely: with the Bible, you can put devils and heretics to flight. Dr. Karlstadt, on this account, dreaded me, saying that I had read in the prophets and apostles ten years sooner than he had done, and therefore he could not prevail against me." He also once said: "The Bible is a beautiful forest, in which there is not a tree that I have not shaken with my hand!" Again: "The best exposition of Moses, the prophets, and the psalms, is the New Testament, especially St. John and Paul, as the Old Testament, also, is the foundation of the New Testament. If I were younger, I would search up all the words of the New Testament in Moses and the pro-

phets. When the languages and texts are compared with one another, there result great and marvellous explanations of the Scriptures." Again: "A preacher should do three things: diligently read the Bible, pray earnestly, and remain a disciple and pupil; thus he will be a great doctor." Again: "Three things make a theologian: *meditation, prayer and trials.* We must reflect and meditate upon the words of the Scriptures, and earnestly pray the Lord of the Bible for his Spirit, who is the door-keeper to God's library; so we must also be somewhat tried and experienced in the school of the cross, as Christ also was previously led into the wilderness by the Spirit and tempted of the devil, before he publicly preached in his 30th year. Matt. iv."

Dr. George Major, who just then was rector, once visited Luther after meal. He was, at that time, upon Luther's advice, privately reading St. Augustine's works, from beginning to end. Therefore, the latter inquired: "*Domine rector*, are you nearly through with your Augustine? Continue reading; old preachers, who have to deal with the papists, must also read and know the ancient teachers and fathers." Then turning to his young table-companions, he said: "Do thou read the *Locos communes* of Philip, besides the Bible; they form the best books in which the pure theology is correctly and properly collected. Augustine accomplished something when the heretics constrained him to take up arms. Bernard, in his sermons, also speaks nobly of the Lord Christ, and the gracious forgiveness of sin. In disputing, he is not worth anything. Chrysostomus is a babbler. Jerome, the good pater and panegyrist of nuns, understands little of Christianity. Ambrosius makes good remarks. If Peter Lombard had got into the Bible, he would have surpassed all the fathers. *Glossa ordinaria* and Lyranus may be read, for the sake of the grammar and the historical comparisons. Bonaventura and Gabriel de Biel were good men, as, after the time of Huss, something of the pure doctrine was retained and preserved by Gerson, Dursten, Proles, Staupitz, Wessalia and Fleck. But our M. Philip can explain the Scriptures, and meditate upon the subjects, and express them pointedly and with brevity; he has, moreover, learned to pray under affliction and trials, and met the greatest and most learned adversaries; he is also sincere in his theology. Therefore, my young lads, read his *Locos* and *ad Romanos* with diligence; if any one feels disposed in addition to use my

Deuteronomion and *ad Galatas*, he will be able to prepare and enrich his sermons the better."

Concerning the holy cross of the Christian, he made many beautiful and consoling remarks at table: "*Melius est tentari quam inflari.* Next to the cross of Christ, the holy cross in the house of God is the highest treasure on earth. For it explains the Scriptures to us, and strengthens our faith, teaches us rightly and earnestly to pray, quenches our sinful flesh, and renders God's Word dear to us, God also through it implanting much virtue in us." Again: "He that flees the cross, loses the road to eternal life." Again: "Our Lord God employs the Hebrew language; it is only after some time that his counsel and will are understood." Again: "Satan dispenses heaven to the secure before they have a knowledge of their sins, but Christ gives consolation to believers, after they have a knowledge of their sins." Again: "Before the commission, Satan represents sin to be small and insignificant; but after the commission, great and grievous."

He was also disposed to utter good German rhymes at table as well as in the pulpit; for instance: "If you know anything, be silent; if you are well, remain so; if you have anything good, preserve it; misfortune, with its crushing foot, comes speedily." Again: "Eat only what is well done; do not drink muddy water; speak what is true." Again: "Be silent, endure, avoid and bear; complain of thy distress to no one; do not despair of God; thy help comes every day."

Mathesius had once written to his friend M. Caspar Heiderick, who had come to Luther's table after him, concerning the strange sights and signs which were reported to have been witnessed in Wiesenthal. The latter having shown the letter at table, Luther said: "O my dear Magister Caspar, if you wish to see animals, castles, cities and strange sights in the skies, then come to me, when there has recently been a storm, and there are many clouds; then I will show you marvellous things. The world is always gaping after signs and miracles, and often erroneously believes to behold a white dog in the skies above for a brazier, easily crediting visions; but believers keep to the Word and preserve it. I have often prayed to my God, that he would not permit me to see visions or signs, or to be instructed through dreams; for I have enough to learn in the Word, that is certain, true, and firm; giving wisdom, consolation, peace and joy, and to all that pre-

serve it, eternal life; God preserve us from false explanations."

Luther was very contented. Even his enemies testified to this. One of them said, that he ought to be bribed with several hundred gold florins. "It will do no good with him," said another:—"The German beast has no regard for money, and will not accept of any, even if you offer it to him." The chancellor, Dr. Henry Schmidtberg, of Eilenberg, in the year 1520, bequeathed a hundred gold florins to him, and caused him to be sent for; but before Luther arrived, he had already died, firmly believing in Christ, having confessed Luther's doctrine, and publicly recommended it. Luther was greatly rejoiced at this present, chiefly because, as he said, this deceased just man condemned the wicked, and because those who, to the reproach of the Divine Word, had presented the ambitious Eck with drinking-vessels and gold, would now have something on account of which they could vex themselves, as he had not desired anything of the kind. But when another person (Schartus?) presented him with fifty gold florins, he wrote: "I begin to fear that God means to reward me here; but I have protested against it, for I do not wish to be satisfied in this way; I will rather immediately return it, or spend it. For what do I want with so much money? I have given one-half of it to my pater prior, and rendered the man quite happy." In the year 1525, a bishop (undoubtedly Albrecht of Mayence) sent him twenty gold florins through a doctor, causing them to be given to his Kate; but he refused to accept them; "for I have," said he, "thanks to God, retained the name that I do not take money." The booksellers offered to give him four hundred thalers annually for his labours; but he refused to receive them, and replied, that he did not wish to sell his gifts. "I have enough," said he "thanks be to God, who has blessed me with wife and children, the best of blessings, and with an elector, who, of his own accord, has offered me two hundred florins annually. It was indeed my determination, when I married, to lecture for money. But as God provided for me differently, I have never in my life sold one of my works nor lectured for money. This name I shall, by the permission of God, also take with me into the grave." At another time he said: "If I did not labour and toil for the sake of Him who died for me, the world should not, with all its money, be able to induce me to write a book, or to translate anything

in the Bible. I do not wish the world to reward me for my labours; it is too insignificant and poor for this. I have never yet asked a farthing from my lord in Saxony, since I am here." He sometimes, however, took a copy of his writings from the printers for his friends or some poor person, and thought that he might justly do so, inasmuch as other authors, yea, translators, asked a gold florin for the sheet.

In the year 1529, he wrote to the elector John, who had made him a present in clothing:[3] "I submissively pray your electoral grace, not to credit those who represent me as being in want. I have more, indeed, especially from your electoral grace, than I can conscientiously bear; nor does it behoove me, as a preacher, to live in abundance, nor do I desire it. The too kind and gracious favour of your electoral grace, accordingly, causes me anxiety; for I would not wish here in this life to be found among those to whom Christ says: *Wo unto you that are rich; you have your consolation.* (Luke vi. 24.) Besides, considered in a temporal point of view, I would not wish to be burthensome to your electoral grace, since I know that your electoral grace is required to give so frequently, that you verily have nothing too much for your station; for too many demands upon the purse exhaust it. Accordingly, although with the leather-coloured cloth it would have been proceeding too far, nevertheless, that I may show myself grateful to your electoral grace, I shall, in honour of your electoral grace, wear the black coat, although, verily, it is too costly for me; and if it were not a present from your electoral grace, I would never wear such a coat. I therefore pray your electoral grace to delay, till I myself complain and beg, that your electoral grace may not, by thus preventing me, render me diffident in interceding for others, who are much more worthy of such favours; for your electoral grace bestows too much upon me. Christ will graciously and abundantly reward you: for this I sincerely pray. Amen." When the elector, John Frederick, offered to have a share in the Schneeberg mines assigned him in the compact of the princes, he refused to receive it, and said: "The devil hates me; he says. that all the treasures of the earth are his, and he might perhaps on my account cut off the ore; then the rest of the corporation would have to suffer for my sake. It behooves me much rather to contribute a paternoster, that the ore may continue, and the acquisition be well applied." Thus he also

wrote to Hausmann, when the latter had informed him, that the Zwickau council would fulfil its promise; that he knew nothing of any such promise; that such presents, moreover, were very burthensome to him, as they caused men to suspect him of great wealth, which he loathed and could not bear, and of which he accordingly did not wish to have the name. That Hausmann would therefore do well if he would endeavour to prevent the matter. That no one owed him anything except food and clothing, but that he owed all things to all. What presents he received from honourable and grateful people, he mostly again distributed. A poor man on one occasion complained to him of his great distress; and having no cash, and finding the money which his wife, who lay confined at the time, had received from her sponsors, he took it, and brought it to the necessitous man. Being spoken to because of this, he said: "God is rich, he will help again." To the town-council of Wittenberg, he once wrote: "Dear sirs; hunger also compels this poor young man to leave. He, however, has no money for his journey, as the rest; but because he is a pious and learned man, we must help him. And you know that I have many and daily demands upon me to give; so that I cannot afford it all. I pray you therefore to give him thirty florins. If there is not so much at your disposal, give him twenty, and I will give ten. If not, give him the half, fifteen, and I will give the other half. God will restore it again."—When, in the year 1542, the tax for the war against the Turks was collected, and the elector had enjoined, that Luther should not be required to render any contribution for his houses and property,[4] Luther, indeed, submissively thanked him for this, but thought that he would nevertheless also wish to be in the army against the Turks with his few farthings, as well as the rest who willingly contributed. "For," said he, "there are enough who are unwilling, at any rate, besides, that I would be an example, and zealous eyes should not be excited to envy, that Dr. Martin would also have to give. And who knows but what the farthings of those of us who are willing, do not please God more than the florins of the unwilling, as was the case with the widow, who cast in more with her mite, than the rich?"

AUTHORITIES.—Tischr. ed. of Stangw. p. 664. Mathes. 12. Pred. Tischr. p. 665, 6. Let. vol. 3, No. 1021, 1097-99. Vol. 4, No.

1420, 1487, 1504, 1616, 17, 18. Tischr. p. 671, 669, 670, 676, 670. Let. vol. 4. No. 1228. Tischr. p. 671, 72, 73. Mathes. 12. Pred. Let. vol. 4. No. 1438, 39, 1634. Vol. 3, No. 761, 805, 874. Works, vol. 22, p. 581, seq. Concerning Luther's daily life, and particularly his deportment at table, according to Mathes. 12 and 13. Pred. Let. vol. 1, p. 269, 283. Tischr. p. 571. Fabricii Centifolio Lutheri. p. 440. Tischr. p. 71. Let. vol. 3. No. 883, 1114. Mathes. 12 Pr. Let. No. 1179. Mathes. 12. Pred. Unschuld. Nachricht. vol. 21, p. 362. Let. vol. 5. No. 2145.

Notes.—1.) Most probably the garden of the cloister. Subsequently Luther possessed several gardens. See note 4. In his letters to Link of Nuremberg, and Lange of Erfurt, beginning with the year 1526, there are repeated requests for various kinds of seeds and horticultural information. In December, 1527, he writes: "Si vixero, hortulanus ero. Subsequently he does not seem to have personally taken part in horticultural labour; I have at least not discovered any traces of it in his language.

2.) The well here referred to, is undoubtedly the one still known as Luther's well, being situate about a mile and a half from the Elstergate, and having a forester's house built over it at present. Report says, that Luther often walked out thither, especially when he translated John iv. (But at that time he was at the Wartburg.)

3.) Perhaps that Luther might be able to appear respectably at Marburg, whither he was to proceed at that time. (See Part 4, ch. 10.)

4.) At that time Luther, according to his letter to the elector, (vol. 5, No. 2045,) possessed: 1. "*The large cloister edifice*," (presented to him by the elector John). This he wrote he did not know how to value, as he doubted whether his family would be able to maintain it after his death, since he could only with difficulty bear the expense for roof, glass, and iron, during his life, and only the third part of it was completed. According to the bond, the elector had the right of first purchase. (Uckert, vol. 1, p. 347, states, that the heirs in 1564 sold it to the university for 3700 florins.) 2. For this reason he had purchased for his family "the next enclosure to it, *Brun's House*, for 400 florins, and 20 florins to build it," which he however still owed. For this, he thought, he could scarcely pay tax, as he did not derive any profit from it, and it was all debt. 3. *Three gardens*, which he valued thus: the garden 500 florins, the hide with the garden 90 florins, and a small garden 20 florins. (With this the information which Keil, though without stating his authorities, gives, vol. 2, p. 203, vol. 3, p. 44, and vol. 4, p. 219, agrees in part, that Luther, namely, in the year 1527, purchased a garden of Balthasar Hahn, in 1532, a garden and a plain of John Heuffner, and in 1544 a garden in the Speck (a wood belonging to the university of Jacob Gehmann.)

CHAPTER IV.

THE LAST LABOURS.

"I FEEL very reluctant to have my writings collected for publication,"—Luther wrote in the year 1537 to Wolfgang Fabricus, Capito of Strasburg,—"and I would sooner devour them all, as Saturn did his children. I cannot wholly acknowledge a single one of my books any more, except perhaps the book "that free will is nothing, and the catechism." I have, nevertheless, if anything is to be done in the matter, committed the work to Dr. Caspar Cruciger." In the year 1539 there appeared the first part of the *German Writings of Luther.* In the preface he says: "I would gladly have seen, that all my books had been forgotten and perished. And among other reasons, that I dread the example; for I well know, how injuriously it has operated upon the Church, that men, in addition to the Holy Scriptures, collected great numbers of books and established large libraries, especially, without all discrimination, raking up all the fathers, teachers and decrees of councils, that could be found, in consequence of which, the precious time was not only wasted and the study of the Scriptures neglected, but the pure knowledge of God's Word also was finally lost, till the Bible (as happened to the book of Deuteronomy at the time of Josiah, king of Judah) lay forgotten in the dust beneath the bench. And although it was useful and necessary that the writings of some of the fathers and councils should remain as testimonies and histories, I nevertheless think, that moderation is to be observed in all things, and that it is no loss, that the writings of many fathers and councils have perished, through the grace of God. For if they had all been preserved, it would be almost impossible to go in or out for books, and they would after all have furnished us nothing better than what we find in the Holy Scriptures. We also had hoped, when we began the translation of the Bible into German, that there would be less of writing and more of studying and reading in the Scriptures. For all other writings are also to point to the Scriptures, as John did to Christ, saying: *I must decrease, but he must increase;* that every one might himself drink from the living source, as all the fathers, who wished to produce anything useful, were constrained to do. For neither

the councils nor the fathers, nor we, when we have done our best, will be able to produce anything as good as that which the Holy Scriptures, that is, God himself, has furnished, though we must also have the Holy Spirit, faith, divine discourse, and works, if we wish to be saved; for we must permit the prophets and apostles to sit upon the chair, whilst we here below must hear at their feet what they say; but we should keep quiet and listen. But as I cannot prevent it now, and it is resolved, without my consent, to publish a collection of my books, I must permit them to expend their means and labour upon them. I comfort myself with the thought, however, that my books will, in the end, remain forgotten in the dust, especially where (through the grace of God) I have written anything useful. For I shall fare no better than my predecessors did. The rest will be likely to survive soonest. For if it was possible to suffer the Bible itself to lie under the bench, and also continually more and more to forget the fathers and councils, I can well hope, that, when the curiosity of the present age has been gratified, my books will not survive long, especially since it has begun to rain books and authors in such abundance, many of whom are already lying, forgotten and decaying, so that their names even are not remembered any more, whilst they had hoped, that they would forever be for sale in the market, and master the churches. He then earnestly prays those, who might wish to have his books, by no means to neglect the study of the Scriptures on account of them, but to read them as they would read the decretals of the pope, and the writings of the sophists, yea, of the fathers and councils; and finally, points out a way to study theology, in which he had exercised himself, and through which one could become so learned, as to be able, if necessary, to write books, as good as those of the fathers and councils, namely, the way which David pointed out in the 119th Psalm, where these three rules were found: *Oratio, Meditatio, Tentatio.* (Prayer, Study, and Trials.)

He also, when in the year 1538 he sent the *Annotations to Matthew*, and the *Song of Solomon* to Amsdorf, complained, that the brethren were tearing everything out of his hands, as he might perceive that all this was either privately copied by his friends, or hastily penned down by himself. The Annotations to Matthew, he had considered lost, when they were brought to him, ready for the press. He had, namely, at table,

because he had no other time, written down some remarks for a good friend, who at that time was lecturing on Matthew, (Dr. Jerome Weller, see p. 570,) in order that the latter might have subject-matter for his lectures, but had not supposed that such thoughts would be preserved for the press. "For we have books enough and in abundance,"—said he,—"both old and new, so that I can very gladly permit my books to perish. I was forcibly constrained by my adversaries to appear in public. I nevertheless had no other design in it than, in accordance with my duty and my office, to conduct the studying youth to the sources themselves, that is, to the Holy Scriptures. And I conceive, that, through the grace of God, I have so discharged the duties of my office, as to have accomplished some good. For now the Bible is again accessible, not only in the Hebrew, Greek and Latin, but also in our German language, and is mostly so explained, that every one, if he is pious and diligent, can, without my books, pasture himself in the Holy Scriptures, and satisfy his soul in them.

The exposition of the Song of Solomon, he says, he had not undertaken for the purpose of exhibiting his learning, as many did, who exercised all their skill upon difficult books; but that, by rejecting uncouth explanations, through which this book had hitherto been obscured, he might indicate a different and more befitting sense, which would be profitable not only for common life, but also for a proper insight into the blessings of God, this being the object of all the Holy Scriptures, according to 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17. "This book," said he, "is a eulogy on the temporal government, which was crowned with the loveliest peace at the time of Solomon. For just as those who wrote songs in the Holy Scriptures, wrote them concerning their own deeds; so Solomon also in this poem commends his own government, and as it were, pronounces a panegyric upon the peace and the condition of the commonwealth at that time. Therefore he returns thanks to God for this exalted blessing, namely, for temporal peace; that thus from his example others also might learn how we are to thank God, and to acknowledge his exalted blessings, and at the same time also to pray, that, if anything is defective in the government, it may be reformed."

In this year also appeared the *Exposition of the second*, as likewise of the 14th, 15th and 16th chapters of John, and of the 51st Psalm. Concerning the last he says: "I have undertaken the explanation of this psalm, because it

treats of repentance. But although I must acknowledge, that I have not yet attained to the exalted and rich spirit which speaks in this psalm, we will nevertheless take up the psalm, that we may be induced to learn and further to strive after this rich treasure. Therefore I will with you become a pupil, and study in it and learn with you, and see what the Holy Spirit will work in us; and what blessing he bestows upon us, we will gratefully receive." For in this psalm, he said, were embraced the chief articles of the christian religion, it treating of repentance, of sin, of grace, of christian righteousness, of the true worship of God; which important and exalted articles, if they were not inculcated in a high and rich spirit, could not possibly remain fixed in the heart or produce fruit. That the adversaries had also greatly inculcated these doctrines, but nevertheless spoke and taught of them as if they had been dreaming, for that the true and real sense of these articles could not possibly be attained to by means of human reason and wisdom.

Finally, he also, in this year, published the *three symbols*,[1] or confessions of the christian faith, in German, in order herewith again to testify, that he agreed with the true Christian Church, "which has thus far preserved these symbols, or confessions, and not with the false, vain-glorious Church, which nevertheless is the worst enemy of the true Church, and has introduced much idolatry in connection with such noble confessions." He further says: That he had found it corroborated by the history of the Universal Church, that all those who had rightly taught and preserved the chief article concerning Jesus Christ, had remained firmly and securely in the true christian faith. That on the other hand also, all error, heresy, idolatry, scandal, abuse and wickedness in the Church, had originated from the fact, that this article of the faith concerning Jesus Christ had been despised or become lost. Having then demonstrated this, he replies to those who scornfully cast up to the Church, that there are so many divisions and sects found in it, whilst it ought to be united and peaceful, and finally adduces several passages from the Scriptures to confirm this article.

In the year 1539, Luther, in connection with other learned theologians, began anew to revise the *Bible*. Mathesius relates concerning it: "The whole German Bible having now been published, and one day with its trials always teaching the other, Dr. Luther, with great earnestness, diligence and prayer, takes up the Bible from the beginning, and revises it

throughout, and because the Son of God had promised, that he would be present where several assembled in his name, and prayed for his Spirit, Dr. Martin Luther, so to speak, instituted a peculiar Sanhedrim of the best men that were to be found at that time, who weekly assembled in the doctor's cloister, for several hours previous to supper, namely: Dr. John Bugenhagen, Dr. Justus Jonas, Dr. Cruciger, M. Philip, Matthew Aurogallus, M. George Rörer, the corrector, being also present; sometimes doctors and learned men from a distance were present at this great work, as Dr. Bernard Ziegler, Dr. Forstemius. The doctor having now previously examined the published Bible, and gathered information from Jews and such as were conversant with foreign languages, besides inquiring of aged Germans for suitable words, as he engaged a butcher to kill several wethers for him, and to inform him how each part of the sheep was called, Dr. Martin Luther came into the consistory with his old Latin and German Bible, with which he also always brought the Hebrew text. M. Philip brought with him the Greek text, Dr. Cruciger, besides the Hebrew, the Chaldee Bible; the professors had their rabbis with them; Dr. Pommer also had a Latin text for himself, with which he was very conversant. Each one had previously prepared himself upon the text, concerning which they were to consult, having examined the Greek and the Latin together with Jewish commentators. Upon this the president proposed a text, and passing around in order, he heard what remarks each one had to make upon it, according to the peculiarity of the language and the exposition of the ancient doctors. Most admirable and instructive discourses are said to have been heard on these occasions, some of which M. George has recorded, and which were afterwards printed as notes and expositions upon the margin of the text. The doctor stated three rules which were to be carefully observed: The Bible being a book of God, which he had through the urging of his Spirit, caused to be recorded by the prophets and apostles, who had visibly seen and heard the Son of God himself, before and after his incarnation, no one should engage in this labour without heartfelt prayer, as the Word of God would have to be explained through God's Spirit, as he also writes in his letter concerning translating: This labour requires a very pious, faithful, diligent, fearful, christian, learned, skilful and experienced heart, and also suitable and expressive words, if

the Bible is to be translated rightly and intelligibly. Now the Bible speaks especially of the being and will of God, and most of all concerning the eternal Son of God, his incarnation and sacrifice, concerning his Church, concerning temporal government, and concerning the domestic institution. If the text now does not speak of Christ and his Church, it must speak of temporal government, or of the holy state of matrimony and the domestic institution. These are the three holy hierarchies and stations of which the Bible speaks. The dreamings of the Jews and other new expositors, which concern neither the Church of God, nor government, nor the domestic institution, are to be unceremoniously discarded and rejected. Then the peculiarities of the Hebrew words, and the mode and manner of expression in this language, must be diligently considered. For the holy language has its peculiar characteristics and modes of expression, which cannot be successfully imitated in all other languages. Upon such previous admonition each one now stated what he could substantiate from grammar, or from valid deduction from what precedes and what follows, or from the testimony of learned men, till finally, in the year 1542,[2] this work, through the grace of God, was completed." — — — "When the labour was ended, our Dr. Martin Luther sometimes retained his friends and co-labourers to supper, on which occasions, very interesting remarks were made. I have heard that he once disputed and inquired concerning Ahab's belt, 1 Kings xxii. 34, at table. For the former German Bible read: That Ahab was wounded between the stomach and the lungs. Now it is rendered: between the corselet and belt, to which the sword is suspended from the shoulder, as the marginal note states. Again, he started the question, how the word *chail* ought to be rendered in good German, whether it ought to be translated œconomical, or honourable, virtuous, frugal, sensible? When some proposed the new words *tugendreiche* and *gestrenge*, (very virtuous and severe,) he replied: We do not wish to be bothered with lady-terms and stern and severe ladies in our houses, or the Bible. When Dr. Luther now had laboured till he had become weary and fatigued, he was joyful at table, and sometimes instituted a vocal concert. On one occasion we, in presence of some kindly people, sung the last words of Dido from Virgil: *Dulces exuviæ.* Magister Philip also joined in, and when the singing ceased, he said: Virgil wished to compose

a requiem for Antonius, in which he embraces his last words and will. Oh God, said Dr. Luther, what poor and miserable people are those blind heathens, with their learned men; how wretchedly do they die; without the cross of Christ and the light of the Word! as the great poet also concludes his book, when he portrays the death of prince Turnus: *Vitaque cum fremitu fugit indignata sub umbras;* I die with rage, and pass impatient hence; therefore many a one also breaks his own heart, as this wretched, short-sighted Dido does. We praise God for the last words of David, Simeon and Stephen, who fell softly, gently and joyfully asleep, in the true knowledge and worship of the eternal Mediator, commending their souls to the safe-keeping of the Lord Christ."

In the caution which Luther prefixed to this edition of the Bible, against counterfeit impressions, he says: "If any one desires to possess this new improved Bible for himself, or for a library, I herewith faithfully caution him, to see what, and where he purchases, and to inquire for this impression, which has been published here this year, 1541; *for I do not expect to live long enough to revise the Bible another time. And even if I should be required to live so long, I am nevertheless too weak for such a labour.*" Luther notwithstanding continued to labour at this his work, and to improve it, and he said: "If I should be assailed and censured as having sometimes failed in the translation, I will gratefully receive it, for how often did not St. Jerome fail," &c. And he once said at table: "If I were as eloquent and rich in words as Erasmus, and were skilled in the Greek, like Joachim Camerarius, and as conversant with the Hebrew as Forsterus, and were also younger, *O how I would labour in God's Word!*"

In the year 1545,[3] there also appeared the first part of Luther's *Latin Writings.* In the preface he says: That he had earnestly and for a long time resisted those who had wished to collect and to publish his books, or rather his irregular writings, partly because he had not wished in this way to bring the ancients into forgetfulness, partly also because there now, through the grace of God, were extant many able works and writings; above all, the *Loci Communes* of Philip, and because the Bible was now accessible in almost all languages; finally, also, because his books had been irregularly published, one after the other, as the confused and the irregular affairs had demanded them; that some, however, had incessantly pes-

tered him, and daily represented to him, that if he did not permit it during his life, his writings would be published after his death by such as would be ignorant of the occasions and times of the affairs, and the confusion would thus only be increased. That these had at last prevailed upon him; the elector, his gracious lord, also, having enjoined the printers not only to print his books, but also to hasten with the printing. That he, however, prayed the reader, for Christ's sake, to read them with great caution and commiseration, remembering that he had formerly been a monk, and a true frantic, raving papist, not so cold as Eck and his like, who defended the pope merely for the sake of fat living, but had been earnest in the matter, as having dreaded the last day, and yet having most earnestly desired to be saved. That the reader would accordingly find in these his first writings, how he had allowed many and great articles to the pope, which he had afterwards held, and did still hold, to be the greatest blasphemies and abominations. That this his error should be ascribed to the times, and to his ignorance, for that he had at first been wholly alone, and altogether unqualified, and much too unlearned, for engaging in so important a business, he having been involved in this strife and contention unexpectedly, and without any design or wish on his part, to which he took God himself to witness. Upon this he relates his history up to the diet of Worms, and adds: "This I relate, in order that you, most beloved reader, if you peruse my books, may remember, that I also, as above said, am one of those who, as St. Augustine writes of himself, have improved in writing and teaching; not of those who instantly rise from nothing up to the highest pinnacle of learning, although, in truth, they are nothing, do nothing, accomplish nothing, having neither been tried nor experienced in anything, but who still, if they only once look at writings, exhaust their spirit completely.

Authorities.—Let. No. 1773. Works, vol. 22, Ap. p. 144. seq. Let. No. 1831. Annot. to Matth. Works, vol. 9, p. 1, seq., to Canticles, vol. 9, p. 1, seq. Exposition of the 2d ch. of John, vol. 9, p. 504, seq. of the 14th, 15th, 16th ch. of John, vol. 10, p. 5, seq. of the 51st Ps., vol. 6, p. 170. The Three Symbols, vol. 22, p. 102. Cons. Theol. Viteberg, 1664, p. 9, seq. Mathes. 13. Pred. Cons. Theol. l. c. Works, vol. 21, p. 645. Vol. 22, Ap. p. 146, seq.

Notes.—1.) They were the Apostolical, and the Athanasian Creed,

and the so-called Ambrosian hymn. The Nicene Creed he appends at the close.

2.) It was completed already in the year 1541; it may however have been considerably advanced into the year 1542 before it was delivered. The Wittenberg bookbinders, at least, were busily engaged during this year with the binding of the Bibles, (Let. No. 2081,) for the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg. The princes of Anhalt, &c. had ordered Bibles on parchment, and prince George of Anhalt had also ordered several hundred copies, on good writing paper, for his churches; they had them all bound at Wittenberg. (Let. l. c. and No. 1879. Cons. Theol. Viteb. 1664, p. 9, seq.) For further particulars, concerning this and the following editions, see Schott: Geschichte der deutschen Bibelübersetzung, Dr. Martin Luther's, p. 92, seq.

3.) Several smaller exegetical writings of Luther from the last years, (as the expositions of the prophets Nahum, Zephaniah, Malachi, Works, vol 8,) we have here passed by as of less importance; the polemical writings, see in ch. 6.

CHAPTER V.

THE LAST NEGOTIATIONS.

Towards the close of the year 1539, Martin Bucer came to Luther and Melanchthon, with a message from the *Landgrave, Philip of Hesse*, in which the latter confessed that he had, during the time of his marriage, lived in adultery and fornication, wherefore he had also been constrained to abstain from the table of the Lord, as he had not been able to approach it with a good conscience. Because, however, he had read in St. Paul, that fornicators and adulterers would not inherit the kingdom of God, and he could not, with his present spouse, refrain himself from fornication, unchastity, and adultery, therefore he was anxious to employ the means which God had allowed, that he might be delivered from this wretched state of things. He then, besides other reasons and examples, adduced the example of the patriarchs, whom God had permitted to have more than one wife, and requested that Luther, Philip and Bucer would give him a testimony, that it would not be sinful in him to follow this example; that they should, moreover, publicly by writings, and in their sermons, state what was right in such a case; or, if this would be prejudicial to the Gospel, they should give him a written testimony, that if he did so secretly, he would not sin against God, and that they also deemed it to be a marriage. His present spouse he

would not on that account treat ill, or show her less kindness than before. They should by all means advise and counsel him in this matter, which was not against God, that he might live and die with a joyful conscience, and be able to engage in all evangelical affairs, with so much the more zeal and christian spirit. That they ought not to be influenced too much by the world, and worldly fear, in this matter, but rather look to God, and see what he enjoined, prohibited, permitted, and allowed. That if he did not find help with the theologians, he would seek it from the emperor, who would perhaps do nothing in the matter, without the pope's dispensation. And although he considered neither this nor the emperor's permission to be of any avail, if he did not know that the step was approved of God, the emperor's consent, he said, was still not to be despised, as far as men were concerned.

In their reply, of the 10th of December, Luther and Melanchthon, in the first place, pointed out the great difference between establishing a law, and in a particular case, for important reasons, *though in accordance with divine permission*, using a dispensation, for without God's permission, they said, no dispensation would be of any avail. To establish it as a law, that every one should be allowed to have more than one wife, this they could not advise; if they should publish anything on the subject, however, it would be regarded and received as a general rule, and be the occasion of much scandal and embarrassment of conscience. "To say, in opposition, however,"—continued they,—"that what is right in the sight of God, must be absolutely allowed, this must have its limits. If God has enjoined it, or it is necessary, it holds good; but if he has not enjoined it, and it is not necessary, other circumstances must also be taken into consideration. As concerning this question: God has designed marriage to be a union only of two persons, and not of more, which would still be absolute if the nature of man were not depraved. For this is the intent of the declaration: *They two shall be one flesh.* And at first this was observed; but Lamech introduced the custom of having a plurality of wives, and this is related of him in the Scriptures as an innovation against the primitive rule. Afterwards this became general among the unbelieving, till Abraham and his descendants also took more wives than one. And it is true that this was afterwards allowed in the laws of Moses, as the text says, Deut. xxi.: *If a man have two wives*, &c., for God

yielded somewhat to the weakness of human nature. But because it is in accordance with the original institution and the creation, that a man should have only one wife, such law is praiseworthy, and has been received in the Christian Church, and no other law is to be established in opposition to it. For Christ repeats this declaration, Matt. xix.: *And they two shall be one flesh*, and reminds us of what marriage properly was before the nature of man became depraved. But that a dispensation should in particular cases be used, as when some having been taken as captives into foreign countries, married there, and being again set at liberty, brought their wives with them; or when lingering weakness gives occasion, as is sometimes the case in leprous persons, we could not in such cases condemn a man, if, with the advice of his pastor, he took an additional wife, not for the purpose of establishing a law, but to meet his necessity."—Hereupon, they represented to the landgrave, that, as it was one thing to introduce a law, and another to use a dispensation, he should, firstly, by all means, prevent this matter from being published to the world as a law; but in the second place, to consider what occasion for scandal it would give, even if it were regarded only as a dispensation. Having then further dwelt upon this, they also prayed and exhorted the landgrave to shun fornication and adultery, and not to deem such a life, out of marriage, to be a trifling sin, as the world deemed it, but to bear in mind, that God would not make light of such sins; they also spoke approvingly of his pain and sorrow on account of these sins. They further represented to him, that he had special need of chastity; that, even if he had another wife, this would not avail him, if he did not earnestly strive against his evil habits and inclinations; that man must curb the flesh, that, as God had by this spouse, presented him with well-formed young lords and ladies, he should bear with her as others also were constrained to do in their marriage. That they by no means desired to allure him into a grievous innovation, as they had the command from the Word of God to regulate marriage and all human affairs according to the primitive and divine institution, and as far as possible to prevent all from taking offence. "But if your princely grace," say they, in conclusion, "cannot cease from your incontinent life, as you write that this is impossible, we would truly rather, on account of the salvation of your princely grace, and for the sake of your dominions and people, wish

that your princely grace were in a state approved of God, and lived so as to have a good conscience. But if your princely grace resolve to take another wife, we conceive that it ought not to be divulged, as we said concerning the dispensation above, and that, besides your princely grace and that person, only several confidential persons should confessionally be advised of the mind and conscience of your princely grace."

The marriage of the landgrave with Margaret Von Sala having on the 3d March been concluded at the Rotenburg, near Fulda, in presence of Melanchthon and Bucer, and the bailiff of Eisenach, Eberhard von Thann, Luther, indeed, wished, that as the landgrave considered it so highly necessary to his salvation, God might prosper the matter; but he insisted that it should and must be kept secret, and not be boastingly divulged; and he was exceedingly displeased, that the landgrave designed to make the matter public, yea, at a consultation held at Eisenach,[1] in reference to this business, (on the 20th July, 1541,) he declared: "That it was impossible to defend this matter publicly. That his and Melanchthon's influence was of no avail here, and before he would defend this business publicly, he would either deny that he and Melanchthon had given such an answer (it having been a secret affair, and being null and void as soon as it was published), or if this denial did not avail anything, and their answer were considered not a matter of the confessional, which alone it was, but an advice, he would rather say that he had erred and committed folly, and would ask forgiveness, the scandal being too great and intolerable." He also, when they appealed to a passage in his sermons on the book of Genesis, showed that this did not avail the landgrave anything, and he demanded that the latter should preserve the matter a secret, and permit polygamy to be publicly condemned in his dominions, both by writing and preaching, saying in conclusion, however, that before God he would defend the matter, as a confessional secret and a necessity; but before the world and the now prevalent and existing law, he could not and would not defend it.

But when under the false name of Louis Neobolus, a book was published, in which bigamy was defended, Luther wrote: "Whoever now desires to hear my opinion concerning this book, let him listen. Thus says Dr. Martin Luther concerning this book, *Nebuli*: Whoever follows this book, and upon its authority takes more than one wife, him let Satan reward

in the abyss of hell. Amen. This, thanks to God, I am verily able to maintain, and if it should rain nothing than Nebuluses, Louises, and devils, for a whole year, they shall make no law of it for me, this I will verily prevent; much less shall they make a law of it for me, that a man may justly divorce himself from his wife, as this prince would likewise wish to teach, if she does not previously by manifest adultery divorce herself." In the writing "Against Jack Cade," (see below, ch. 6,) he, because duke Henry of Brunswick had denounced the landgrave as a bigamist and anabaptist, spoke thus concerning this matter: "In Hesse I know of only one Lady Landgrave, who is, and is to be called Lady and Mother in Hesse, neither may any other bear and bring up young Landgraves, and said Lady is the dutchess, the daughter of duke George of Saxony. But that you princes, in part, walk by roads; you have, alas, by your evil example, produced such a state of things, that the peasant will scarcely deem it a sin any more, and you have put so many obstacles in our way, that with all our labour, we can scarcely maintain marriage as a praiseworthy and honourable institution, or rather again establish it as such."

Of the *convention* which was to be held at Schmalkalden, in March, 1541, and where measures for arranging existing difficulties were also to be discussed, Luther promised himself nothing, for with the papists, he on the 18th January wrote to the elector, it was a desperate affair; they were hardened, he said, and strove against the acknowledged truth. That he was indeed willing to proceed thither with the rest, but did not see the need of this; that it would not matter much either, if he did for once shut his eyes. He praised God that M. Philip and Dr. Jonas, &c., were sufficient, and were well versed in this business. The elector excused him too, and he himself, although he had been willing to proceed with the rest, was glad that he had remained at home, for he became unwell, and his Kate, who had been most dangerously ill, had just then again arisen, as if from the dead. Melanchthon wrote to him what was doing at the council, and how the emperor had offered to treat concerning the peace of the Church. But he said, that intercession ought to be made for the emperor: that it was no small miracle, that God had for so many years restrained the hand of the emperor, so that the cardinals and popes had in vain raved and urged him on, and for this, thanks ought to be returned to God. But come what might, prayer,

which alone was the almighty emperor in human affairs, could accomplish everything.

In the beginning of June, Melanchthon again was required to proceed to *Hagenau*, whither the Roman king, Ferdinand, had summoned a convention; but on his way he was taken so violently ill at Weimar, more from trouble, on account of the scandalous business of the landgrave,[2] than from other causes, that he became completely exhausted, and nothing but certain death seemed to await him. Luther, who had already written to him a letter of consolation, was, in connection with Cruciger, directed by the elector to proceed to Weimar. Having now arrived, he found things to be in the condition which had been reported to him. For his eyes were sunk, all understanding had vanished, language had forsaken him, his hearing had failed him, his countenance was unbent and fallen, and as Luther said, *facies erat Hippocratica.* He recognised no one, ate and drank nothing. Luther beholding him thus irrecognisable, was terrified exceedingly, and said to his fellow travellers: Good God, how has Satan abused this instrument for me!" then instantly turning to the window, he earnestly prayed to God: "There," said Luther—"I have earnestly appealed to our Lord God. I have approached him with great boldness, and held up to him all his promises to hear prayer, which I could enumerate from the Holy Scriptures, so that He was constrained to hear me, if I was at all to trust his Word." Upon this he took Philip by the hand, and said: "*Bono animo esto, Philippe, non morieris!*" (Be of good cheer, Philip, thou wilt not die!) Although God would have cause to kill, he still does not wish the death of the sinner, but that he turn himself and live. He delights in life and not in death. If God again graciously called and received the greatest sinners that have ever dwelt upon the earth, as Adam and Eve, much less will he reject thee, my Philip, or suffer thee to perish in sin and melancholy. Therefore do not yield to the spirit of sadness, and do not become a murderer of thyself, but trust in the Lord, who can kill and make alive again, injure and bind up, wound and heal again." For Luther well knew the concern of his heart and conscience. As Luther thus seized him by the hand and addressed him, Philip again began to breathe, but it was not till after some time that he could speak. Upon this he straightway cast his eyes upon Luther, and began to pray him for God's sake, not to keep him back

any longer, that he was now on a pleasant journey, he should permit him to depart; that nothing better could at any rate happen unto him. "By no means, Philip,"—said Luther,—"you must still further serve our Lord God." Thus Philip became more and more lively, and Luther caused some food to be quickly prepared for him, and brought it to him himself, but Philip refused to take it. Upon this Luther menacingly urged him and said: "Do you hear me, Philip? you must absolutely eat for me, or I will excommunicate you." With these words he was prevailed upon to eat, though but very little, thus gradually again gaining strength. Melanchthon, after his recovery, declared that he could truly say, that he had been called back from death into life by the power of God: and that if Luther had not come, he would have died. Luther himself, however, informed his wife, ("the rich Lady of Zulsdorf, Lady Catherine Luther, bodily dwelling at Wittenberg, but spiritually at Zulsdorf,") that although with regard to the diet of Hagenau, labour and troubles were lost, he had nevertheless, if nothing further had been accomplished, again brought Magister Philip up from hell, and would, if God permitted, joyfully bring him home again from the grave.

In the fall of this year, the colloquium, which was appointed at Hagenau, was held at Worms. From Wittenburg Melanchthon and Cruciger went to attend it. Luther gave them his blessing, and said: "Proceed thither in the name of God, as ambassadors of Jesus Christ, and keep firmly to the simple Word; give away nothing that belongs to our Lord Christ, for you have no authority to do so. In other respects, be not wanting in that which tends to a good understanding and to union; Christ, with his spirit and angelic watchmen, will be with you, and my prayers and aspirations I will add thereto, as long as I live. The adversaries are put to flight; they have an evil conscience, and deal in deceit and crafty and cunning manœuvres; but He that is alone wise and prudent, will take them in their craftiness, revealing their folly to every one, and speedily bringing all their counsels to nought; He does not sleep nor slumber, but gives his spirit to those that cry unto him; He will also give you speech and wisdom, against which they will not be able to advance anything substantial." He was rejoiced that his friends wrote to him so faithfully and diligently from Worms, that they harmonized so well, and that the Spirit of Christ showed himself present among them;

the rest, he thought, might eventuate as it might, for he did not, he said, expect much good from the emperor Charles and king Ferdinand, because their hands were stained with innocent blood. "For the sake of good appearance," said he at table, in reference to the religious colloquiums, "it will not do to refuse colloquiums and friendly negotiations, neither will these negotiations be wholly without fruit, if we only simply and frankly confess the truth. But to an agreement it will not come in this matter, for the Son of God himself declared this war and strife between the seed of the woman and the serpent in paradise, and the contest will not be calmed nor ended, till the Son again appears, and is heard in the clouds, and impartially and finally determines the matter. Meanwhile, no one will unite our Lord Christ and Belial, even if all sensible and reasonable men joined together for this purpose. Christ has a good cause and a straight sceptre, therefore he cannot and will not yield or concede anything to his enemies. And Belial, on the other hand, will not acknowledge to have done anything wrong, or to step out of any one's way, till he is compelled to do so at the last day." — — — "It is one of the greatest follies of the wise and shrewd world, to attempt a union between the members of Christ and the imps of Satan. You will find too that it will come to nothing; we must patiently wait for the Supreme Judge and his decision; he will make an end of the business, and fulfil the word of the bishop of Salzburg, condemning one part and banishing them to the fires of hell, there the matter will be arranged and composed," &c.

On the 18th January, a command of the emperor had been declared to the princes and estates at Worms, that the colloquium which had been opened should not progress any further this time, but should be deferred to the diet to be held at *Ratisbonne*. And although Luther had prayed the elector to excuse Melanchthon and Cruciger from this journey, because the interests of the university required that they should remain at Wittenberg, the elector nevertheless conceived it necessary, and ordered them to be at Altenberg by the 16th March.

Luther was exceedingly dissatisfied with the book, which was, according to the wish of the emperor, to be made the basis of the colloquium,[3] because it took from the papistical doctrines all that was objectionable, and so glossed them over that they appeared plausible. He also earnestly warned against

the counsels of the landgrave, who had said, that in those articles, which concerned conscience and the salvation of the soul, and were founded in God's Word, he would not indeed yield an iota, though he would in neutral things, and disputes about words, both for the sake of peace, and for the sake of the spread of God's Word. "I am indignant at the landgrave and his friends," he wrote, "that they thus reverse the Lord's prayer, and first seek peace and quiet, unconcerned as to the chief part, namely, the name, kingdom, and will of God. Of what avail is it to strain out gnats and to swallow camels? If they wish to have union in religion, let them begin with the principal parts, the doctrines and the sacraments; if they once are agreed upon these, other outward things which they call neutral, will arrange themselves, as has been the case, in our churches; then God would be in the union, and there would be permanent peace and quiet. But where the important things are disregarded, and neutral matters arranged, there God is forgotten, and the peace would be a peace without God, instead of which we should prefer to have all manner of strife. It will still be as Christ says, Matt. ix.: *The piece of new cloth on an old garment makes the rent worse, and new wine breaks old bottles.* Either make it wholly new, or dispense with patching, as we have done, otherwise all your labour is lost. I fear that the landgrave is permitting himself to be drawn, and would like to draw us with him. But he has (I conceive) drawn us quite enough in his business; he shall draw me no more. I would sooner again take the matter wholly to myself, and stand alone, as in the beginning. We know that it is the cause of God; he has begun it; he himself has thus far conducted it, and will conduct it to the end. Whoever will not follow, let him stay behind; neither the emperor, nor the Turks, nor all devils combined, shall gain anything here, befall us on account of it what God may dispense. It vexes me that they look upon these matters as if they were temporal, imperial, Turkish, princely affairs, concerning which reason can treat and arrange, and from which it can give and take. It is a business in which God and Satan, with the angels, on both sides, are engaged; whoever does not believe this will accomplish little good here." His Melanchthon, on the other hand, who had on the way sustained an injury in his right hand, through the upsetting of the carriage, he comforted and wrote: "Although I sympathize with yon as regards

your fractured hand, I still do not trust either you or my auguries. Our cause is not directed by chance, but according to a certain counsel, and that not our own, be it never so good, but wholly according to God's counsel. The Word runs, prayer blazes forth, hope endures, faith overcomes, so that we can see and feel it; and if we were not flesh, might sleep and rest, bearing in mind the Word in Moses: "*You shall be quiet; the Lord will fight for you.*" He wished that the negotiations, the beginning of which Melanchthon had reported to him, might succeed well, and to his friends he said: "The Lord, who has called and sent you, whose messengers, disciples and martyrs you are in this holy cause, guide and preserve you unblamable to the end, that you may produce much fruit. With these our sighs, we are in the midst of you, and in the midst of the wolves, and He whom we call ours, who knows our desires, from whom our desires are not concealed, knows what the Spirit desires for you, namely, that the name, kingdom, and work of God may be furthered forever."

When in the conference of the committee, they had agreed upon a formula in regard to the doctrine of justification, with which the elector of Saxony was dissatisfied, because it departed from the words of the confession, Luther, in an opinion submitted in connection with Bugenhagen, did indeed agree that this formula of union was a prolix and patched-up affair, by which nothing was gained, and that it was necessary to abide in the formula and declaration: *We hold that a man is justified through faith, without the deeds of the law;* but he nevertheless added: We pray your electoral grace, by no means to write too severely to M. Philip and our friends, that he may not again grieve himself to death. For they have still reserved the precious Confession, and have in this respect still remained pure and firm, even if every thing else should be wanting. The discussion will still bear its fruit to the injury of the papacy, as Christ says, 2 Cor. xii. 9: *My strength is mighty in the weak.* As Christ also has thus far always been weak in us, and yet debased the mighty. Thus it is his way to deal, that we may not become puffed up, and boast, as if we had accomplished anything in these weighty affairs of the divine majesty." He greatly praised the emperor, who had caused the theologians on both sides to come into his cabinet, and had told them that they should lay aside all personal feelings and considerations as regarded their own princes, have

God alone before their eyes, and seek the truth, to the salvation of the Church and of the commonwealth; but he nevertheless had his suspicions, for even if the emperor was willing, he thought the rest would not be of the same mind with him. But as the emperor had said that the colloquium should not be a compulsory matter, but should be left to the option of the electors and princes, he said that they ought likewise to show themselves friendly and well-disposed. That the emperor was certainly, by this colloquium, playing legerdemain with the pope, which the latter would not relish much, unless the whole matter had been previously so arranged between them.

On the 1st June, the ambassadors of the elector at Ratisbonne wrote to him of their having been confidentially informed, "that his imperial majesty[4] designed quite shortly to send several persons, as prince John of Anhalt, Matthias von der Schulenburg, and Alexander Alesius Scotus, thence to Dr. Martin Luther, with directions to prevail upon him to consent to, or to tolerate several articles in religion which it had not been possible to obtain from M. Philip and the envoys, and that they should so arrange their journey, as to enable themselves to return again in fifteen days." They reported this, that the elector might have knowledge of this matter, and also graciously caution Dr. Martin in reference to it, by the transmission of the enclosed letter from M. Philip. The elector also immediately did this, and Luther replied, that he was very much surprised that an embassy should be sent to him, although the last communications had nevertheless excited strange thoughts in his mind. That they might come in the name of God. That it was the same game which they had played with him at Worms, where they also had attempted to catch him in his words. But that Christ would prove victorious. That he would do as the elector had advised, as he was prepared and quite displeased, that they had begun so amicably and yet meant it so inimically. On the 9th June the ambassadors arrived at Wittenberg, they having further added to their number the Cathedral Provost, Prince George of Anhalt, and on the following day, they, in the name of the elector, and the margrave of Brandenburg, made known to Luther the object of their embassy. After they had stated what had been done at the diet, more particularly in reference to the chief articles of faith, but especially of justification, and reported the consultations held with regard to them, that sev-

eral articles, moreover, concerning which there was no union with the papists as yet, had been committed to them, as being of the same faith, for representation to him; they prayed that because the doctor had first through divine grace and illumination, brought these doctrines to light, he would afford his aid, that christian, admissible means might be devised, to enable these wholesome doctrines still further to spread, as it was to be hoped, that then also the remaining abuses would be put away, or that, if in all this final union could not be established, there might at least be toleration, as far as it was possible, for the sake of charity. That it was required to bear with those who were not yet sufficiently instructed, that it was also impossible for his imperial majesty himself to abolish everything. They represented what calamity might flow from it, if union were not established, and if the diet should separate without being productive of any good, appealing also to the declaration of the doctor, that if the truth were permitted to be taught in its purity, and the people obtained the communion, patience might be exercised with regard to the other articles. Therefore they prayed, in conclusion, that the doctor would himself designate proper ways and means, which the aforesaid electors and princes would diligently promote, that the disputed articles might be cut off, or at least good regulations might be adopted. That they, however, sought nothing further than what might be accomplished without disparaging God's Word, or giving offence.

To this, Luther replied: That he had, in the first place, with joy, heard of his imperial majesty's anxious desire for union in the Church and peace in the realm. That he also boasted of earnestly desiring these two things, for which his first and humble prayer daily ascended to God. That it in the second place also afforded him joy to hear of the union on those four articles; that he, however, had not seen any of the formulas, except that concerning justification. That the union with the other side, however, was impossible, even for the emperor, because they did not earnestly desire to be united in accordance with the will and truth of God, and perhaps, also, they wished in this way to impose upon the emperor. For that if they were earnest in the matter, they would not hesitate to be united on the other ten articles, as they well knew that the whole ten were powerfully and irresistibly condemned by the four articles on which they had agreed, especially the one concerning

justification. That he also, as regarded the article concerning justification, disapproved of it, that free-will was embraced in it, and that the passage, Gal. v. 6, was adduced, whilst it did not at all apply, since Paul did not say: That faith justified through love; but, That faith works through love, acts through love. That he, in the third place, was very willing to give advice if he could, as to how an arrangement might be made with regard to those ten articles, in order that the diet might not separate without accomplishing some good. That he had not yet seen all the ten articles, as the theologians on the other side had drawn them up. Those which had been drawn up by their party he had seen, and they pleased him, and were in accordance with the truth. That if his imperial majesty could not induce the other party to form a true and sincere union, all labour would be in vain, as there were some among the ten articles upon which they were not agreed, which manifestly and clearly strove against the first commandment, so that there could be no disputation or toleration with regard to them. That there existed no cause that would make such toleration excusable before God, inasmuch as there was merely a designed tyranny on the other side. That the latter would also so construe this tolerance as to consider themselves authorized to keep their people, even if these had already been instructed and established in the truth, enslaved in such articles. That it was indeed necessary to bear with the weak, who had not thus far heard God's Word, till they would also become strong; but that they would not become strong, if the first four articles were not also preached in their purity by the other party, especially the article concerning justification. That if his imperial majesty decreed this, and caused it to be observed, they would deprive the ten of their spirit, and teachers and hearers would, through the daily exercise in such doctrine, soon become stronger, and increase in strength daily. But that if those four articles were not taught in their purity, and such preachers were not appointed on the other side, as would in their sermons inculcate these four articles in their purity, the toleration would tend only to confirm them in eternal obduracy. That if it were permitted to preach the four articles in their purity, his imperial majesty might in his decree append a more yielding remark with regard to the ten articles, for instance: That although his imperial majesty had not been able to have them arranged this time, it was still to

be hoped that if it was permitted by the other party to preach the first four in their purity, the union with regard to the ten would of itself speedily follow from the plain preaching and inculcation of the four, and the application of them.

Soon after this, Luther expressed himself greatly exasperated at the emperor, whom he called a consummate hypocrite; comforted Melanchthon, who was greatly distressed, and called upon his friends to return home, as he also had prayed the elector to call them away. This he did once more on the 29th June, because they had at any rate done all they could, and the business had now been referred to the princes on both sides. That if the emperor, or those who managed the business in his name, were sincerely desirous of union, it certainly would with God, or in the name of God, be accomplished; in plain German, they would first have to become reconciled to God, publicly acknowledging that they had proceeded too far in the matter hitherto. That their theologians would also have to give God the honour, and confess, that they had not taught thus hitherto, as their own books were extant, testifying in mass against them. That if they would not retract, but creep behind the curtain and adorn themselves, it was evident that they dealt in nothing but falsehoods and Mayence tricks. Wherefore the best thing would be to send them the Confession and Apology, and to signify to them that there could be no departure from these .

About this time, Luther also wrote to the elector in reference to Melanchthon, stating, that the latter would not omit the Greek lecture, because the elector had added one hundred florins to his salary, and he would not accept these if he was not to be Greek lecturer, and thus save the university and the elector the salary. "The matter therefore is this,"—said Luther,—"that your electoral grace distinctly declare, whether M. Philip may with a good conscience accept the additional one hundred florins, though he should no longer attend to the Greek lecture, except in as far as he might of his own accord lecture on some Greek authors, as he has done hitherto. I conceive that he has thus far done enough, having now for twenty years and more performed so much labour in the university, that he might well in part accept of rest, as there are young Magisters, thanks to God, who understand Greek, and his disciples might very well supply the lecture. For your electoral grace well knows what a *famulus communis* he has

been in this university, so that he is well worthy of what your electoral grace so graciously bestows upon him, and of the gratitude which Christendom shows him; the papists also now, thank God, fear him and his disciples, more than they do any one else among the learned. Your electoral grace will, no doubt, graciously consider and arrange this matter, for your electoral grace must, after all, be the highest rector, pastor and treasurer in these dominions."

In the election of a *bishop for Naumburg and Zeitz*, Luther with his colleagues endeavoured to moderate the ardour of the elector; but when the latter had nominated *Nicholas Amsdorf*, till then pastor and superintendent at Magdeburg, as bishop, Luther, on the 20th January, 1542, attended at his consecration and preached in the cathedral on the occasion. He also afterwards published a treatise, entitled: *An Example of Consecrating a true Christian Bishop*, in which he treats of these questions: Whether they had been authorized, in opposition to the free choice of the chapter, as it was called, to elect another bishop; whether the members and estates of the diocese might, without violating their oaths, have sworn another bishop; and whether the bishop had done right in receiving the ordination from such condemned heretics. Amsdorf, who loathed the princely pageantry and glitter of the episcopal office, and called them a burthen, he quieted in reference to this, and said: that it was right thus to use the world as if we did not use it. He, however, absolutely refused to accept of a present of wild game from Amsdorf, because the latter had, as he said, from a rich preacher become a poor bishop, and in order not to give the great lords any occasion for calumny, who, without any scruples of conscience, had devoured everything, but would consider it a great crime in him to accept of a hare or wild boar by way of a present. "Let them riot,"—added he,—"in God's, or any other's name, so that we are not calumniated as rioting with them."

When in this year (1542) a contention arose between the *elector* and *duke Maurice of Saxony*, in reference to the sovereignty of the town of Wurzen, so vehement, that it nearly occasioned an open war: Luther addressed a communication to the two princes and their estates, in which he said: That although it did not behoove him as a preacher to have anything to do with such worldy affairs, God's Word, nevertheless, commanded the preachers and the whole Church to be concerned

for the temporal rulers, and to pray for peace and quiet upon the earth. One part of this duty, namely, prayer, had been attended to, and was still daily attended to. That they were, however, also, in the second place, in all manner of trials to make known God's Word and commands, whether to comfort the distressed, or to admonish those that were tempted, or to terrify those that were obstinate, &c. That he might therefore do his part, and excuse his conscience before God, he prayed the princes graciously to hear him, as he would not speak his own, but God's Word. "He accordingly says: *Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall be called the children of God.* Matt. v. 9. It will undoubtedly, on the other hand, also be said: Cursed are the peace-breakers, for they shall be called the children of the devil. Such declaration, because it proceeds from God the Almighty himself, will regard no distinction of persons, no matter how elevated they may be, but will subject all to itself, and require them to observe peace, on the peril of losing eternal salvation; or, what is the same thing, the Sonship with God. Therefore the first thing required of them was, above all things, to seek peace, and do all to promote it; for God said: *As far as it is possible for you, have peace with all men;* therefore, one party should offer peace and justice to the other, or in the reverse, incur eternal damnation. That the law also prevented a man from being judged in his own cause, much more from being his own avenger, and God had strictly prohibited revenge. That if every one was to be his own judge, avenger, yea, God himself, over his neighbour, there would indeed be no need of law, government, or of God himself. That in this sudden division, however, no law or investigation had been resorted to, much less had an upright decision been pronounced, whilst there were ways enough open for previously and thoroughly investigating right and wrong, so that dominions and people, body and soul, might not thus, to the honour of Satan and the reproach of God, be sacrificed for the sake of an uninvestigated, unexamined, and unknown right.

"Verily," continued he, "the little town of Wurzen is not worth the expense which has already been incurred on account of it; such great wrath between such great and mighty princes and noble states, and among rational people, would only be looked upon precisely as if two drunken peasants cuffed one another in an alehouse on account of a broken glass; or two fools, for the sake of a piece of bread; except

that Satan with his imps would like to blow up a great fire from such a spark, thus preparing joy for the enemy, laughter for the Turks, and an especial reproach for the Gospel, that the devil might boast through his blasphemous tongues: Behold, those are your evangelical princes and states, who presume to show the whole world the way to heaven, and to teach all men the truth, and have become such fools and children, that they themselves do not yet know even how to manage insignificant worldly affairs with justice and reason; oh wretched evangelicals! Yes, verily, such reproach we would have to bear from the devil and all the world. And it would exceedingly displease God that his name should be thus dishonoured through us. Rom. ii. 24. This war, moreover, if rightly considered, would, as both parties well know, not be a war, but a veritable insurrection; yea, a domestic insurrection, in which father and son, brothers and cousins, assail one another. For the two principalities are so intimately connected, that they may well be called one house, one blood, from the highest to the lowest. There are the two princes, sons of two sisters; then the nobility is so intimately interwoven and connected as brothers, sisters, and cousins, that it may well be called one house, one blood; and brothers and peasants have also exchanged their sons and daughters in marriage, so that the union cannot be more intimate." — — — "I therefore humbly pray your electoral and princely graces, that you would consider the honour of God and your salvation, and not bring upon these noble and praiseworthy principalities such eternal dishonour and reproach; that you would also remember your wretched subjects, and making the sign of the cross before you against the devil, at least so far regard my humble entreaty, as to enter into your closet alone, and earnestly to pray the Lord's prayer: then, by the grace of God, the Holy Spirit will change the hearts of your electoral and princely graces. All pious hearts also in both states should do the same: the other mad dogs may meanwhile curse, and distress themselves with their god, the devil, whom God, our Father, can well trample under our feet." "But," added he, "if one prince or state should refuse peace and justice, obstinately resisting God, and gratifying personal wrath and revenge; in this case he would side with the part that offered peace and justice, whether it were the elector or the duke; for that, even if the other part had the greatest right, it would

still condemn itself, by interfering with the exercise of God's power, attempting to be its own judge and avenger, and thus constraining the opposite side to take up arms in self-defence." To those who defend themselves only from necessity, and are willing to submit to justice, he promises forgiveness of sin, and calls upon them to be confident and undismayed; whoever would die, would die happily, as in obedience and necessary defence, to protect his prince and country. To the revengeful and implacable, however, he declares, that they had excommunicated themselves, and subjected themselves to the wrath of God, and if they should die in the war, would have to be eternally damned. "May the God of mercy," says he in conclusion, "send his angel of peace to establish true union, both between the princes and the states, as we boast ourselves of one faith and one Gospel. Amen."[7]

Because at the diet of *Spires*, (in the year 1544,) it had been enjoined upon the estates to cause a draft of a reformation to be drawn up by learned and peaceable men among themselves, and to have consultations held as to how the disputed articles might be composed, till a general council was held; the Wittenberg theologians had, previously to the diet of Worms, (1545,) upon command from the elector, put together their views concerning christian ecclesiastical government and christian reformation, and distinctly stated, upon what by the grace of God they meant finally to insist, saying at the same time, that, although it was not to be hoped, that the bishops and the unlearned, wicked, haughty chapters, would receive christian doctrines and ceremonies, and abide in them; they had nevertheless made an humble offer, and proposed a mild reformation to them, that they might not strive after high stations or wealth, or be the cause of division. This draft of a reformation, which Melanchthon had drawn up, was also subscribed by Luther; but when, in February, 1545, chancellor Brück addressed Luther in the church, and told him that many were of opinion, that more ought to be yielded than had been done in the draft, Luther replied: That others might establish or do what they would, but that neither he nor his colleagues could in the least swerve or depart from that which God, through his prophets, had revealed from the beginning of the world, and at last had declared through his only begotten and dearly beloved Son, and caused to be published to the whole world through his apostles. That it was impossible to preserve

God's Word and a good conscience, and at the same time to gain the favour of the world and the praise of moderation.

The Council of Trent Luther derided; and when they wrote from the diet of Worms, that the emperor greatly insisted that the Protestants should consent to the council, and was displeased because they refused, he thought: "I do not know what a strange thing this is. The pope exclaims, that we have no seat in the council, and the emperor insists that we are to consent to the council and its decrees. If we are to approve of such a council, why did we not twenty-five years ago approve of the lord of the councils, the pope and his bulls? Let the pope first acknowledge that the council is above him, and let him hear the council against himself, as his conscience testifies against him; then we will discuss the whole question. They are insane and foolish. God be praised."

Authorities.—Corp. Ref. T. III. p. 894, seq. Seckend. lib. III. p. 277, seq. 281. Vol. 21, p. 397. Let. No. 1912, 15, 16, 17. Corp. Ref. T. III. p. 955, 1008, seq. Let. No. 1921. XVII. p. 1061, 77. Let. No. 1944. Mathes. 13. Pred. Let. 1960. Mathes. ib. Corp. Ref. T. IV. p. 79, 103, 118. Let. 1971, 75, (Seckend. lib. III. p. 354,) 1976, 77, (Corp. Ref. T. IV. p. 142,) 1977. Corp. Ref. T. IV. p. 282. Let. No. 1987, 85, 92. Corp. Ref. T. IV. p. 379, 385. (Let. 193,) 399, seq. Works, vol. 21, p. 405, seq. Let. 1995, 96, 99, 2000, 2008. Seckend. lib. III. p. 392. Treatise: Example of consecrating a true Christ. Bish. Works, vol. 21, p. 412. Let No. 2113, 2045, 46, 2059. Seckend. lib. III. p. 521. Corp. Ref. T. V. p. 577. Seckend. p. 556. Let. No. 2280, 82.

Notes.—1.) "According to a letter of the Dutchess Elizabeth, Luther received the Hessian theologians (who had given their consent to the scandalous step of the landgrave, and defended it) and the chancellor of Eisenach, so that the tears coursed down their cheeks." Rommel's notes to the history of Hesse, p. 214.

2.) So much is substantiated by Melanchthon's own and others' declarations; further particulars are reported by Ratzenberger: Corp. Ref. T. III. p. 17.

3.) The book meant is the so-called Ratisbonne book, afterwards also called the R. Interim. Corp. Ref. T. IV. p. 190.

4.) It was not done publicly under the name of the emperor, but with his knowledge.

5.) This is the written answer given two days afterwards.

6.) Comp. the lovely letter, No. 2230, when Luther had paid Amsdorf a visit, and the latter had borne all the expenses of the journey, and also secretly packed up for him a silver can and spoons.

7.) This letter was to be printed, but, as peace was soon after established, it was suppressed. Seckend. lib. III. p. 413.

CHAPTER VI.

THE LAST POLEMICAL WRITINGS.

In the year 1541, Luther wrote the Treatise against *Jack Cade*,* that is, against Duke Henry of Brunswick, at Wolfenbüttel,[1] because the latter had again published a libellous book, "in which," said Luther, "he has attempted to rub his scab and mange against the honour of my gracious lord, the elector of Saxony, and also attacked and provoked me twice." In this treatise, he in the first place defends himself against the charge of having called his gracious lord, the elector, Jack Cade, saying, that the appellation, Jack Cade, was not one of his own invention, but had been employed by other men to designate those clownish characters who made great pretensions to wisdom, and yet spoke and did the most uncouth and unsuited things. That in this sense he had also often employed it, especially and most of all in his sermons. But that because they, the devil and his Henry at Wolfenbüttel, had so impudently spoken what was false, and conceived that such foul, wretched abuse would prove injurious to him in this cause, or bring honour to themselves; they were both of them veritable Jack Cades, and he wished them herewith to understand him as having replied to them; that both father and son were desperate, infamous, mendacious knaves, who maliciously represented, that he had called his gracious lord Jack Cade. But that what was further said in the libellous book concerning safe-conduct, public peace, &c., did not concern him particularly, and had been so met by the elector and the landgrave, that the Jack Cade of Wolfenbüttel would in vain seek to rescue his honour, as all sensible men testified, and the writings powerfully demonstrated. That in the third place, because he most virulently calumniated the elector as a heretic, an apostate, a rebel, a monster, a Nabal, a Cain; he, Luther, and they all, were implicated in this: wherefore, he replied, that for himself he would wish the intoxicated Jack Cade nothing more willingly, than that he with his friends might be constrained without ceasing to write such books. That he would let them cry themselves hoarse, or to death, in uttering

* In German, *Hans Wurst;* literally, Jack Pudding, a foolish fellow.

such calumnies, and meanwhile answer with the simple, easy word: "Devil, thou speakest falsely; Jack Cade, how thou liest; O Henry of Wolfenbüttel, what an impudent liar thou art; thou spewest much and utterest nothing; calumniatest, and provest nothing."

Having upon this, in general, replied to all devils, papists and their adherents, that they so impudently spoke untruth; and having shown how their libellous books and their calumnies ought to be matter of rejoicing, as the surest signs that the Evangelical Party were the blessed true Church: he states his intention of also presenting the reader with something useful and profitable, and of taking up the subject itself, namely, why they were denounced as heretics by the papists. To the charge of the papists that the Evangelical Party had fallen off from the holy Church and established another and a new Church, he replies: "Because they claim to be the true Church, they must substantiate their claim. If they can satisfactorily do this with one argument, (I do not desire many arguments,) we will surrender to them, come and say: Peccavimus, miserere nostri (we have sinned, have mercy on us.) But if they cannot substantiate it, they must acknowledge (whether they do it willingly or not) that they are not the Church, and that we are not heretics for separating from their wretched Church; yea, because there can be no neutral ground here, we must be the Church of Christ, and they the Church of the devil, or the reverse. Therefore it all depends upon this point, that it be shown which is the true Church. As long as the proof is wanting, it is in vain that one part claims to be the Church, and denounces the other as heretics; one part must be in the wrong itself." — — "But how, if I should prove that we have continued with the true ancient Church, yea, that we are the true ancient Church, but that you have apostatized from us, that is, from the ancient Church, and have established a new Church in opposition to the ancient Church? To this let us attend." Upon this he shows that the Evangelical Party are the true ancient Church, being one body, and one congregation of the saints with the entire holy Christian Church, since they 1. had the same ancient baptism which Christ had instituted; 2. the holy sacrament of the altar precisely as Christ himself had instituted it, and the apostles afterwards and all Christendom had observed it; 3. the true ancient keys, and did not use them otherwise than for binding and loosing those sins which were

done against God's commandments; that they desired no new keys, or new laws, nor did they with them exclude kings and lords from, or admit them into their dominions, but only sinners from and into the kingdom of heaven; 4. the ministerial office and God's Word purely and richly teaching it diligently, and inculcating it without any addition of new invented human doctrines, but just as Christ had commanded; 5. the symbol of the Apostles, the ancient Creed of the ancient Church, so that they in all respects taught, believed, expressed and confessed the same as it did, introducing and adding nothing new; 6. the same prayer with the ancient Church, the Lord's prayer and no newly invented or different prayer; 7. they taught and held with the ancient Church, that temporal rulers are to be honoured, and not cursed, and not to be compelled to kiss the pope's feet; 2. Pet. ii. Rom. xiii.; 8. they extolled and lauded marriage as a divine, blessed, acceptable creation and institution for the multiplication of the human race and against carnal lusts; 9. they had the same sufferings which, as St. Peter said, their brethren in the world had, they were persecuted everywhere on account of the Word, thus faring precisely like the ancient Church; 10. they did not also shed blood, but like Christ, the apostles and the ancient Church, they suffered, exhorted and prayed for their enemies. To the objection that one thing was still wanting, namely, fasting, he replied: "Oh Lord God, if there is one thing which we have retained of the ancient Church, it is fasting, alas! If the papists have one part of the new Church, it is, that they do not fast, but feast on fast days more than on holy days. Yea, we do not only fast, but (with St. Paul) suffer hunger, which we daily experience in our poor pastors, their wives and children, and many other poor, of whom it is true that hunger stares from their eyes, that they have scarcely bread and water, and are in addition destitute of clothing, having nothing of their own." Then he demonstrates from twelve particulars that the papists are the new false Church, which was continually apostatizing from the ancient Church and becoming the devil's school and harlot. That they were indeed most undoubtedly baptized with the true baptism of the ancient Church, and that those that were thus baptized, lived and died till into the seventh or eighth year, before they understood the harlot Church of the pope had undoubtedly been saved and were saved. But when they grew up and heard, believed and obeyed the pope's false teachings

and devilish innovations, they fell away from their baptism and Bridegroom, building and trusting upon their own good works. That the papists had therefore indeed proceeded from the true Church, because they had been bathed and washed in baptism, but that they were no longer of the Church or members of the Church, because in this holy Church of God they established unspeakable harlotry, idolatry and innovation, by which they seduced the baptized and redeemed souls along with themselves, drawing them down to the abyss of hell. Having then shown that the papists made no distinction between God's Word and the doctrines of men, because they offered to yield and desired the Evangelical Party to do the same, he continues: My good friends, to yield God's Word or to alter it, is not possible for God himself; for he cannot deny or change himself, and his Word continues forever. But he that is to change or to yield it, must have a higher power than God himself has; for he would not even have changed the law of Moses, if he had not before through his Word promised to change it." — — — "The holy Christian Church is not a reed or counter, no, it does not waver and does not yield, but it is (says St. Paul) a pillar and firm basis of truth. It stands immovable, (he says,) it is a fundament, and a firm foundation, not false or deceptive ground, but a ground of truth, does not lie, does not deceive, does not deal in falsehood. But whatever wavers or doubts, cannot be truth. And of what use or need would a Church of God be in the world, if it were to waver or be uncertain in its words, instituting something new every day, now yielding this, now receiving that? Yea, of what use would such a God be, who should teach us thus to waver and to doubt? He at the same time refutes the objection, that it would do no harm to retain God's Word and likewise permit all these things, or some of them at least, which were allowable, to remain, saying: "You hear that it cannot be, to teach something else as of equal authority with God's Word, to serve another besides God, to light another torch besides the one which God has placed in the darkness. It is certainly a false light and deceptive, and if it were only in one single particular; for the Church dares not and cannot lie or teach error; not in a single point does it teach falsehood, or it is wholly false." Upon this he proceeds and says, that if the papists would or could prove that they were the true holy Church, then the Evangelical Party would have to acknowledge that they were

heretics and apostates; but that if they could not do this, they would in return have to confess of themselves, that they were Satan's harlot Church, which having forsaken Christ its Lord, had suffered the devil to dishonour it through new, strange doctrines. But that, because there was no judge in this matter upon the earth, he would meanwhile, in addition to the sentence which God, the highest judge, pronounced in his Word, also employ their own, the papists' sentence and testimony against themselves. Having done this, he concludes: "As you, therefore, yourselves acknowledge, and also are compelled to acknowledge, what a filthy Church you have, I do not now speak of your lives, but of your doctrines, that you have so many shocking falsehoods and false doctrines, and besides refuse to forsake them; you must necessarily also acknowledge that you are not the holy, but the devil's Church, especially those who maintain those doctrines, and compel others to adopt them." In the second part of this writing, Luther defends his elector and the landgrave against the falsehoods and calumnies of the duke of Brunswick, relating how Tetzel with his indulgences, and after him the most holy father, pope Leo, with his untimely excommunication, had occasioned this Lutheran disturbance, as he called it, and finally appends the 64th Psalm, with the following words: "Hither now belongs the 64th Psalm, which we are to preach and to sing, to the praise and honour of God, against these murderous Henrys and assassins; for here you see them portrayed precisely as if David had designedly wished to preach concerning these last Henrys." In conclusion, he thus applies the Judas hymn[2] to Henry.

"Oh thou wicked Henry,
Say, what hast thou done?
For many pious people
With fire thou hast destroyed.
For this thou wilt most surely
Suffer greatest pain;
Lucifer's companion
Thou must even be.—KYRIELEISON.

Oh most wretched papists,
Say, what have you done?
For you the truthful Christian
Did hate and rob of life!

For this you reap dishonour,
Which ever shall endure;
From land to land it spreadeth
Although you rave and rage.—KYRIELEISON.

In the same year Luther wrote an "*Exhortation to prayer against the Turks.*" In it he says, that the Germans were ripe and full of all sin, and that the Turks would have to be their schoolmasters, chastising them and teaching them to fear God and to pray, as they would otherwise wholly decay in sin and security. That even if the bloody and blasphemous papists would not cease from blaspheming God, and ungrateful wicked men would not reform, honour God's Word, and call upon God, the other part, the small number, should still on that account not despair of God; and that, even though they were not men like Moses, Joshua or Elias, they were, nevertheless, the very people to whom God had committed his Word, and through his Spirit made it known, and that God would have to hear their prayer, just as much as the prayer of those, since he could not despise the members of his Church, the bride of his dear Son, when she earnestly cried to him. That the preachers should therefore exercise the two priestly offices—firstly, turn to the people and earnestly admonish them to repent, teaching them what was good and right; secondly, turn to God and pray, that this might also be done, and that happiness and prosperity might be attained. That the people should, besides, be exhorted also to pray, and therefore he proposes an order of divine service, to excite devotion and seriousness in the people through public prayer in the Church. Finally, he says, that the temporal estates should also do their part, take admonition and advice, pray, cause justice to be upheld in their dominions, rebuke usury and other vices, &c., and if they proceeded against the Turks, should not rely upon their bows and swords, since the Turks, like the pope and his devils, could not be discomfited without God's Word.

In the following year, Luther published "*Brother Richard's Refutation of the Alcoran, translated into German, with a supplementary warning,*" that the Germans also might see what a shameful faith that of Mahomet was, and that they might be strengthened in their Christian faith, and not be disturbed by it; that the Saracens and Turks had for so many hundred years been victorious and successful against the Christians,

but the Christians been defeated, which had not happened because Mahomet's faith was true and our faith false, as the blind Turks boasted, but because it was God's manner thus to deal with his people.

Although Luther was exceedingly displeased, when he heard, that in one country the pastors and ministers were to be required to pay the *Turkish tax*, whilst they had nothing of their own, and it was just as much as to take it from the property of the Church, that is, from the alms, or from before the feet of our Lord Christ; he still would not for himself accept of the exemption from paying tax for his houses and property which the elector had enjoined, (see above,) for "I would wish to be among those," he wrote, "who also with bodily deed injure the Turks or sustain injury from them. For if I were not too old and weak, I would wish to be personally among the crowd; though my prayer has long since with the Church been in the field."

Against the Jews, Luther had already, in the year 1538, published a Treatise, because he had heard how the Jews with their rabble were making inroads with their doctrines, and had already seduced some Christians. *In this letter against the Sabbatarians* he, in the first place, for the confirmation of Christians, showed how the old argument of Lyra ought to be drawn forth, by asking the Jews, what possibly could be the sin, on account of which God had so fearfully punished them, and caused them for so long a time to live in wretchedness, without priestly, princely, that is, without Mosaic institutions and government, without sacrifices and other observances of the law, but especially away from Jerusalem; in the second place, he showed what answer was to be returned, when the Jews boasted that their law was to continue forever, and that we heathens would have to become Jews.

Although he had resolved not to write anything further against the Jews, he nevertheless, because he had heard that they did not cease even to entice Christians into their snares, in the year 1543, published the little book *concerning the Jews and their falsehoods*, but advised all, not to dispute much with the Jews concerning the articles of faith, for, he said, what God did not with such terrible visitations cause to be reformed, they would not be likely to reform, whether it were through words or deeds. Yet to confirm our faith, he would expose some of the coarse follies of the Jews in their faith and expo-

sition of the Scriptures. Upon this he, in the first part, refutes the claims of the Jews against the Christians, which they base upon their descent, upon circumcision, upon the fact, that God spoke with them and gave them the law, and upon the land of Canaan. In the second part he inquires whether the Messiah had come, and proves the affirmative with five passages; in the third, he treats of the falsehoods of the Jews against the person of our dear Lord Jesus Christ; in the fourth, of the difference between the Messiah of the Christians and of the Jews, and what each people seeks in its Messiah.

In this little book Luther also promises that he would soon publish the falsehoods and blasphemies of the Jews in reference to their Shem Hamphoras. This he did in the writing concerning *Shem Hamphoras and concerning the genealogy of Christ*; in the last part of which he examined the question, why the two evangelists, Matthew and Luke, relate the person or members of the lineage of our Lord Jesus Christ so differently.

Also, concerning the article of the Lord's Supper, and *against the Reformed party*, Luther was constrained once more to publish a confession. On the 1st December, 1537, he had replied to the communication which the cities of *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Basle*, *Schaffhausen*, *St. Gall*, *Mühlehausen*, and *Biel* had addressed to him through Bucer,[3] that it exceedingly rejoiced him to see them with all earnestness receiving and promoting the union. With regard to those who were dissatisfied with such union, or entertained suspicions with regard to it, he prayed them diligently to do their part, that those who clamoured against the union might desist from their clamours, as they also, the Wittenbergers, both in their writings and sermons, were very reserved, and refrained from clamouring against the Swiss. That they should much rather look upon him as one who was perfectly sincere, and did all in his power to promote the union. "With this," says he, in conclusion, "I commend you all, with all yours, to the Father of all mercy and consolation. May He, on both sides, grant us his Holy Spirit to blend our hearts in Christian love and fellowship, to purge out all remains and rust of human and diabolical malice and suspicion, to the praise and honour of his holy name, and to the salvation of many souls, but to the vexation of the devil and of the pope, as well as of all their adherents. Amen." A few days later he also wrote to Bucer, and informed him that

he had replied to the communication of the Swiss; that the latter, however, might, as it were, have a rudder, by which to steer the ship, he sent him a copy of that reply. "For," says he, "I have in all cases referred to you and Capito, because I did not know in what other way to write so amicably and mildly, since you yourselves have rendered the writing difficult for me, through your information that some among you, into whose hands and to whose knowledge my writing, I presume, will come, are still unfavourably disposed towards the union. But I trust that you will manage all according to the gift which God has given you; I, at least, have written openly and without dissimulation." He at the same time also wrote to him that the Latin confession of the Swiss pleased him less than the German one of the cities, especially as regarded the sacrament of the altar. With the rest, he said, he was at the time satisfied.

Meanwhile, the mayor, and the council of the town of *Isny*, had informed him, how it had been reported to them, that he had come to an agreement with the upland preachers, in regard to what differences there had still existed. To this, he replied on the 26th December, that he did not understand what those had meant, that had reported such a thing to them. That if any should accordingly boast or pretend to them, that he had departed from his former anti-Zwinglian view, they should pray them to desist from such boasting, that the incipient union might not be prevented, and perhaps a greater disunion be occasioned by it. "For I can well endure it," continued he, "that all, who choose, boast of great learning, genius and sanctity, not only above me, but also above St. Paul; but no one is to draw me along into his boasting, or say of me: that he still stands, but that I have yielded. I trust, nevertheless, that some among them are sincere, and mean it earnestly with regard to the union. God can also, according to his pleasure, win over the others in due time. This you must believe me; and I (with the help of God.) shall not speak or act differently."

On the 4th May, 1538, the above-mentioned Swiss cities informed him, that they had received his friendly and cordial reply with the highest joy and gratitude to God; and that because they, not only from his own communication, but also from the faithful statement and account of Capito and Bucer, were constrained to conclude, that he meant it well with re-

gard to this holy union; and was desirous, with a banishment of all former severity and suspicion, faithfully to promote it, as likewise, that he favourably received the confession which they had drawn up at Basle, and their subsequent declaration; therefore they returned their heartfelt thanks to God, the Father of all peace and union, for His divine grace and kindness, in so graciously granting to them His favour, and so richly adding His blessing to this pious work, and thus graciously rendering them of one mind and understanding. Accordingly, two days later, he was able to write to duke Albrecht of Prussia: "As regards the Swiss, who have thus far been at variance with us in reference to the sacrament, the prospects are favourable; may God further grant His grace. For Basle, Strasburg, Augsburg and Berne, together with others, have made acceptable overtures, which we also amicably receive; and I trust that God will make an end of the strife, not for our sakes, for we do not deserve it, but for the sake of His name, and to the vexation of the monsters at Rome, for they are mightily terrified at this news." He, however, was also again made to experience, that the views of the Swiss did not yet coincide with his. Especially did it grieve him, that Bullinger had again published the writing of Zwingli to king Christian, and extolled it most highly; whilst there was, nevertheless, much contained in this writing which justly grieved all pious hearts. He also wrote this to Bullinger, that the latter might see, that he dealt with him in all candour, without any rancour. "You perhaps believe," added he, "that we err; that I commit to the judgment of God; we, at least, cannot approve of everything you teach, without burthening our conscience, which you certainly will not desire of us. Still, however, nothing more joyful could happen to me before my departure, than if, through the grace of God, that Spirit came over us, who would quicken my heart and my soul in the Lord, causing us to know and to speak one and the same thing concerning Christ, to the honour of God the Father, and to the salvation of men." Soon after, he also replied to the communication of the Swiss to him; and testified to them, that if there were perhaps some obstacles, yet he nevertheless trusted to God, that He would, in due time, cause the joyful suppression of all error. That if he still suspected some, being induced to do so by their writings, he had informed Dr. Bucer of all, and as far as he could possibly bear with them he

would do so, till they were also brought over. Finally, he yet prayed them, that they would, as they had begun, continue to promote such divine work of peace and union in the Church, as he also perceived that they were prepared to do with all joy and pleasure.

Meanwhile, the Council of Augsburg, had dismissed the preacher, *John Förster*, whom Luther had recommended to them, in the year 1535, from his office, because he had become involved in a dispute with the pastor, Michael Kellner, who defended the Zwinglian doctrine on the Lord's Supper. Concerning this dismissal, the Council of Augsburg had excused themselves with Luther. Luther, however, was highly grieved at this writing; and, on the 29th August, 1538, wrote to them, that if they themselves or their preachers were resolved thus to write and to speak of the union, as their writing stated, it would not end well; and then continued: "I therefore sincerely pray, that you yourselves and your preachers, would refrain from such language, and consider, with how much trouble, labour, expense and diligence on the part of many noble and learned men, this necessary feeble union has been begun. If the flames of discord should blaze forth anew with reference to it, and the last become worse than the first, you of Augsburg would have to charge yourselves with it; of this I wish herewith to have faithfully admonished you."

In the following years, the dispute concerning the sacrament was permitted to rest; he, however, did not omit to warn all against the error of the Zwinglians. Thus, in the year 1539, he prayed the Count of Thurn, *Francis Von Rheva*, who had written to him, and had suffered himself to be deceived by the arguments of Zwingli on the Lord's Supper, that he should not embrace that error, according to which mere bread and wine, but not the body and blood of Christ, were in the sacrament. For it verily was nothing foolish, he said, to believe that the body of Christ was in heaven, and at the same time also in the sacrament; or was not the omnipotence of God able to accomplish what seemed impossible to men? That the Lord's Supper was a mystery of faith, and mysteries of faith were delivered and received through the Word, wherefore they could not be comprehended or judged by reason. That those who believed, not those who comprehended, were to be saved. That the Word of God, upon the whole, would not deceive; reason, however, and human wisdom, were not infallible. In the

year 1541 he wrote to George Major, in reference to the Waldensian (Bohemian ?) Brethren, who professed to agree with him on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, but nevertheless maintained that the body of Christ was only sacramentally, but not essentially, present in the Lord's Supper, and prayed him to call upon the pastor in Joachimsthal, and request him to strictly inquire of them how they could venture to pretend such a thing, since they must remember that he had for many years already treated with them concerning the Word, that the body of Christ was "*sacramentally*" in the bread. Their use of the word "*sacramentally*" would so long remain suspicious of him, till they would openly and frankly confess to him that they wholly coincided with his views, namely, that the body of Christ is truly sacramentally, that is, invisibly and for our participation, present in the bread, even the same true body which was born of the virgin, and given for us, &c. If he should find, however, that they had deceived him with their treacherous words, he would publish a writing against them and expose them before the whole world, as deceivers, liars, hypocrites, and by other names worthy of them, freeing his name and faith of their treacheries.

Whilst union was accordingly established with one part of the Sacramentarians, particularly with those of Basle, Strasburg, and Ulm, those in Switzerland, on the other hand, especially those of Zurich, and their neighbours, persisted in their views, excluding the body and blood of Christ from the Lord's Supper, and admitting only bread and wine. Therefore Luther, in the year 1543, not only exhorted the evangelical Christians in the Venetian territory to be on their guard, that no fanatical spirit might creep in among them with his deceptions, but he also declared to the Zurich bookseller, Christoph Froschauer, who had transmitted to him a copy of Leo Jud's translation of the Bible, that he could have no communion with the Zurich preachers, and that it grieved him that they should thus labour wholly in vain, and yet be lost at last. "They have been sufficiently admonished," continues he, "to desist from their error, and not thus sadly to draw the wretched people down to hell with them. But as no admonition avails, we must leave them to themselves; therefore you need not send me any more presents of what they are fabricating or getting up. I do not wish to make myself a participant in their condemnation and blasphemous doctrines, but wish to

be innocent of them; I shall pray and teach against them to my end." But when, in the following year, he received letters from Hungary, stating that a certain preacher there, Matthias de Vay, who had formerly been at Wittenberg, was suspected of Zwinglian error, which suspicion was perhaps excited wholly by the fact that they had abolished the elevation of the host at Wittenberg, he was necessitated not only to declare, that said preacher, whether the suspicion was just or not, had certainly not received the doctrine of the Sacramentarians from him, as it was firmly opposed at Wittenberg, both in public and private, but he also found it necessary, in order that Satan might no longer in secret dishonour the Word of Truth under his (Luther's) name, after having already published so many confessions, soon after to publish one more. This he also did, and in the same year, (1544,) published his "*Shorter Confession, Concerning the Sacrament, against the Fanatics.* In this writing, he confessed, at the very outset, that he, as now walking upon the tomb, would take this testimony and name with him before the judgment-seat of his dear Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ; that he had condemned and shunned the fanatics, and the enemies of the sacrament, at Zurich, and where they might be. That if any one now heard it asserted that he believed with the fanatics, him he sincerely prayed, for God's sake, by no means to believe it. That he, with his friends, had indeed done everything at Marburg that they could, in order richly to show them Christian love; but that such superabundant love and humility had availed nothing, and the whole matter had only become worse. That they had also been earnestly and often enough admonished, and been warned, even by the Holy Ghost, but all these great warnings and admonitions of God had been wholly lost upon them. "In short," continues he, "they have been proved and repeatedly convicted by me, as manifest blasphemers and liars." — — — "I will, with the holy father Abraham, and all Christians, base myself upon the passage, Rom. iv.: *What God speaketh he also can accomplish.* Again, Ps. li.: *That thou mightest be justified in thy words, when thou art judged;* and will not first consult my reason, whether it is befitting or possible for me to receive his body and blood, sensibly, and then, as judge over God, interpret his words according to my conceits. No, I will not rave thus. He hath declared it; this suffices for me. If he deceives me, I am blessedly deceived. He has never spoken what is false,

nor can he speak what is false." Then he shows, that he who refuses to believe the article concerning the Lord's Supper, cannot well believe the other sublime articles of faith. "Therefore the point is, either wholly and entirely to believe everything, or to believe nothing. The Holy Ghost does not suffer himself to be dismembered or divided, so as to cause one point to be taught and believed as true, and the other as false." To the objection, that it certainly was not to be expected or apprehended that God would be so exceedingly and fearfully severe as to condemn men on account of one article, if they only faithfully taught and believed all the other articles, he replied: "God verily can much less expect that his poor, wretched, blind creatures should be so insane and obstinate in opposition to their Creator and Lord, as to deny his divine Word, charge him with falsehood, and blaspheme him; rather is it to be expected that his humble, submissive, obedient creatures will not deny or blaspheme a single word, but cordially receive all and each, and with all joy return thanks for being considered worthy to hear only a single word from their gracious God; yea, this it behooves God to expect." In conclusion, he remarks, that the belief, as if he had adopted the views of the fanatics, because the elevation of the host had been discontinued in the Lutheran churches, was unfounded, since the elevation was a free observance, and had been discontinued simply because the majority of the churches had long before already omitted it.

Because he had also been informed that the Sacramentarians had likewise stolen their way into Italy, he, under date of the 12th November, 1544, prayed Balthazar Alterius and his brethren in the faith in the Venetian territory, &c., not to suffer themselves to be deceived, whether it was by those of Zurich, or by Bullinger and Pellicanus, or even by Bucer. And if it should perhaps be told them that he or Philip agreed with their fanaticism, they should, for God's sake, not believe it. "For I understand," added he, "that they, or some of them, have circulated such a report, that they may be able to spread their pestilential error under our names. But do not credit them; they are false prophets, who attempt to seduce the Galatians. If God permits me to live longer, I may perhaps write more against them." About that time[4] he also had received the Reformatory Articles of the Bishop of Cologne. But besides that the whole was too diffuse and prolix, and he discov-

ered that chatter-box, Bucer, in the game, the articles also displeased him, because they babbled a great deal about the use, fruit, and honour of the sacrament, but mumbled concerning the substance, that it was uncertain what was to be believed in reference to it, precisely after the manner of the fanatics; that it, moreover, did not testify in the least against the fanatics, which was nevertheless highly necessary; and that it did not at all state whether the true body and blood were sensibly received. "In short," wrote he, "the book is not only tolerable for the fanatics, but also consoling; it sustains their doctrine more than ours. Therefore I am weary of it, and am exceedingly provoked at it."

When the Zurich Sacramentarians had, upon this, in the year 1545, written against him, both in Latin and German, because of his "Shorter Confession," he was at first undecided whether he should reply to them or not; finally, however, he concluded to answer them, though only briefly and off-hand,[5] because he had already written enough against Zwingli and Æcolampadius, and did not wish any longer to waste his time with those conceited and idle brawlers. As late as the 17th January, 1546, (only a few weeks before his death, therefore,) he wrote to *Jacob Probst*, on this subject: "That you write, how virulently and impudently the Swiss write against me, and denounce me as an unhappy man, of an unhappy understanding, this rejoices me exceedingly. For this I desired; precisely this I wished to accomplish by that writing, by which I have so greatly exasperated them, that they might themselves publicly testify that they are my enemies. This I desired, I say, and therefore I also am rejoiced at it. I, the most unhappy among men, rest contented with this blessedness of the Psalm: *Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the Sacramentarians, nor standeth in the way of the Zwinglians, nor sitteth in the seat of those of Zurich.* There you have my opinion."[6]

"Having thus in his old age,"—says Mathesius,—"taken leave of Turks, Jews and fanatics, and firmly confessed his faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and joyfully declared, extolled and praised the word of his Lord, in whose name he had been baptized and to whom he had in this blessed covenant, and subsequently in his doctorate, rendered a solemn oath, he in the 45th year of his age, resolved also to take leave of the chief adversaries of his Lord Jesus and of himself, and to prepare a

book and various representations for the Roman pope, by way of final leave. In reliance upon the name and the word of Christ, (he is reported, to have said,) I began the contest with the pope, and opposed his abominations and idolatrous falsehoods, with him I will also conclude." He accordingly published the powerful and severe book: *Against the Papacy at Rome instituted by the Devil.* Pope Paul the III. namely, had written two letters to the emperor, in which he had said, that, in order to avoid falling into Eli's sin, he was constrained to represent to him, his dear son, how he by the edict of Spires (in which the emperor had promised general and public peace, till a general, free christian council should have been held on German soil, and had commanded that till then no one should be molested in the exercise of his religion) not only incurred the greatest danger as to his soul, but also brought confusion into the Church. That it did not behoove the emperor to appoint a council without the pope, and meanwhile to make any needful arrangements with regard to religion, &c. To this, Luther said he had become desirous, by the grace and help of God, to return an anwser. He in the first place calls upon all Christians, yea, all that still had natural reason, to declare if they understood what kind of a council that would be, in which the shocking monster at Rome, who called himself pope, reserved to himself the power to rend, alter and nullify everything that would be concluded in the council; whether that was not a puppet-show, prepared as a carnival amusement for the pope? He then reminds all, that the pope had, for four and twenty years, been entreated to hold a general, free christian council on German soil; that the three words, free, christian, German, however, were nothing but poison, death and devil to the pope, and the Roman court, since the council of Constance had decreed that a council was above the pope; and shows, how the Roman knaves interpreted these words, free, christian, German. When now he came to speak of the declaration of the pope, that, in order not to incur Eli's punishment, he was constrained to admonish the emperor, he replies: That the desperate knave and villain, Paul Tertius, was again speaking his gibberish here. In Rome, where they were nearly all of them much worse than in Sodom, he had no admonitions to give, "but on account of what the emperor Charles did at Spires, the heavens and the earth are about to crumble in pieces: here pope Paul is concerned for his dear

son Charles, lest some calamity may befall him. What then did he do at Spires, the dear son Charles? Why, he did not wish to occasion a deluge of blood in Germany, in which the devil, the pope and the cardinals might with pleasure bathe themselves, and by which their wicked lives might be concealed: but suspended the edict of Worms, which was the cause of all disturbance in Germany, and did so, that all might harmoniously co-operate against the Turks, all which a pious Christian emperor ought to do for the purpose of affording peace and protection to his country. This the wicked knave at Rome calls evil; shocking sin! Yea, what do the knaves at Rome call well done, if not done at Rome, &c.?" In the book itself he treats of three particulars: "The first, whether it is true that the pope at Rome is the head of Christendom, above councils, emperor, angels and everything, &c., as he boasts of himself. The second, whether it is true, that no one can pronounce sentence upon him, judge him or depose him, as he vehemently exclaims. The third, whether it is true, that he has conveyed the Roman empire from the Greeks to the Germans, as he haughtily maintains." In concluding the book, he says: "Here I must pause; by the permission of God, I will improve in the next book. If I die meanwhile, may God grant, that some one else may assail him a thousand times more severely. For the diabolical papacy is the greatest curse upon the earth, and a more pernicious institution the devils combined cannot produce. God help us. Amen."

The elector of Saxony was so well pleased with this writing, that he bought copies to the amount of twenty florins, and distributed them; but not all were equally pleased with it, and especially were they greatly dissatisfied with it at the diet at Worms. King Ferdinand, nevertheless, who had read the whole of it, observed: "If the severe words had been left out, Luther would not have written badly." The ambassadors who reported this to the elector, added: that others also thought so, and were of opinion that Luther, by his vehemence, injured himself more than his adversaries. To this the elector rejoined: Dr. Martin is endowed with an especial spirit, who will not suffer himself to be circumscribed in this or other matters; he has also, doubtless, employed those severe words not without especial cause; he is besides specially excited against the papacy, that he may crush it to the earth, and his object is not to convert the papacy, which is impossible, and

therefore he has no need of pacific words. His object is so to expose it, that every one may see the abominations of the papacy, and know how to beware of them. We, for our part, conceive that the pope is worthy not only of such, and the like words, but even of others far more severe; we must, however, endure it, if men here and there speak against such severity."

Luther was meditating another book against the papacy; but the giddiness in his head, and the mass of letters which he was constrained to write, and which took up all his time, did not permit him to execute it. He nevertheless, "*in opposition to the thirty-two articles of the Louvaine Theologists*," published seventy-six other theses, the first of which run thus: "Everything that is taught in the Church of Christ, which is the people of God not being in accordance with God's Word, is certainly false and unchristian. And when any such thing is advanced as an article of faith, it is not only unchristian, but also heretical and devilish. Whoever believes and obeys it, is an idolater, and honours the devil instead of God."

Authorities.—Treatise: against Jack Cade. Works, vol, 21, p. 374, seq. Treatise: Exhortation to prayer against the Turks, ib. p. 390, seq. Treatise: Brother Richard's refutations of the Alcoran, ib. 657, seq. Let. No. 2026, 55. Treatise: Letter against the Sabbatarians. Works, vol. 21, p. 544. Treatise: Concerning the Jews and their lies, ib. p. 544. Treatise: Concerning Shem Hamphoras, &c. ib. p. 614. Let. No. 2206. 1784, 85. Works, vol. 21, p. 108. Let. No 1801, 5, 13. Seckend. lib. III. p. 200. Let. No. 1816, 73, 1983, 2146, 62, 2206. Treatise: Shorter confession concerning the Lord's Supper. Works, vol. 21, p. 438. Let. No. 2242, 52, 66, 77, 2310. Mathes. 14. Pred. Treatise: Against the papacy at Rome, &c. Works, vol. 21, p. 467, seq. Let. No 2266. Seckend. lib. III. p. 556. Let. No. 22, 75, cll. 79. Treatise against the 32 articles of the theologians of Louvaine, German Works, vol. 21, p. 523, seq. Let. Opp. Jen. IV. p. 577, seq.

Notes.—1.) Luther, in his letters and writings, repeatedly, in the most vehement manner, declares himself against this most ferocious enemy of the Evangelical Party, who was at the head of all inimical and violent enterprises against them, and was strongly suspected of having been concerned in incendiary movements. As to his intrigues, however, we must, as in other cases, refer the reader to the History of the Reformation.—It is remarkable that Luther, after subsequently again reading this, beyond measure, vehement writing, could say, that he did not see how he had been able to be so moderate, and that he was constrained to ascribe it to the giddiness in his head—for he was sickly at that time. Let. No. 1977.

2.) The ancient Passion-hymn, the last verse of which reads: O thou wretched Judas, &c. Comp. Wackernagel, das deutsche Kirchenlied, p. 107.

3.) Bucer and Lykosthenes had at that time, on account of this business, followed the invalid Luther from Schmalkalden to Gotha. See above, p. 524, seq.

4.) What is related here occurred previous to the publication of the Shorter Confession concerning the Lord's Supper, and Melanchthon is of opinion that this writing was occasioned by it. He felt himself so aggrieved by the instance and other (perhaps only reported) declarations of Luther, whom Amsdorf was said to have incited, that he had resolved to leave Wittenberg, if Luther should write against him. So likewise Cruciger, who, like Melanchthon, disapproved of the renewal of the sacramental dispute and of Luther's vehemence. (Seckend. lib. III. p. 448. Corp. Ref. T. V. p. 459, 74, 77, 84.) Their apprehensions, however, were not verified, (ib. p. 497, seq.) yea, Melanchthon subsequently, when Brück, at the instance of the landgrave, questioned him with regard to the difference existing between him and Luther. declared, that it had not been anything particular. (Ib. p. 522.) In the following year, (1545.) nevertheless, the apprehension was again entertained that Luther would give public utterance to his suspicions against Melanchthon. (Ib. p. 743, 46.) In Luther's letters no traces of his displeasure at Melanchthon, or suspicions against him, are to be found, (Comp., on the contrary, the declaration cited above in the letter to Alterius, No. 2242 and 2206,) they certainly were not any more than formerly, (see the close of chapter I. of this part, vol. 2, page 544.) of long duration, and the relation between the two continued the same to Luther's death. Further details would lead too far here.

5.) This he did in the 16th and 28th theses against Louvaine theologians.

6.) The statement, of late years so often repeated, but also elsewhere already shown to be a fiction, that Luther, namely, should towards the close of his life have judged more leniently in the matter of the sacrament, is herewith most effectually refuted.

CHAPTER VII.

GRIEF IN HIS OLD AGE. PREPARATION FOR DEATH.

In the year 1539, on the 12th June, Dr. Martin Luther drove from Wittenburg to Lichtenberg, to pay a visit to the aged marchioness and electoress. As he now, in the evening, supped with her princely grace, and they conversed with one another about various things at table, the marchioness said, that she wished and hoped he would live long yet, and that he might still live forty years, if it was the will of God. But Dr. M. Luther

said: "God forbid, and though he should offer me Paradise to live forty years longer in it, I would not accept it; I would sooner engage an executioner to decapitate me. So exceedingly wicked is the world, and men are becoming to be such veritable devils, that a person cannot wish himself anything better than a speedy and happy death. Nor do I let the physicians disturb me. I shall not torment my life, the term of which they have fixed to be a year; but I shall in the name of God eat and drink what I relish."

When in the following year he for a long time was subject to excessive giddiness and to great humming and buzzing in his ears, he began to conceive that he would be struck with the palsy. As he was not able for some time to divest himself of this thought, he at last said: "Strike, dear Lord Jesus, only strike, I am ready, because I have been absolved upon the authority of thy Word, and been fed and nourished with thy flesh and blood, come *in nomine Domini;* did not thy beloved disciple John and our beloved elector also depart thus out of this vale of tears?" Thus his gloomy thoughts forsook him.

In the year 1541, (during the time of the conference at Worms,) Luther suffered greatly, and the Elector had dispatched his own private physician and surgeon to attend to him. He, accordingly, afterwards most humbly thanked his gracious Lord for thus cordially interesting himself in him, but added: "I would have rejoiced if my dear Lord Jesus had graciously taken me away, for I am no longer of much use upon the earth. But Pommer, I conceive, has, with his persevering intercession in the Church, prevented it, and I have, thanks to God, recovered."

Of his intimate friends, one and the other also departed. *John Reinecke*, of Mansfeld, had died already in the year 1538. Because Luther himself was ill at that time, his brother Jacob and his Kate were unwilling to tell him anything of it. So they also concealed from him the death of *Nicholas Hausmann*, who had been called as pastor and superintendent to Freiberg, and of whom Luther was accustomed to say: "*What we preach, Hausmann lives.*" Letters having, namely, on the 6th November, 1538, been received from Freiberg, stating, that Hausmann had in his first sermon been struck with the palsy, and also instantly remained dead, they concealed it from Luther, and said at first that he was ill, then that he lay confined, and

at last that he had fallen gently asleep in Christ. Then he began to weep exceedingly, and said: "Thus God takes away the pious, afterwards he will consume the chaff, as the Scripture saith: The righteous is taken away, and no man considereth. The times are very perilous, God will purge and purify his floor. I pray God not to permit my wife and children to live long after my death. There will be very perilous and fearful times. I did not conceive the world to be so wicked—God help us, that we may abide in his Word and reform. Truly, this was a dear friend of mine." Thus he sat the whole day, weeping and sorrowing, being with Dr. Jonas, M. Philip, M. Joachim Camerarius and Caspar Köckeritz, among whom he sat bitterly weeping and grieving. He said, however, that he did not know why they concealed such a thing from him. That he knew that Hausmann was justified in Christ, and that the words of the 115th Psalm were fulfilled in him: The death of his saints is precious in the sight of the Lord.

But when his friend, *Frederick Myconius*, of Gotha, informed him, that he lay sick unto death, or, as he expressed it in faith, unto life; Luther was indeed rejoiced that his friend was so confident in view of death, but, nevertheless, (on the 9th January, 1541,) wrote to him: "I pray the Lord Jesus, our life, salvation and health, that he would not also permit me to witness this evil, that I should be constrained to remain behind, and see how you, and others among us, rend the veil, and pass through to rest, and leave me without among the devils alone, further to be plagued, since I have now for so many years been plagued enough, and am well worthy and deserve to precede you. Therefore, I pray the Lord to make me ill in your stead, and to suffer this useless, worn-out, decrepit frame to find its rest in the tomb. For, I well perceive that I am no longer of any use to any one." And, in conclusion, he added: "Farewell, my Frederick, and may God not permit me to hear, that you have departed and left me alive, but grant that you may survive me. This I pray, this I desire, and my will be done, Amen; for this my will seeks the honour of the divine name, verily not my pleasure or advantage." Luther, accordingly, hearing that Myconius was recovering, greatly rejoiced. Here was tangible evidence, he said, that God heard the prayers of his Church. Afterwards he wrote to his friend, that he was indeed grieved at his not being stronger, but prayed him to spare himself. That he could, even half-dead, still

serve the Church with his counsels and influence. The aged combatants of Christ were needed, he said, that the growing and yet tender, youthful band, who were to take their places, might gain strength.[1]

In the year 1542, Luther's daughter, *Magdalene*, departed this life. As she lay there very sick, he said: "I love her exceedingly; but, O merciful God, as it is thy will to take her hence, I willingly resign her to thee!" And whilst she yet lay in the bed he said to her: "Dear Magdalene, my daughter, you would like to remain here with your father, but you also willingly go to yonder Father!" She said: "Yes, dearest father, as God wills it." Then the father said: "Thou dear child, the spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak;" and turning himself away, he said: "I do love her very much. If the flesh is so strong, what will not the spirit be?" As Magdalene was now near breathing her last, the father fell down upon his knees before the bed, bathed in tears, and praying that God would deliver her. Thus she expired, and fell asleep in the arms of her father. The mother, indeed, was also in the same chamber, but farther from the bed, being greatly grieved. This occurred after 9 o'clock, on the Wednesday of the 17th week after Trinity, (the 20th September,) 1542. She having now been placed in the coffin, he said: "Thou dear Magdalene, how happy art thou!" and beholding her thus lying there, he said: "O thou dear Magdalene, thou wilt rise again, and wilt shine like a star, yea, like the sun." But the coffin having been made too short and too narrow for her, he said: "This bed is too small for her, now that she is dead. I am indeed joyful in the spirit, but after the flesh I am very sad; the flesh is slow to come up; this separating vexes one exceedingly. It is a marvellous thing to know that she is certainly in peace and happy, and yet to be so sad." And when the people came to attend the funeral, and according to custom, addressed the Doctor, and said, that they greatly condoled with him in this affliction, he said: "You should rejoice; I have sent a saint to heaven, yea, a living saint. O, if only such a death were ours! such a death I would accept this moment." Then one said: "That is indeed true, yet we all wish to retain our relatives." Dr. Martin replied: "Flesh is flesh, and blood is blood. I rejoice that she has passed over; I experience no sadness but that of the flesh." Again he said to others that were present: "Be not grieved, I have sent a saint to heaven,

yea, I have sent two." Two others, that came to the funeral, when the words, Lord remember not our former sins, were sung, he said: "I say, not only the former, but also the present, for we are flayers, usurers, misers, &c., and there also still exists the abomination of the mass in the world." When they now buried her, he said: "It is the resurrection of the flesh." And when they again returned from the funeral he said: "Now my daughter is provided for, both as to body and soul, &c. We Christians have no cause to complain, we know that it must be thus. We are perfectly assured of eternal life; for God, who through his Son, and for the sake of his Son, has promised it unto us, cannot lie. Our Lord God has two saints from my flesh, though not of the lineage."—Among other things he further said: "It is, after all, necessary to provide for children, especially for the poor girls. We dare not say that some one else will provide for them. I have no mercy on the boys. A boy can provide for himself, let him come into what country he may, if he only chooses to labour; but if he is indolent, he is a knave. But the poor girls must have a staff in their hand. A boy can run to school after pandects, so that he may afterwards become an able man if he chooses to exert himself. Girls cannot do that. They can easily come to shame." His wife being greatly grieved, weeping and lamenting, Luther said to her: "Dear Kate, only consider whither she has gone, and that she is happy. But flesh and blood grieve and mourn after their manner; the Spirit lives and is willing. Children do not dispute; as you tell them, they believe you. With children it is all simple, dying without pain and anguish, without the terrors of death, without pain in the body, just as they go to sleep." This, his daughter, he loved greatly, not merely because she was his child, but also because she was of so gentle and amiable a disposition, and perfectly obedient to him. Still he said: "I would not have my daughter Magdalene restored to life again, even if I should have the Turkish empire in addition. For she is happy; blessed are the dead that die in the Lord; whoever dies thus, surely has eternal life. I wish that I and my children and you all would die thus, for there will be evil times after this. I perceive that no help or counsel will avail on the earth except the last day; I also trust to God, that it will not delay long, for avarice and usury are most fearfully prevalent, and sins are no longer vices."

MAGDALENA, LUTHER'S DAUGHTER,
born 1524, died Sept. 20th 1542.

Published by [illegible]

The death of the wife of Jonas (in the same year) also greatly grieved him: she had been dear and valued to him; not only in the truth, but the very sight of her had always been cheering and consoling to him, for he knew that she regarded and bore everything which concerned him and his family, whether it was prosperity or adversity, as happening to herself, and he had hoped that she, of all women, would first. and particularly after his death, be a source of comfort to his family.

From this time forth he repeatedly prayed his friends to pray for him, that God would speedily grant him a happy death, saying that he was quite weary of this world, and of no further use. In this year (on the 6th January, 1542) he made his *will*, in which he assigned to his "dear and faithful wife, Catharine," the small estate of Zulsdorf, as he had purchased and improved it, the house Bruno, which he had purchased in his Wolf's name, the cups and jewels, as, rings, chains, and coins, both gold and silver, amounting to about 1000 florins. This he did, he said, firstly, because she had, as a pious, faithful, honourable wife, always loved and esteemed him, and, through the rich blessing of God, borne and brought up for him five living children. In the second place, because she was to take upon herself, and discharge the debt which he yet owed, and which amounted to some 450 florins, if not more, if he did not discharge it during his life. In the third place, and chiefly because he wished that she should not be dependent upon the children, but the children upon her, with esteem for, and subjection to her, as God had commanded.—If, after his death, she should be necessitated, or otherwise induced to change her condition, (for he would not limit God in his works or will;) he had confidence in her, that she would act as a mother towards the children, and divide with them as would be right. The elector he prayed to protect such assignment and legacy, and his friends to bear his dear Kate witness, that there was no ready money. He was constrained to consider it as an especial, marvellous blessing, he said, that there was not more debt.[2]

The electress Sybilla having, in the absence of her husband, (who was at the diet at Spires,) caused diligent inquiry to be made after his health, and how he fared with wife and children, he, in the year 1544, replied to her: "We, thanks to God, fare well, and better than we deserve it of God. But

that I am sometimes rendered unfit for labour, in consequence of giddiness in the head, is not matter of surprise. Old age is here, which of itself is old, and cold, and uncouth, sickly and weak. The pitcher goes to the well till it breaks. I have lived long enough: God grant me a happy death, that this filthy, useless mass of corruption, may return to the earth, to its people, and the worms receive their portion. I conceive, too, that I have seen the best I am to see upon the earth. For the signs of the times are indicative of approaching evil. God help his people. Amen."

Also, in his letters to his friends, Luther complained more and more about the wickedness of the world, and wished his departure nigh. "I am dull, weary, dissatisfied," he wrote, on the 5th December, 1544, to Jacob Probst; "that is to say, I am an old man, and no longer of any use. I have finished my course; all that is wanting is, that God assemble me to my fathers, and give corruption and the worms their portion. I have lived to satiety, if it can be called a life. Do thou pray for me, that the hour of my departure may be acceptable to God, and tend to my salvation. About the emperor and the whole realm I concern myself no more, than that I in prayer commit them to God. The world also seems to have come to its last hour, so that it has grown old, and will soon be changed like a garment," &c.

In the year 1545, the landgrave transmitted to the elector and Luther an account which was drawn up in the Italian language, and had been printed at Naples, and many other places. It stated that Luther had, shortly before his death, received the holy sacrament, and caused himself to be placed upon an altar, and to be worshipped. But that, when his body had been laid in the grave, a frightful, rumbling noise had been heard in the latter; the most holy wafer, which so unworthy a man had been permitted to receive, had been seen suspended in the air; and, when his grave had been opened, it had been found empty, but such a sulphurous stench had proceeded from it, as to cause all near to become sick. This "Copy of a letter of the most christian king's ambassador, concerning a fearful and wonderful occurrence, which happened at the disgraceful death of Martin Luther," Luther caused to be published in Italian and German, with the addition: "And I, Martin Luther, herewith acknowledge and testify, that I, on the 21st March, 1545, received such wrathful

fiction with regard to my death, and read it with no little joy and pleasure, excepting the blasphemy against God, which ascribes such falsehoods to the exalted Divine Majesty. Otherwise, it tickles me on the right knee-pan, and on the left heel, that the devil and his imps, the pope and the papists, hate me so heartily. May God convert them from the devil! But if it is decreed, that my prayer for the sinners unto death shall be in vain, then may God grant that they may fill up the measure of their iniquity, and do nothing else but write such books for their consolation and joy."

In this year, it happened that Luther, in his weak old age, became altogether weary of, and disgusted with some irregular conduct, and greatly objectionable proceedings, at Wittenberg, which, notwithstanding his faithful and solemn warnings, admonitions and rebukes, were engaged in by some, and more and more promoted, so that he desired to be wholly away from Wittenberg.[3] "My heart has grown cold, so that I no longer delight in being there," he wrote to his wife, from Leipzig: "I wish, too, that you would sell the garden and the hide, house and all. I would also again present the large house to my gracious lord; and it would be best for you to settle yourself at Zulsdorf whilst I live, and I could assist you with the salary to improve the property, for I trust that my gracious lord would allow me the salary, for one year of my life at least. After my death, the four elements at Wittenberg will, at any rate, not endure you; therefore, it would be better to do during my life what it is necessary to do."—"The day after the morrow I shall drive to Merseburg, for prince George has urgently requested me to come. Thus I will rove about, and sooner beg my bread, than torment and vex my poor, last old days, in consequence of the irregular conduct at Wittenberg, with the loss of my arduous and great labours. If you see proper, you may inform Dr. Pommer and M. Philip of this, if Dr. Pommer would, perhaps, on my account, rebuke Wittenberg; for I can no longer endure this wrath and disgust." Upon this information, the university immediately wrote to the elector, and informed him of this matter, as well as of their intention to send the pastor and several other persons to Luther, with the prayer that he would not suffer himself to become estranged from this church, university, and town, by which he would occasion the enemies of the Gospel great rejoicing, and prepare invincible grief for the elector,

and many true members of Christ in this town, and in the whole German nation; they, at the same time, offering, that if he objected to any one's doctrines or life in this university or town, they would assist in removing all ground for such objection The elector, they represented, might, perhaps, graciously have Luther come to some suitable place and converse with him. This was done, and, because the university also, in addition, despatched an embassy to Luther, he suffered himself to be entreated and persuaded."

Having again returned home, he finished his lectures on the book of Genesis,[4] upon which he had, with the greatest diligence, laboured for ten years, and on the 17th November concluded the lecture with these words: "This now is the dear Genesis, our Lord God grant that others after me may afford more. I can do no more; I am weak; pray God for me, that he may grant me a happy and blessed death," as he also, on taking up this book, had said: "*This will be my last labour; with this I shall, if God permit, conclude my life.*"

Authorities.—Tischr. ed. of Stangw., p. 806. Mathes. 12. Pr. Let. No. 1982. Let. No. 1818. Tischr., p. 803. Let. No. 1966, 72, 2197. Tischr., p. 804, seq. Let. No. 2096–2107–2064, 2136, 48, 2038, 2201, 47. Seckend. lib. III., p. 580. Works, vol. 21, p. 454. Ibid, p. 529. Let. No. 2286. Mathes. 14, Pr.

Notes.—1.) In the year 1545, on the 16th January, Spalatin also, probably in consequence of great mental distress, in which Luther also had comforted him, departed this life. Let. No. 2239. Schlegel vita Spalatini, p. 168, seq. In Luther's letters there is no reference to his death.

2.) The entire last will deserves to be read. It is likewise, in connection with the electoral confirmation issued in the year 1546, found in the Works, vol. 21, p. 692, seq. Melanchthon, Cruciger, and Bugenhagen, also signed it. In reference to Luther's property, see above, p. 582, note 4. The estate of Zeilsdorf, near Borna, he probably purchased in the year 1540.

3.) The first occasion of his dissatisfaction were the secret betrothments, (Let. No. 2187,) defended by the jurists; to these was added the immorality more and more exhibiting itself among the students, and elsewhere, &c.

4.) They were prepared for the press by Veit Dietrich, Cruciger, and Rörarius. Let. No. 2175.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE LAST DAYS OF LUTHER'S LIFE, HIS DEATH AND BURIAL.

For a number of years past, Luther had, to his exceeding sorrow, heard great complaints of his fellow-countrymen, concerning Count Albrecht, of Mansfeld. They accused him of exacting too much from them all, and of designing to deprive them of their hereditary furnaces and possessions, and of almost enslaving them. On this account Luther had also repeatedly written to him, as well as to the Counts Philip and John George, of Mansfeld, and warned them, saying that God would not endure such proceedings, and would perhaps cause the earldom to become wholly impoverished, as he could easily again take away his gifts. But among the counts themselves, also, various and vehement disputes arose concerning the mines and other matters; and the lawyers, as was said, and Luther repeatedly complained, fostered and cherished these contentions, so that the discord between the brothers and relatives daily increased, and assumed a menacing aspect. Upon this, count Albrecht declared that he would accept of worthy men, especially of Luther, as arbitrators and umpires in this matter, and he succeeded with the elector, that the latter allowed Luther to proceed to Mansfeld in October, 1545, for the purpose of endeavouring to bring about an agreement; but on that occasion they were compelled to return, without accomplishing anything. When count Albrecht, soon after, however, very graciously replied to a communication of Luther's, and offered to negotiate, the latter again was willing to come. "Although I have much to do," he wrote, "I will devote a week to the matter, that I may with joy enter the tomb, having previously reconciled my dear sovereigns, and perceived them to be of a friendly, harmonizing heart." On the 23d December, it being fearfully cold at the time, Luther set out.[1] Melancthon, who accompanied him, was exceedingly unwell, and this constrained them to return as soon as possible, and Luther was rejoiced when he had again brought him home, wherefore he was also unwilling that he should be sent to the "wretched and useless Ratisbonne colloquium." But neither did Luther accomplish anything this time. On his return he preached at Halle, on the Gospel concerning the baptism of Christ, Matt. iii. 13–17, very briefly,

however, because it was cold, and because, as he said, they had good and faithful preachers enough there, of whom they could daily hear the truth. They should only see to it, he said, that they retained, loved, and esteemed them.

Soon after this, the counts of Mansfeld again thought of the negotiations, and despatched their chancellor, George Lauterbach, to Luther, in order, by kindly and plausible representations, to inspire the latter with the hope, that if he should once more submit to the trouble of coming, the peace would be established. Luther also suffered himself to be persuaded, although he at that time wrote to his friend, Jacob Probst, at Bremen: "I write to you, my Jacob, as an old, decrepit, dull, weary, cold, and now also one-eyed man, who might have hoped that, being now exhausted, I would have been permitted to enjoy the rest which, it seems to me, I have well deserved; but notwithstanding this, I am so engaged with writing, speaking, labours, and business, that it would seem as if I had never performed, written, spoken, or done any thing. Christ, however, is all and in all; he gives strength to perform. His name be praised forever. Amen."

In the last sermon delivered by him, at Wittenberg, the occasion being the second Sunday after Epiphany, and the text, Rom. iii. 3, &c., he, among other things, said: "*Therefore,* (says Paul,) *I exhort you, through the grace given me of God,* as if he would say: there still is self-conceit among you, as well as other gross sin; therefore beware of yourselves. *Hitherto you have heard the true undoubted Word; now beware of your own thoughts and conceits. The devil will light the torch of reason, and draw you away from faith,* as he has done with the Anabaptists and Sacramentarian fanatics, having made heretics of them. I have had more than thirty fanatical leaders before me, who attempted to teach me, but I refuted all of them with this passage: *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; him hear.* And with this passage I have thus far, through the grace of God, sustained myself, otherwise I would have had to adopt some thirty different kinds of faith. The heretics are always planning and scheming to cause us to yield and make concessions to them; but by the grace of God we shall not do it. Then they say, you are haughty spirits. I shall willingly endure all manner of reproach, but not depart, in the least, from the words of Him who says, *him Hear! I perceive plainly, that if God does not*

give us faithful preachers and ministers, Satan will rend our Church asunder, and will not rest or pause till he has accomplished it; this is his fixed determination. If he cannot accomplish it through the pope and the emperor, he will do so through those that yet agree with us in doctrine. Therefore it is highly necessary that we earnestly pray God to give us pure teachers. Now we are secure, and do not perceive how shockingly the prince of this world strives against us through his agents, the pope, the emperor, and our learned men here, who say, What harm is it to yield? No, not the breadth of a hair shall we yield. If they choose to side with us, well; if not, let them go. I did not receive my doctrine from them, but, through divine grace, from God. I have well learned to know these characters. Therefore earnestly pray God that he may continue unto you the Word, for there will be shocking times. But here come our lawyers and the wise men at court, and say, You are haughty, you will cause an insurrection, &c. May our Lord God enable us boldly to resist this dangerous temptation." In the conclusion of this sermon[2] he prayed his hearers, that if the report should come to them that he lay ill, they should not pray God to prolong his life, but to grant him a happy death. "*The world,*" he said, "*is weary of me, and I am weary of it; we shall separate without difficulty, just as a traveller is not loath to leave the inn.*"

On the 23d January Luther set out, being accompanied by his three sons, (and his servant, Ambrosius Rudtfeld,) and on the 25th, at 8 o'clock in the morning, arrived at Halle, where he took up his lodging with Dr. Jonas. At table he toasted his host, composing the following lines on the occasion:

Dat vitrum vitres Jonæ vitrum ipse Lutherus,
Ut vitro fragili similem se noscat uterque.

(Luther himself being glass, the vitreous Jonas a glass gives,
That they both may remember themselves to be fragile like glass.)

During the 25th, 26th and 27th January, he remained at Halle, being prevented by high water from proceeding further, as he also wrote to his wife: "Grace and peace in Christ. Dear Kate! to-day at eight o'clock we arrived at Halle, but did not proceed to Eisleben; for we were met by a great Anabaptist, with waves of water and masses of ice, who deluged the land, and threatened us with re-baptism. Nor would the Mulda, on the other hand, permit us to return, so that we were

constrained to keep quiet at Halle between the waters. Not that we longed greatly to drink of them, for we took good Torgau beer and approved Rhine wine instead; with these we refreshed and comforted ourselves the while, waiting till the Saala would abate its rage. For, as the people, and the boatmen, and ourselves also, were fearful, we did not venture to cross the water and to tempt God; for the devil hates us, and dwells in the water, and it is better to be safe than to be bewailed; nor is it necessary that we should prepare a fool's joy for the pope and his imps. I would not have supposed that the Saala could rage so; dashing away at this rate over rocks and everything. Nothing further now: only pray for us, and be pious. I conceive, that, if you had been here, you would also have advised us to do as we have done, and thus we would also once have followed your advice. Herewith adieu. Amen." On the Tuesday after Paul's conversion, (the 26th January), Luther preached at Halle, in the church of the Virgin, concerning Acts ix. 1—19. In this sermon he says, by way of introduction, that they boasted greatly at Rome of having the bodies of the two apostles, Peter and Paul, exhibiting their heads, and deeming them to be precious relics, whilst after all they were not their heads, and even if they were, would benefit them no more than they did the altar upon which they stood, which was not holier on that account than any other altar. "But we," continued he, "who have the true body of Paul, yea, not only of Paul, but also of Peter and of the Lord Christ himself, do not trouble ourselves about the dead bodies at Rome. That is the true relic, that we not only have Paul and his Epistles, but also the prophets and the apostles, yea, the Lord Christ himself, in the Scriptures: in them we read and study; we hear them speak with us; they, of a truth, had body and soul; and we also have their spirit, so that we understand the Scriptures. For, when I hear preaching in the church, I hear Peter and Paul; yea, when in my closet or chamber, I read what they wrote and taught, I still hear them preach and speak to me every day, for they did not teach and preach anything different from what they wrote. This we still hear with our ears at the present day, and with our hearts we perceive what wisdom and spirit were theirs and from this we derive advantage and profit. It would benefit us nothing if we had, and could behold their bodies and heads." He then calls upon the Christians of Halle to purge

out the leaven of the monks, who attempted again to establish the mummery of the cardinal of Mayence, whereupon he took up a part of the noble and lovely account which states how St. Paul was called to be an apostle, and ordained to be a preacher by Christ himself.

On Thursday, the 28th January, he left Halle, accompanied by his three sons and Justus Jonas, crossing the water in a boat, though not without danger, so that he himself said to Dr. Jonas: "Dear Dr. Jonas, would it not afford the devil great joy, if I, Dr. Martin, with three sons and yourself, should be drowned in the water?" On the borders of the territory of Mansfeld he was received by an escort of one hundred and thirteen horsemen. On the road, quite near to Eisleben, he became so weak, that his life was considered in danger. He had, namely, gone on foot, beyond his strength, and having perspired, had then become chilled in the carriage. Having, however, at the lodging, been rubbed with warm cloths, he ate and drank in the evening, was contented, and did not complain any more; but previously in the carriage, when he was taken sick, he said: "This the devil always does; when I undertake, or am to accomplish any thing great, he previously vexes me thus, and assails me by such a temptation."

Concerning his being burthened with this vexatious dispute, which was altogether foreign to his pursuits and genius, and unsuited to his age, he complained greatly, in his first letter to Melanchthon, (on the 1st February,) and wished that he might at least have the latter with him; he however added, that he nevertheless perceived it to have been well on account of Melanchthon's health, that he had been suffered to remain at home. Five days later he wrote to him: "Here we sit, and lie idle, and bustle; idle, because we accomplish nothing; busy, because we suffer unspeakably; thus does the malice of Satan torment us. Among so many ways we have at last discovered one, which inspires us with some hope; but Satan has blocked it up again. We then took a different course, by which we thought we had already succeeded, when Satan again crossed our path. Now we are proceeding in a third direction, which holds out every prospect of success; but the issue will show what will be the end of it. I pray you, take Dr. Brück to aid and prevail upon the elector to send me a letter, and to call me home on necessary business; perhaps I can compel them in this way to hasten with the peace, for I

perceive that they will not be able to bear my departing without accomplishing something. I will give them respite this week, after that I shall threaten them with the letter from the elector." He complains, in particular, that the feelings on both sides had become so embittered, that poison was extracted from every word that was uttered. This was to be ascribed, he said, to the lawyers, who had taught and still taught the world so many ambiguous terms, that language had become much more confused than it had been at Babel. There no one had been able to understand the other; here no one wanted to understand the other. He denounces them as sycophants and sophists, and as a pest to the human race, and says: "If this is your boasted legal skill, there is no need that a lawyer should be so conceited as they all are."[3] So he in like manner wrote to his wife: "Here we sit, permitting ourselves to be tormented, and wishing ourselves away; but we will not have our wishes for a week yet, I presume. You can tell M. Philip to correct his Postil; for he did not understand why the Lord calls riches thorns in the Gospel. Here is the school where a person can learn this. But I tremble, when I remember that thorns are always in the Scriptures menaced with the fire; wherefore I exercise so much the greater patience, if perhaps with the help of God I might accomplish some good." On the following day, nevertheless, he was minded in his displeasure to grease his carriage (that is, to prepare for departure); only grief at the distress of his country restrained him.

On this same day (the 7th February) he wrote to his wife: "Grace and peace in the Lord. Do thou, dear Kate, read *St. John* and the smaller *catechism*, of which you once said: Really every thing in this book is applicable to me. For you want to care for your God, precisely as if he were not almighty, and could create ten *Dr. Martins*, if this aged one should perish in the Saale, or in the oven, or on Wolf's bird-decoy. I pray you do not disturb me with your cares, for I have one that cares for me better than you or angels can. He lies in a manger, and hangs on the breast of a virgin; but is also seated at the right hand of God, the Father almighty. Therefore be unconcerned. Amen." So he likewise wrote on the 10th February: "To the devout, care-ridden lady, Catharine Luther, Zulsdorf, at Wittenberg, my gracious, dear wife. Grace and peace in Christ. Most devout lady! We most

sincerely thank you for your great anxiety, which would not permit you to sleep; for since you have been caring for us, the fire made attempts to devour us, quite close to the door of my room; and yesterday, no doubt, in virtue of your anxiety, a stone came very near falling upon our head, and crushing us like in a mouse-trap. For in our secret apartment it for several days rattled with lime and mortar over head, till we engaged some men to examine into the matter, who merely with two fingers touched a stone, when it fell down as large as a long pillow, and of the thickness of two good sized hands: it had designs of returning thanks for your holy care, if the blessed angels had not prevented it. I am apprehensive that if you do not cease your cares, the earth will at last swallow us up, and all the elements will pursue us. Do you thus teach the catechism and the creed? Do you pray and suffer God to care, for it is written: Cast your care upon the Lord, for he careth for you. Ps. lv., and in many other places. We are, thanks to God, in good health; only the affairs disgust us, and Dr. Jonas was determined to have a sore thigh, by accidentally injuring himself against a chest; so great is the envy of man, that he begrudges me the privilege of having a sore thigh alone. Herewith adieu. We would gladly be set free here now, and return home, if God would permit. Amen. Amen. Amen. On the day of Scholastica, 1546. Your holiness's willing servant, Martin Luther."

Luther repeatedly said at Eisleben, that he had left Wittenberg for the purpose of gaining a little respite from his daily occupations and vexations, having intended only to preach at Eisleben, to pray and to exhort his sovereigns to union and peace. This he also did by delivering four sermons there.

In the first sermon, delivered on the 4th Sunday after Epiphany, concerning the Gospel, Matthew viii.: 23—27, he says: That the Evangelist here firstly describes how the Lord Christ lay in the ship and slept, naturally, in order to show that Christ was a natural, true man, who was possessed of all the marks and feelings which characterize a true man by nature. That he, however, at the anxious cries and calls of his disciples, afterwards arose, commanded the winds, that was to say, all devils, who excited such winds and storms, and caused them to cease their upheavings, raving and raging. That this was not the work of man, but showed, that Christ was true God, having divine power and might, and being Lord

over all creatures, the winds, the sea, and the devil himself. That it was indeed to be learned, not only from this Gospel, but from all other accounts, that Christ was both true man and true God; that it was, nevertheless, necessary, however, to repeat this article, and to learn in it, daily, that it might continue firmly established in Christendom, and we might begin earnestly and firmly to believe, that we have such a Lord in this our Saviour Christ, who not only has human nature like ourselves, but also is Lord and God, of whom we have both this temporal life, and also redemption, help and deliverance from all distress, and protection against the assaults of all creatures. That by this article the faith of the Christian was distinguished from the religion and faith of all other men, since God could not be rightly known or worshipped, except by those who possessed his Word, by which he had revealed himself, as Christ said to the Samaritan woman: "*Ye worship ye know not what; we know what we worship.*" That the Turks, Jews, and all anti-Christians did indeed pretend to great knowledge of God, but that theirs were futile thoughts and deceptions of the devil. That, because they did not receive Christ, who was true God and man, they had no further part in God, whom they boasted to be a creator of the heavens and the earth, than the mere name and shadow of God. Then he further shows, that our faith is not new, but the most ancient faith from the beginning of the world; that the faith, religion and worship of all anti-Christians, on the other hand, always had been, and still were nothing but a variety of uncertain, erroneous, new-invented, futile conceits, without any sure foundation; since they could not say what God was, as regarded his being, much less, how God was disposed towards men. That they had, therefore, always passed from one thing to the other, or had adopted what they had seen or heard; that this had also been the case in the papacy. But that no matter how greatly the sects and idols were at variance among themselves, they were, nevertheless, united in this, that they all equally persecuted the true pure doctrines of the Gospel. That it was accordingly represented here in the Gospel, how the little flock, who were with Christ and cleaved to him, had to be severely assailed, but also, how our Lord Christ was accustomed to rescue and to help; namely, by permitting the distress to reach its highest point, that he might afterwards the more nobly and mightily display his power and

aid, and urge us to cry and to call to him, by which faith was exercised and strengthened. "And though," says he, in conclusion, "we, in consequence of the weakness of faith, feel tremulous and timid, (as we are all by nature disposed to do,) we are, nevertheles, to be so wise, as to run to Christ, and by our cries and prayers awaken him. For he hereby also gives us to understand, that he after all approves of such calling and crying of the weak faith, as St. Paul likewise says, Rom. viii.: These are the *cries and calls of the Spirit, who helpeth our infirmities and maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered*, &c.; yea, he wishes us, when we feel ourselves weak and tremulous, only confidently to cry and to call to him, and then he will also at the proper time afford us help and deliverance. For he knows that we will at any rate not learn to know or to consider his power and help, if he does not leave us to ourselves, till we are constrained to cry and to call to him. And though he could indeed, without our awakening and calling, hear and check the raging and storming of Satan; he nevertheless wishes us to awaken him and to call upon him, that we may learn how his power is mighty and invincible in our weakness.

In the second *sermon* concerning the Gospel on the festival of the presentation of Christ in the temple, Luke ii. 22—32, he describes the law of Moses, of which the text treats, and shows how Mary and her Son, although this law did not bind them, nevertheless rendered obedience to it; and how a disciple of Christ might learn from this, that Christ did more for us than he was under obligations to do. That St. Paul also, 1 Corinth. ix., said: "*For although I were free from all men, and might well have remained so; I nevertheless made myself servant unto all, that I might gain the more;*" and thus every pious preacher and Christian was also to think, so that the entire life of the Christian might be an exhibition of such works of love. That we, in the Bible, read, not only of the privileges and honours of the first-born sons under the law, but also of their consequent pride; wherefore, all upon whom God had bestowed advantages or privileges, should beware of imagining that they possessed them for the purpose of making a display, being puffed up in their own conceits because of them; but remember, that they were to serve others with those gifts, as Christ also had given an example. "Therefore," says he, in conclusion, "Christians are to learn not to be conceited or to despise

others, although they may have been honoured and blessed with great and exalted gifts; but are to think thus: Good Lord, thou hast bestowed upon me many gifts, I will communicate them to others and serve all with them, as my Lord and Saviour has served me with his divine gifts. If we acted thus, we would have all things in abundance. But instead of this, we rake and scrape, and many, by their usury, gain thousands of florins, without after all enjoying them; neither they themselves nor others being benefited by such great gain, till it finally, through the judgment of God, is scattered and wasted, as it was gained. For where it is not used as God has commanded, and for the purpose for which he has given it, every thing must in the end fail, both grain, money and wood; and though every thing should flow superabundantly full of grain, money and gold, it will still avail for you nothing, if you do not cease your avarice, which strives to purchase, tear, rake and scrape every thing to itself. Again, if that lust and greediness for money (which is called usury) is added, and does not cease; it shall avail you and your children nothing, though even all your trees produced gold, and all your fields grain, a hundred-fold for you. Let it suffice to have thus briefly deduced from the example of Christ, that a Christian is to be disposed so to act towards his neighbour, as Christ has acted towards us; otherwise, all your boast of Christ and the Gospel is vain and false."

The *third* sermon was delivered on the fifth Sunday after Epiphany, concerning the Gospel, Matt. xiii. 24–30. From this Gospel we learn, said Luther, that the holy Christian Church, from the beginning of the world to the end of it, has among its members, wicked knaves, and is not delivered from them, so that there always will be pious and wicked mingled together in this earthly life. To adapt one's self rightly to this state of things, he said, required not a little understanding, skill and wisdom. That there formerly had been, and still were, heretics, who wanted to have a church in which there were no wicked, but in which all were wise, pious, holy and pure. That the Catharists and Donatists had been such men, as were also the Anabaptists, Münzer and their like, of that time, who had wished to kill and to extirpate all that were not holy. That such had also been the monks who had forsaken their callings and crept into a corner, in order to separate themselves from the world and to be holy. And that this error

disturbed even pious men, as was seen in the servants in the Gospel, who wished that all should be right, and that nothing but pure and good wheat should be permitted to spring up and to grow; that the text, however, inculcated a different course. Having then shown, how it had always been in the Church from the beginning, that tares had always sprung up, he continues: "In short, it will always be so: where God establishes a holy and pure Church, there the devil will immediately build a chapel alongside. That is, as this Gospel says, where the *householder has sown the good seed, there the enemy comes and also sows his tares among it.* So that we are not to be terrified; as I myself, when I began to preach the pure Word of God, was terrified at first, seeing that from our universities and churches, there afterwards arose Anabaptists, Sacramentarians, Antinomians, and other sectarian spirits. But I could do nothing to prevent this, for I knew that the seed was pure and good; but before I was aware of it, the devil had crept in and scattered his evil seed among the good: he occasions such various sects and fanaticisms. For he is determined, whether or no, to meddle in the affairs of the Church, as he also immediately, at the beginning, wished to be in paradise with man, and thus always, as Job says, chap. 1, is among the children of God. Hereupon he shows how it is to be understood, when we are directed to avoid a heretic, as Paul inculcates, and yet not to root up the tares, but suffer them to grow. He illustrates this by reference to the human body, which though full of impurity and defects, we nevertheless dare not reject or hate, but are required to cherish and to nourish it, and to endeavour to aid it. That even the most healthy body was not pure, but was always necessitated to carry its impurity with it, and to purge it out, till the hour would at last come, when it would be laid in the earth and buried, and the worms would consume the impurity, till, finally, it would become wholly new and pure. This he applies to the life of Christians, and then to the civil, domestic and ecclesiastical government, and concludes with the words: "Thus it is also decreed, that in the Christian Church the beautiful thistles and tares are to be mixed up among the precious wheat; so, nevertheless, that the preaching and the sacraments remain pure, and that each Christian for himself abide in them. Just as a prince or lord also endures an unfaithful or wicked subject; only in so far, however, as the latter does not attempt

to deprive him of the government, or to become lord in the land. For this a pious prince cannot and should not endure. Thus a father likewise bears with his disobedient son for a time, nevertheless, so, that he does not attempt to become lord in the house, or to dispose of the property according to his pleasure, and to banish the father from his possessions; but that the father still continues master. Thus in the ecclesiastical government, the wicked also must be endured and tolerated; only that the doctrine be retained pure. So pure we cannot make it, as if the doves had selected it, till the last day comes, when it will become pure, and the tares will be wholly extirpated, and burnt with everlasting fire.

In the *fourth* sermon concerning the Gospel for St. Matthew's day,[4] Matt. xi. 25, 30. Luther says: "But the world takes great offence at such foolish teaching, as it deems it, that God, namely, should thus hate the wise and condemn them; whilst we, nevertheless, imagine that God cannot govern without having prudent and wise men for the government. But the sense is this: The wise and the prudent in the world act so, that God cannot be favourably disposed towards them; for they are perverse, and do in the Christian Church what seems good to them. Everything that God does and institutes, they would fain improve: so that there is not a more poor, insignificant, despised disciple upon the earth than God; He must be the pupil of everybody, everybody attempts to be his teacher and preceptor." That this was the course which heretics had always pursued. But that, as in the temporal government, those were justly hated who wanted to be wise above what they were, so those also were hateful men, whom both God and men detested, who in the Christian Church attempted to be wise above what they were, since they hindered the preaching of the Gospel, and prevented men from coming to God. That such wisdom and prudence had been practised mostly and always by the pope and the cardinals, who had attempted to be the teachers of God, and to rule in Christendom. That God, therefore, also fearfully abased them. Having then further shown, how in the Church He alone is to be heard, who says: *All things are committed to me of my Father, and no one knows the Father except the Son, and he to whom the Son reveals it*, and also how Christ makes it easy for his followers to suffer all things for the sake of him, through his words: *Come hither to me, all that are weary;* he concludes: "Behold this now is

the rejection of the worldly wise, that we may learn not to deem ourselves wise in our own conceits, and not at all to regard high personages, but unhesitatingly to shut our eyes, and at his most gracious invitation to come to him, and to say: Thou alone art my dear Lord and Master, I am thy pupil. This and much more might be said concerning this Gospel; but I am too weak, we will let this suffice. May God, in mercy, grant us his grace, that we may with gratitude receive his precious Word, increase in the knowledge and faith of his Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, and firmly abide in the confession of his blessed Word to the end. Amen."

During the time that Luther attended to the negotiation at Eisleben, he twice received absolution and communed after it; at the second communion, on Sunday, being St. Valentine's day, (14th Feb.,) he ordained two priests, in accordance with apostolical usage. He always dined and supped with the rest, eating and drinking moderately, also in particular praising food and drink, and remarking that he relished them so well in his native country. He was also during this time heard to say many admirable and consoling things, often referring to his old age, and saying, that when he should again return to Wittenberg, he would lay himself down to rest, besides which he also at table, and in the presence of the counts and the rest, explained many important and consoling passages of Scripture.

On one occasion he said, that all the wise men of this world imagined, that the doctrine of the Gospel, because it had arisen so suddenly, would not continue long, but would of its own accord decline again. "Therefore the bishop of Magdeburg, Hans Albrecht, is accustomed to say: We must leave much to time. He hoped that the papacy would again be established in Germany, he has been well instructed at Rome, therefore he does not concern himself about our doctrine. The children of the world do not say otherwise than: when the dark clouds have passed away, the weather will change. Of the same bishop he related, that he had once, at the diet of Augsburg, in 1530, been reading in the Bible. "As he was thus engaged, one of his counsellors accidentally came up, and said: What is your electoral grace doing with this book? He replied: I do not know what kind of a book it is, for everything that is contained in it is against us."

On another occasion he was asked, how it came to pass,

that men were so covetous and avaricious, all attempting to become rich, often even to the injury of their souls? Some one also instanced the case of a certain nobleman, who had said: Formerly, in my younger years, nothing would prosper for me; when clothing was required for wife and children, I had no money, and did not know how it happened. But when I began to take my soul on my back, I became rich, acquiring both money and property. If I had not done that, I would have continued to be poor all my life, and all in consequence of this nicety about the soul. Upon this Dr. Martin Luther said to Jonas: "Dr. Jonas, do you not remember what Asche von Cram, the knight, told me at Wittenberg? that a certain person, namely, once had said to him: My dear sir, if you want to become rich, powerful and great, you must bore a hole in a tree, put your soul in it, and stop up the aperture by a plug that it may remain there. When you have now become rich, then go and take your soul out again." Dr. Jonas rejoined: "But how, if some one should meanwhile come and take the soul out of the tree?" Dr. Luther replied: "Verily, I'll let him see to that, I would not risk it." Luther further said concerning usury, that it was customary now in Saxony to say:

Wer segt, dat Wucher Sünde sy,
Die hefft kein geld, dat gleube fry;

(Whoever says that usury is a sin, has no money, be assured of that.) But I, Dr. Martin Luther, say in opposition:

Wer segt, dat Wucher kein Sünde sy,
Die hefft kein Gott, dat gleub nur fry.

(Whoever says that usury is not a sin, has no God, be assured of that.) And further Dr. Luther said, "I would gladly check avarice and usury, and wholly extirpate them, but I cannot do so. But this I would wish to prevent, that avarice and usury might not become predominant. So I would also wish to check stealing, adultery, and fornication, that they might not become customs, and that such sins and vices might not become predominant and rule. For we preachers must oppose sin, and earnestly rebuke it, otherwise we shall hear the curse which is recorded in Isaiah: Wo unto you, who call evil good. I must do like my cousin, Fabian Kaufmann, did, who, as he was taking a walk in the Speck, and wanted to lay himself

down and take a sleep in it, chanced to come to a place where there was a whole nest full of snakes, lying one upon the other. The snakes all beginning to hiss at him, he drew his sword, and striking in among them, cut off the head of one and the tail of another, and so destroyed the whole nest. Thus I cannot prevent a snake from creeping into my garden, but if I come upon it I'll kill it and hang it on a hedge; in this way I can well prevent its making a nest there. Thus I cannot either prevent vices from existing, but I can prevent them from ruling in me, and from being converted into habits and becoming wholly predominant. For the heathen Seneca says: Where vice once becomes a habit, there is no help."

On another occasion he said: "Men at the present time divide most strangely with the poor preachers. If these now chance, in connection with their parishes, to have a spot of woodland, a beautiful meadow, a farm, or a vineyard, means are devised to deprive them of it. Men divide with them like the man in the fables of Æsop, who had made an agreement with Mercury that he would give the latter the half of all he should find. Having now found a bag with dates and almonds, he proceeded and shelled the almonds, and placed the shells of the almonds and the seeds of the dates on one side, and the kernel of the almonds and the pulp of the dates on the other. Then he gave the half consisting in shells and date seeds to Mercury; but the kernels of the almonds and the pulp of the dates he kept for himself. So also is the part which the farmers give to the poor preachers, nothing more than empty shells, chaff, cockles, and such like things."

When George Lauterbach, the chanceller of count Albrecht, of Mansfeld, had returned from the Frankfort convention, and related at table how the emperor Charles and the pope were instituting hasty proceedings against bishop Hermann, of Cologne, intending to drive him from his country and people, Luther said: "They have lost their cause; with God's Word and the Holy Scriptures, they cannot prevail upon us, therefore they attempt to wage the war with wisdom, power, intrigue, cunning, might, and arms. They themselves bear us witness, that the wisdom of God, the truth of God, and the Word of God, are with us. But here the papists say: What shall we do that we may crush Christ and his Gospel, and destroy this cause by a resort to fraud, power, and cunning? And then it comes to pass, as the second Psalm says, *The kings of*

the earth set themselves up, and the rulers take counsel together What will they accomplish against God and his Spirit? The second Psalm we will make true, but it is immediately added: *He that sitteth in the heavens has them in derision.* God still thinks, I will yet maintain myself against those wrathful squires, and Satan shall return them thanks for their attempts to subject me, poor man, to their control. I have now for almost six thousand years been in the council, have ruled, and made all the laws. Dear squires, do not be so wrathful; run away from the wall, and you will not injure your heads. *Receive instruction, O you kings who judge upon the earth.* Receive the Lord Christ, or Satan shall reward you. *That you do not depart from the right way.* I believe that God designs to crush the pope, that the last day may come. Truly, this is a haughty psalm against those same spirits. It begins humbly, but becomes proud as it proceeds: *That you may not depart from the right way.* A fire will be kindled; *therefore happy are all who trust in him.* It is a proud psalm; it says: Verily, you lords, behold what you are doing; *He that sitteth in the heavens* receives our cause into his protection, and admirably takes the great lords between the spurs, and rides them to water, but nothing will avail. We have no other consolation against the well-planned treacherous intrigues of the world, but that our God is a God *who is not far off, but near by.* And then he is *a God of mercy.* He beholds all these intrigues, and does not forget them, for he has a great memory. But what does our Lord God say to it? He thinks that he is a poor pupil, and wonders how He and his Son will fare. All the angels are terrified, thinking, What now? where shall we abide? But when God says: This counsel or intrigue does not please me, it must come to nought. For though they begin this and that, and though all the four walls and all the elements should oppose us, we must nevertheless cleave firmly to God. If he then will not have us alive, he may have us dead; but we are taught differently, for the dead will not praise thee, O Lord. I have greatly exasperated the pope with those wicked pictures.[5] O how the hog will raise its tail; but though it kill me, it shall first devour of the filth which the pope, who rides upon the hog, bears in his hand. I have placed a golden cup in the hands of the pope, and he shall himself first drink out of it. I have a great advantage; my Lord is called Sheflimmi, (i. e., sit thou on my right hand,) and he says: *I will*

raise them up at the last day. And he will then speak thus: Dr. Martin, Dr. Jonas, Magister Michæl Cœlius, come forth, and will call us all by our names; as the Lord Christ says in John: *And he calls them by name.* Therefore, be undismayed."

At another time he related, how that wise, prudent and sensible man, Frederick von Thuna, the knight, had once requested his dismission from the elector, Frederick of Saxony, and that the elector had said to him: "Dear Thun, you see that it is a burthensome business to govern, and I have need of able men for it; I cannot dispense with you. Although age will no longer permit you to be at court, you must nevertheless have patience, just as I also must have patience. For if I do not attend to it, and you neither, who will attend to it? Therefore I cannot suffer you to leave me."

On the 10th February, count Albrecht, of Mansfeld, and count John Henry, of Schwarzburg, were Luther's guests; on this occasion he spoke of union, and said that duke Frederick, the elector, was accustomed to say: The affairs can easily be arranged, if men only could be made to agree; in order that the persons therefore may also be cordially united, one must often yield to the other. Further he said: "We all desire union; but the means to obtain union, which is love to one another, no one seeks. We all likewise seek wealth, but the true means to become rich, namely, the blessing of God, no one seeks. So we wish to be saved; but the means by which we are saved, namely, the Mediator, Jesus Christ, the world will not have." And further: "In former times princes and lords submitted their entangled affairs and disputes to faithful, knightly men, and did not suffer them so readily to pass into the hands of the lawyers. When duke Ernest, the aged elector of Saxony, and his brother, duke Albrecht, were at variance, they submitted the matter to the aged von Einsiedler, the father of the lords Henry and Abraham, and he, associating with himself wise and sensible men, decided the matter, and the parties did not strive or resort to the lawyers." Concerning the establishment of union, he also, since the counts of Mansfeld were so greatly at variance, gave this illustration: "If any one has hewn down a tree full of knotty limbs and branches, and he wishes to bring it into a house or room, he must not seize it by the top, and thus attempt to draw it in, for in this case the branches will spread out and resist, being all directed against the house or room; and if it were attempted by force

to drag the tree into the house or room, all the limbs would break; yea, the tree would not be brought into the house at all. Therefore the proper course is, to take the tree by the trunk, where it is hewn off; then all the limbs would be directed from the door, and if the trunk is thus drawn in, the branches will gently bend together, and the tree can be brought into the house without any trouble, difficulty or labour. Thus it must also be when union is to be established, one must yield to the other. Otherwise, if each party insists upon its right, and no one will yield to the other, and they will not gently come together, union will never be established, for the limbs spread out and stand against the door of the house; they cannot be brought in thus."

So likewise he says: "When men are to be reconciled, that they may agree, one must yield to the other. For if it were required to establish a reconciliation between God and men, God would have to yield his right and lay aside his wrath, and we men would also have to lay aside our righteousness. For in paradise we attempted to be like God, being led through the temptation of the serpent, that is, of the devil, to conceive ourselves prudent and wise, as gods; here Christ had to reconcile us; he stepped in between, and became mediator between God and man, for which this mediator also received an umpire's reward, that is, the cross; as we are accustomed to say: the umpire usually fares worst. Thus Christ had also to suffer, and his sufferings and death he has bestowed upon us, for he died for our sins, and for our justification rose again. Thus the human race has again been reconciled to God. If our counts would also thus lay down their righteousness, union would soon be established; else we will sit here, eating and drinking, but no union will follow, for no one will lay down his righteousness."

He also related this fable: That a miller once owned an ass which ran away from his yard, and proceeded to the water. There the ass, in order to get a drink, stepped into a boat floating upon the water near the bank; but because the boat had not been fastened by the fisherman, it swam off with the ass, and thus the miller lost the ass, and the fisherman the boat, boat and ass both floating away. The miller brought complaints against the fisherman for not having fastened the boat. The fisherman plead in defence that the miller ought to have kept his ass in his yard, and claimed restitution for his boat.

Now the question is: Who is in the right? Who shall bring suit against the other? Did the ass take the boat away, or did the boat take the ass away? These are legal cases. To this one replied, and said, "Both are in the wrong, the fisherman for not fastening the boat, the miller for not keeping the ass in his yard. Censure attaches to both. It is an accidental circumstance, both have failed through negligence." To this Dr. Luther said: "Such cases and examples mock the unabating justice of the lawyers, for not unabating justice, but equity is to be sought. So the theologians also must preach, in order that they do not too greatly bind or loose men, that men may not become altogether too holy, nor altogether too wicked. All things are to be adjusted according to equity."

During the three weeks that Luther was at Eisleben, he every evening, about eight o'clock, or earlier, left the table in the large room, and proceeded to his own private room. His servant Ambrosius, Dr. Jonas, his two sons, and one or two other servants, were with him in the chamber, and because of his weakness, warmed the pillows for him. Of Dr. Jonas and M. Cœlius, both of whom often assisted him to bed, he every evening during these three weeks joyfully took leave, often with the words: "Dr. Jonas and M. Michael, pray for our Lord God, that his church affairs may prosper, for the council at Trent is very angry." He also every evening stood before the window for a considerable time, praying to God so earnestly and diligently, that the bystanders, if they were quiet, often heard several words, and were surprised. Then he turned away from the window, and commonly conversed with them for some minutes, and then retired to bed. John Sickel, of Nordhausen, famulus to Dr. Jonas, on the evening before his death, heard him with a loud voice praying before the window as follows: "Lord God, my heavenly Father, I call upon thee in the name of thy dear Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, whom through thy grace I have confessed and preached, that thou wouldest, according to thy promise and to the honour of thy name, graciously also hear me in this, after thou hast, in the greatness of thy mercy, according to thy gracious will, revealed to me the great apostacy, blindness and darkness of the pope, before thy holy day, which is not distant, but near at hand, being to follow upon the light of the Gospel, and also now commencing in all the world, that thou wouldest graciously to the end enable the Church of mv native country,

without apostacy, to continue in the pure truth, and in the firm adherence to the confession of thy Word, that the whole world may be convinced that thou hast sent me for this purpose. O merciful Lord God. Amen. Amen."

On Sunday, the 14th February, Luther could, at length, inform his wife, that he hoped, by the permission of God, again to return home during that week; for God, he said, had richly granted his grace, that the counts had, through their counsellors, arranged nearly everything, and he intended on that day to invite the two brothers, count Gebhard and count Albrecht, to dine with him, that they might again speak to each other, for till then they had been mute, and had greatly exasperated one another by written communications. At the same time, however, he prayed Melanchthon to see that a messenger would be despatched to meet him; and if it were on the road, with some of the caustic remedy which he was accustomed to apply to his thigh, for the wound which had been opened for him at Wittenberg had wholly healed up, and Melanchthon knew, he said, how dangerous this was. That they had nothing of it here, but his Kate knew where this necessary remedy was to be found in his room. Dr. Ratzenberger had, namely, as he himself relates, because of Luther's continued giddiness, opened a flow on his thigh, and as long as Luther kept this flow on his thigh open, he experienced alleviation of the giddiness and other bodily weakness. Having now, says Ratzenberger, subjected himself to much useless trouble and labour at Eisleben, in connection with the vexatious Mansfeld disputes, and all the negotiations proving in vain; this prolixity so grieved him, that he was not able to pay the proper attention to his own health, and with the above-mentioned remedy, per *lapidem causticum*, (lunar caustic,) to keep the flow open. That amidst such daily trouble, he became subject to great melancholy, and the flow on his thigh healed up, and it was to be feared, that the most intense mental excitement, combined with the stoppage of the injurious fluids, had caused his death.

At the negotiations, which were once continued for two or three days in succession, Luther was at times present for an hour, at others for an hour and a half; on Wednesday, the 17th February, however, the lords and counts and all the rest had prayed Luther not to come into the large room to the negotiations before noon, but to rest. He accordingly lay in his

little room upon a leather bed, at times also walked about in the room and prayed; he was nevertheless all the while joyful, and at times, too, made a passing remark, as, "Dr. Jonas and M. Michael, I was baptized here at Eisleben, how if I should remain here?"[5] He still, however, did not dine in his own room, but in the large room below, making many remarks concerning beautiful passages of Holy Writ. In the evening previous to supper, he began to complain, that he experienced an oppressive sensation on his breast, though not to his heart, and desired them to rub him with warm cloths, after which he said he felt some relief. He also took supper below in the large room, saying: "Being alone does not afford pleasure." He ate with considerable relish, and was joyful even to pleasantry, also making many important remarks concerning death and the future eternal life; among others: "O gracious God, twenty years is a short time, yet would this brief space of time render the world desolate, if the intercourse between the sexes should not, according to the creation and order of God, be continued; it is all unceasing creation: God collects his Church in a great measure from among little children: For I conceive that when a child, a year old, dies, there are always a thousand or two thousand other children of the same age that die with it. But if I, Dr. Martin, die in my sixty-third year, I do not presume that there are sixty or a hundred throughout the world that die with me; for men do not live to a great age now. The reason why we aged persons have to live so long, is, that we may behold all the abominations of Satan, and experience so much malice, unfaithfulness and wretchedness in the world, in order to be able to testify what a wicked spirit Satan has been. The human race are like a sheepfold full of sheep designed for the slaughter." On that same last evening, he at table also proposed the question, whether in that blessed future eternal assembly and Church, we would likewise recognise each other; and his opinion being earnestly requested, he said: "How did Adam do? He had never in his life seen Eve, lay there and slept; but when he awoke he did not say: Whence comest thou? What art thou? but, This is flesh taken of my flesh, and bone taken of my bone. Whence did he know that this wife had not sprung from a stone? It was because he was full of the Holy Ghost, and possessed the true knowledge of God. To this knowledge and image we will in the next life be again restored through Christ, so that we will re-

cognise father and mother, and one another, by the countenance, better than Adam did Eve." Not long after these words, as Dr. Jonas and M. Cœlius state in their report concerning Luther's departure,[6] he arose and went to his room, his two little sons, Martin and Paul, and M. Cœlius soon following him. As was his custom, he reclined himself in the window in his room, for the purpose of offering up his prayer, upon which M. Cœlius went down again, and John Aurifaber, Vinariensis, coming up, the doctor said to him: But I again experience an oppressive sensation on my breast as before; John replied: I observed, when I was preceptor to the young lords, that, when they experienced pain on the breast or felt otherwise unwell, the countess gave them unicorn to take; if you wish it I will go and bring some; to which the Doctor said yes. John, before going to the countess, hastily ran down, and called Dr. Jonas and M. Cœlius, who had been below stairs but a few minutes, and hastily ran up. When we came up, he complained greatly about oppression on his breast. We forthwith (as he was accustomed to do at home) rubbed him well with warm cloths, so that he experienced relief, and said that he felt better.

Soon count Albrecht himself came running with M. John, bringing the unicorn, and the count said: "How do you feel, dear doctor?" To which Luther replied: "There is no danger, gracious lord, I begin to feel better." Then count Albrecht himself scraped the unicorn for him, and the doctor finding himself improving, he departed again, leaving one of his counsellors, Conrad Von Wolframsdorf, besides Dr. Jonas, M. Cœlius and John Ambrosius with him; then, at the doctor's desire, they twice administered to him of the scraped unicorn, in a spoonful of wine, Conrad Von Wolframsdorf having himself previously taken a spoonful (that the Doctor might feel less reluctance.) Upon this he, about nine o'clock, laid himself upon his couch and said: "If I could sleep for half an hour, I trust all would be well;" then for an hour and a half, till 10 o'clock, he slept gently and naturally; we, Dr. Jonas and M. Michael Cœlius, with his servant Ambrosius, and his two little sons, Martin and Paul, having remained with him. But when, precisely at the stroke of ten, he awoke, he said: "Behold, are you yet sitting here? might you not retire to bed?" We replied: "No, dear doctor, now we are to sit up, and wait upon you." Upon this he desired to arise, and

rising from the couch, he went into the chamber, which communicated with the room, and was secured against all draft from the windows, and though he did not complain then, he, nevertheless, on stepping over the sill of the chamber, said: "In the name of God, I retire to rest. *In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum, redemisti me Domine Deus veritatis.* (Into thy hands I commend my spirit. Thou hast redeemed me, Lord, thou God of truth.) On retiring to bed now, which was well prepared with warm boards and pillows, he laid himself down in it, reached us all his hand, and bidding us good night, said: "Dr. Jonas and M. Cœlius and the rest of you, pray for our Lord God and his Gospel, that it may prosper; for the council of Trent and the pernicious pope are very much enraged against it. During the night, Dr. Jonas, his two sons, Martin and Paul, his servant Ambrosius, and other servants, remained with him in the chamber. During these twenty-one days light was kept burning in the chamber all night; that night, however, the little room was also kept warm; he slept well, breathing naturally, till the clock struck one, when he awoke and called his servant Ambrosius to warm the room for him; but as this had been kept warm the whole night, Dr. Jonas, when Ambrosius, the servant, had returned, asked Luther, whether he experienced weakness again. To which he replied: "Oh Lord God, how ill I feel! alas, dear Dr. Jonas, I believe I shall remain here at Eisleben (where I was born and baptized!") To which Dr. Jonas and Ambrosius, the servant, replied: "O reverend father, God, our heavenly Father, will afford help, through Christ, whom you have preached." Then he, without assistance or support by the hand, passed through the chamber into the little room, and on stepping over the sill, he again, as he had done on retiring to bed, repeated these words: *In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum, redemisti me, Domine Deus veritatis.* He also passed up and down the room once or twice, then laid himself on the couch, and complained that he felt very great oppression on his breast, but that it still avoided the heart. Then, at his request, and as his custom was at Wittenberg, we rubbed him with warm cloths, and warmed the pillow and bolster for him, for he said, that keeping him warm was grateful to him. Previous to all this, and when the doctor had now laid himself upon the couch, M. Cœlius hastily came from his chamber, which was close to ours, and soon after him John Aurifaber; we then in great haste

called up the host, John Albrecht, the town clerk, and his wife, as also the two physicians of the town, who all (as they lived near) were present in the space of a quarter of an hour. First came the host with his wife, then M. Simon Wild and Dr. Ludwig, the physicians; soon after, count Albrecht with his wife, the countess bringing with her various spices and restoratives, with which she, without intermission, most diligently endeavoured to quicken and to refresh him: but amidst all these things, the doctor said: "Oh merciful God, I feel very ill and distressed, I pass away, I shall now certainly remain at Eisleben." Then Dr. Jonas and M. Cœlius comforted him, and said. "Reverend father, call upon your dear Lord Jesus Christ, our high priest, the only mediator; you have perspired very freely, God will grant his grace, and will restore you to health." But the doctor answered, and said: "Yes, it is the cold sweat of death: I shall yield up my spirit, for the illness is increasing;" then he proceeded and said: "O my heavenly Father, the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, thou God of all consolation, I thank thee, that thou hast revealed to me thy dear Son, Jesus Christ, in whom I believe, whom I have preached and confessed, whom I have loved and preached, whom the pernicious pope and all wicked men dishonour, persecute and blaspheme, I pray thee, my Lord Jesus Christ, receive my soul into thy care. O heavenly Father, although I must leave this body, and be torn away from this life, I nevertheless know to a certainty that I shall be with thee forever, and that no one can pluck me out of thy hands." He also further said: *God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that all who believe in him might not perish, but have eternal life.* And the words from the 68th Psalm: *Our God is the God of salvation, and God the Lord delivers from death.* The Magister now employed one more very precious remedy, which he always had with him in his pocket, and of this the doctor took a spoonful; but he again said: "I pass away, I shall yield up my spirit; and then hastily, three times in succession, said: *Pater, in manus tuas, commendo spiritum meum, redemisti me, Deus veritatis.*" Having now commended his spirit into the hands of God, his heavenly Father, he was quiet; we shook him, rubbed him, cooled him, and called him; but he closed his eyes and made no reply. Then count Albrecht's spouse and the physicians applied to his pulse all manner of strengthening fluids, which his wife had sent him, and which he himself

was accustomed to employ. But as he now lay there thus quiet, Dr. Jonas and M. Cœlius loudly called to him: "Reverend father, do you die in firm adherence to Christ and the doctrines which you have preached?" and he, answering so that all could distinctly hear him, said: "Yes." Upon this, he turned himself over upon his right side, and slept nearly a quarter of an hour, so that we began to entertain hopes of his recovery. But the physicans and all present said, that it was a treacherous sleep, and we continually held lights in his face, to observe him. Meanwhile, count John Henry, of Schwarzenburg, with his wife, also came up, after which the doctor grew quite pale in his face, his feet and nose became cold, and once more breathing deeply, though gently, he yielded up his spirit, calmly and most resignedly, so that he did not move a finger or leg any more, and no one (this we testify before God and upon our consciences) could perceive any inquietude, torment of the body, or pain of death, but he fell peacefully and gently asleep in the Lord, as Simeon did. So that the passage, John viii., was verified in him: *Verily, I say unto you, he that keepeth my Word shall never see death;* which passage, John viii., he also wrote in the Bible for the people, for a remembrance; and this his writing, being the last from his hand, came into the possession of Elrich Hans Gasmann, Hohnstein treasurer, being contained in the front of a Hauspostil, where the dearest and beloved father thus explains this passage: "*Never see death.* What incredible language is not this, and how opposed to manifest and daily experience! it is nevertheless the truth, if a man sincerely contemplates God's Word in his heart, believes it, and falls asleep or dies over it, he sinks and passes away, before he becomes aware of death, and he certainly departs hence, blessed in the Word, which he has thus believed and contemplated." Below this was written: "Martin Luther, doctor, 1546, on the 7th (17th ?) of February.

"When he had thus departed in the Lord, and count Albrecht, his spouse, the count of Schwarzenburg, &c., together with us, were terrified, still exclaiming that the rubbing and the application of quickening remedial agents should be continued, everything was done that human skill could devise, but the body grew only more cold and deathlike. And when the dead body had thus, for some three quarters of an hour, lain upon the couch, they formed an underbed, with three layers

of featherbeds, alongside of the couch, and lifted him into it, hoping that God (as we all wished and prayed) would yet restore him. Then before it was day, about four o'clock, there came the serene, highborn prince and lord, lord Wolf, prince of Anhalt, the honourable, well-born counts and lords, the brothers, Philip and John George, also the brothers, count Vollradt, count John, count Wolf, counts and lords of Mansfeld, and other lords and noblemen. The body was permitted to lie upon the bed, from four till after nine, that, is five whole hours, and many honourable citizens came, and amidst fervent tears and much weeping, beheld the dead body; after that they clothed it in a new white Suabian gown, placed the corpse in the chamber upon a bed of straw, till a leaden coffin could be cast, into which they laid it. Many of the nobility, who, for the most part, had known him, male and female some several hundred, and a great number of the people, came and beheld him as he lay in the coffin. During the 18th February, the corpse was permitted to remain in the lodging, the house of Dr. Trachstet.

Meanwhile Dr. Jonas had given the elector information concerning Luther's happy departure, having dictated the letter to the secretary of count Albrecht: "Since grief," added he, in a postscript, "prevented us from writing all ourselves." Dr. Jonas had at the same time requested the elector graciously to state his wishes with regard to the funeral, which would be deferred till his answer should arrive, and also to inform the count what he should do in the matter; for though the count wished greatly to retain Luther in the earldom, as being his native country, he, nevertheless, submitted all to the gracious pleasure of the elector.[7] Count Albrecht of Mansfeld and prince Wolfgang of Anhalt, who had been present at Luther's death, also had written to the elector.[8] The latter concluded his letter with the words: "Great exertions were made in his behalf; there was no help with man, however, especially was the will of the Lord accomplished in him, and he fell quite gently asleep with pious aspiration to God. May God the Lord, in mercy, enable us to follow after him! Amen."

On the 19th February, the corpse, according to Christian usage, was with great solemnity, and amidst spiritual singing, borne to the chief parochial church, that of St. Andrew. Princes, counts and lords, among the rest also count Gebhard, with his two sons, the counts George and Christopher, together with

Dr. JUSTUS JONAS.

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their ladies, and an exceedingly large number of people, accompanied and followed it. The procession having arrived here, and the corpse being now set down in the choir, Dr. Jonas, amidst ardent tears, delivered a sermon, concerning the passage, 1 Thessal. iv. 13, seq.[8] In this discourse he treated, firstly, of the person and of the noble gift of Dr. Luther, and of his having so befittingly and becomingly prepared himself for death. He recommended to his hearers the reading of Luther's books, since these, better than anything else, showed what kind of a man he had been, what a rich spirit his had been, and how faithfully and diligently he had laboured in the Scriptures. Having then adduced the testimony of men who had early perceived Luther's noble genius and his acute, lofty intellect, he continued: "Dr. Martin Luther was possessed also of other rich gifts, and was a great and powerful orator. Again, a most able translator of the whole Bible. The chanceries have also in part learned from him, how to speak and to write good German." "Dr. Martin Luther also,"—said he further,—"was possessed of the rich grace and the exalted light of the Holy Ghost, of the true knowledge of God and of Christ, which he did not diminish but increased, through daily diligent labour in the Holy Divine Scriptures, by the study and reading of them for the space of forty years, so that he became perfectly conversant with the Holy Scriptures. He read the Bible through a large number of times, so that he was quite at home in it. This he began in his twenty-fourth year, and continued to his sixty-third year, to his death, the noble and dear man."

He upon this instanced two remarks of Luther's, which, he said, revealed his heart; the first was: "I wish exceedingly, that I, in some measure, understood the first article of our christian faith, concerning the creation: I believe in God the Father, creator of heaven and earth. But I shall willingly remain an abecedarian in this article; and I conceive that few men, even among the loftiest, such as Adam, Noah, Abraham and David, have understood this article. But Isaiah, Jeremiah, and other prophets, also understood something of it; they all, however, so studied in it, that they confessed themselves pupils." The other remark: "He wished that the article concerning redemption were deemed the highest theology, as Paul and all the apostles deemed it." Of Luther's preparation for death, he said: "Having now attained to his

sixty-third year, he frequently gave utterance to such lofty and memorable words. that they might well have been compared to the sermons and words of Noah, as who also lived in very evil times, and said with grief: Alas, the world loves falsehood, such as the inventions of the pope, the monks and other men, and notwithstanding the great and brilliant light of the Gospel, the world has come to such a pass, that the sins of many are no longer ordinary delinquencies, but mere blasphemy against God, abuses, defiance and conscious continuance in gross vices. No one wishes any longer to be a sinner, no one is willing to humble himself before God, this will be succeeded by certain punishment." Further, he related how Luther had written more than twenty consolatory passages in his psalter and little prayer-book, which he had always carried with him, as if he had wished to say: "I will once, in the hour of my death, by the help of God, lay hold upon one of these passages. and with it prevail against Satan and all the powers of hell." That the first passage had been: *Cast all your cares upon the Lord, for he careth for you.* In accordance with this passage, he had cast all his cares, even in the hour of death, upon the Lord Christ, and had not anxiously inquired where he should remain, but had permitted God to care for his soul. That he had also often said: "I would not at all wish to have my soul left in my care. For if it had been left in my care, Satan would long since, as in a moment, have snatched it away, as a vulture does a pullet or a bird." That he had further written in his Psalter that passage of St. Ambrosius, in which the latter says to his brethren: "I trust that I have so lived among you, that I need not dread to live longer with you, for we have a kind and faithful Lord. Neither do I know of any friend who has cared better for me, than the Lord; therefore I do not dread to die." So likewise the passage of another very pious bishop, who had been greatly grieved at the wickedness of the world, and had not been able to endure it, and to whom Christ had, in the hour of his death, given the answer: "Thou lamentest and weepest; has the world then dealt so well by thee, that thou forsakest it with reluctance? Thou canst not endure the wickedness of the world, and yet art unwilling to depart from the world." So likewise the passage: "Why dost thou dread Christ, or to be with him, when he has exhibited the greatest fidelity towards thee, by giving his soul for thee, and died to

redeem thee; dost thou imagine that Satan, or the world, will do for thee what Christ has done? By what does the world exhibit such fidelity? It deceives thee; why dost thou wish to remain here? It did not give its body and soul for thee, as did the Son of God, Jesus Christ. And thou canst not come to or be at any place where thou wilt be happier than with Christ, the Lord, the Son of God, who suffered and died for thee," &c. That this passage also was found in his little prayer-book: "*If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments of God*, that is, die. For it is decreed, that all men shall and must die; therefore, if thou wilt do according to this passage, and enter into life, then die, and thou hast kept the commandment of God, and wilt live. For life is a life of sin and punishment put upon sin; neither do we cease from sin, till we die. He now, that has died a christian death, is delivered from sin, and need no longer dread sin, but is freed from all the distress, tribulation and wretchedness of this transitory life."

In the *second* part of the sermon, Dr. Jonas treated of the resurrection of the dead, St. Paul distinctly saying to the Thessalonians, that Christ would lead forth with him those that sleep in him, which words he represented as consoling to a Christian; and he said: At the same time with those that have fallen asleep in Christ, "our dear father, Dr. Martin Luther, of christian memory, will also arise, with the same body, countenance, hands, feet, which he had here, and with which we beheld him, with the same mouth with which he for twenty-nine entire years preached the pure Word of God to the German nation; but he will have a bright, glorified body, which will shine like the sun, as Christ says, Matt. xiii. and Daniel the prophet in the 12th chapter: *The teachers shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever.* Because Dr. Martin therefore was a great teacher, and turned very many to righteousness, he will also be clothed in a beautiful brightness, excelling that of others, as we, by the permission of God, shall see."

In the *third* place, Dr. Jonas represented that the death of the eminent prophet, Dr. Martin, certainly portended something great. "For before two years will be passed," said he, "we shall learn this by experience above others, the papists, canons, priests, monks and nuns, who rejoice in Dr. Martin Luther's death and departure, for he will leave behind him

great virtue, and in a few years they will wish that Dr. Luther were yet alive, and will willingly hear him then, and if possible dig him out of the earth again; but they will have delayed too long. If during his life they had but given heed to his warning, and followed his faithful advice, it would have been profitable to them both as regards body and soul." He further showed that it was evident from the Holy Scriptures and from history, that when the times had been worst, the most eminent prophets and men of God had always lived previously, and their death had always been succeeded by great and fearful punishments. That Germany, if it did not repent, would thus also, after Luther's death, certainly be visited with fearful punishment. That Augustine, at his death, had perceived the evil that portended his native country, and had been greatly distressed because of it; that God had nevertheless permitted his pure Word to be preached in Africa for two hundred years thereafter. That this had been accomplished and obtained through prayer. Wherefore they should now also begin to lead a penitent life, and earnestly to pray, that God would continue to preserve his Word to them after Luther's death," &c.

On the 19th February, in the evening, they received the letter of the elector of Saxony, who had (on the 18th) replied, that this news had exceedingly grieved and distressed him, but that because it had thus come to pass, it was to be left to the omnipotence of God, who controlled all things. "Although we," said he, "would have most gladly seen it, if said Martin, deceased, had, as an aged, decrepit man, been excused from these affairs." He declared it as his wish, that the body should be brought from Eisleben to Wittenberg, there to be interred in the castle church, wherefore he desired the counts to cause the corpse to be sent, and also to be conducted and brought as far as Bitterfeld. The counts complied, but at the same time said: "We had hoped that your electoral grace would have permitted the corpse of the doctor to remain, inasmuch as he was both born and baptized here at Eisleben, and has also here, to the great grief of all christian men, been called away by the Almighty from this vale of tears to eternal life."

Therefore on Saturday, the 20th February, another sermon was preached, which was delivered by M. Michael Cœlius, concerning the passage, Isaiah lvii. 1, 2: *The righteous perisheth,*

&c. In this sermon he, *firstly*, spoke of Dr. Martin as a man and a teacher, but declares that he did not wish to describe his lineage, station, dignity, virtues and manners, but only the office which he had filled in the Church: the office, namely, which Elias and Jeremiah, John the Baptist, or one of the apostles, had filled at their time. For at the time when God had called this man into the office, the Church had been just in such a posture, he said, as it had been at the times of Elias, Jeremiah, or John. As Elias had at his time attacked and crushed idolatry, so Luther, he said, had assailed the mighty idol of papal indulgences, and cast it to the ground. And as Elias had put to death the priests of Baal: so he had, with the sword of the divine Word, destroyed the power of the mass-priests and their idol. That, on the other hand, however, he had, like John the Baptist, taught and preached christian and true repentance, showing how and by what means a true knowledge of sin is produced; how forgiveness of it is obtained, what the proper fruits of repentance are, how we are to serve and to call upon God, what stations have been instituted by God, what is obligatory upon every one in his station, and that, in short, God had, through him, opened the Holy Scriptures, which before had been a locked up and sealed book, so that they had not, since the times of the apostles, been read with such understanding as they were then. That this man, who at this time had walked in the spirit and the power of Elijah, and been a forerunner of the last day, a true Elias, was now no more, and that we properly complained with Elisha: "*O my father, my father, the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof.*" "But we are not to omit either," said he, in concluding this part, "like Elisha, to take up the mantle of this Elijah, that is, his books which he wrote under the influence of the Holy Spirit, and has left behind him, that we may also obtain his spirit from them. For though, according to the body, he is dead, he still lives, according to the spirit; and in his books, he will also, by the help of God, after his death, by his writings be the death of the pope, as during his life he was his pestilence; wherefore let us keep to these books, love and esteem them, and thank God for them, which lead us into the Holy Scriptures."

In the *second* place, Cœlius related in his sermon how Luther had died: "For," said he, "he is not yet buried, and not dead more than one day, and there are already found men, as I un-

derstand, who, being urged on by the evil spirit, circulate the report, that he was found dead in his bed. Now, I have no doubt, but that he, who is a liar from the beginning, will invent various other and more deceptive falsehoods; for he is now no longer concerned about Dr. Luther; him, God has delivered from his grasp, and he can no longer assail him, but his aim is against the doctrine, this he would gladly disparage and extirpate."

In the *third* place, he proposed the question, why Luther had died just at this time, when he was so greatly needed in the Christian Church, which the pope, with his council of Trent, and all his hellish powers, was opposing, in order to crush the Word of Truth. "Many," said he, "will here imagine that various things have caused his death, and some will say: An old man ought not to have gone on a journey at this time, and in such cold weather; he ought to have been excused from these negotiations. If he had remained at Wittenberg, and had observed this and that, he would still be alive, &c. It is true, with reason such thoughts and conjectures pass for something; but he that yields to them is conducted into the raging sea; and as this, excited by the winds, can never have any rest, so such thoughts in this and other cases prevent a man from finding rest and peace. Therefore, we must here recur to the children's creed and say: *I believe in God, the Father Almighty, creator of heaven and earth*, by which is meant, not only that God created the heavens, the earth, and all creatures, but also, that he governs and preserves them, that *without his permission, not a hair falls from our head*, as Christ says, Luke xxi., and David, Psalm xxxix.: *Lord, make me to know mine end and the measure of my days, what it is, that I may know how frail I am.* So also Job, xiv., says: *The days of man are determined, the number of his months are with thee, thou hast appointed his bounds that he cannot pass.* Through these words the Holy Ghost leads us from the thoughts of our reason and delivers us from the raging sea, guiding us to a safe port, so that we must pause here and say: it is the will of God, God has thus ordered it and wished it, that he should close his life in this town of Eisleben, in which he was born and baptized. But from what cause he has been called away by God at this time, that is another question." The Scriptures, he said, set forth more than one reason why each person died at his time. "Children and the young," he said, "God permitted to die in

their innocence, in order to rescue them; tyrants he removed for a consolation to his people and to deliver his Church from them: but when prophets died, God commonly intended that punishment, the infliction of which he, for their sakes, had delayed in this life, should follow. "So it was also to be feared," he said, "that God had removed this his servant, because of our sins, wherefore it was high time to repent and to weep, not over this man, who now rested peacefully in God, but because we with our sins provoked God to punishment."

In the *fourth* place, he yet treated of the present condition of the man according to the body. That God, namely, had delivered him from the bloody jaws of the pope and his adherents, and brought him to rest, so that they could no longer disturb him, for, as the prophet said, he *had attained to peace and rested in his chamber;* but that, according to the spirit, he was with God and his Son, and dwelt among the blessed angels and the elect of God. He concluded with the prayer: "May God, in his stead, again send his Church another prophet, and cause an Elijah, who may possess a twofold portion of his spirit, and reward the Roman Babylon twofold more than has been done thus far. May we also, enlightened by the Holy Spirit, suffer ourselves through his books to be conducted into the Holy Scriptures, that we may also blessedly close this, our life, in the true faith. Amen."

Upon this they, between 12 and 1 o'clock, with all solemnity, and with Christian ceremonies and singing, conveyed the corpse from the town of Eisleben; the aforesaid princes, counts and lords again, as before at the procession to the church, following after it, and together with a large number of people, and amidst many tears and much weeping, conducting it till without the outermost gate.

Previous to all this, two painters had taken the likeness of the dead countenance, the one from Eisleben, when the corpse yet lay in the room upon the bed, the other, the artist Lukas Fortennagel, of Halle, when it had already lain in the coffin one night.

On the way from Eisleben to Halle the bells were rung in nearly all the villages, men, women and children running out from the villages, and exhibiting signs of sincere grief. After five o'clock they arrived before Halle. When they approached nearer to the town, the citizens, male and female, came out to a great distance over the paved road to meet the

corpse, and when they arrived with it at the gates of the town, there came to meet it the two pastors of St. Ulrich and Moritz, (for the superintendent, Dr. Jonas, rode after the corpse in a carriage,) and all the ministers of the Gospel, likewise the honourable council of Halle, the whole school, the school-teacher with all the boys, with the usual funeral ceremonies and singing; also a great collection of people, among whom there were many honourable citizens, matrons, young women, and children, all with such loud lamentation and weeping, that it could be heard behind in the last carriage. When near St. Moritz they proceeded into the street up the old market, as well as when they were upon the bridge and in the gate, there was such a press about the hearse, that they were often obliged to halt in the street and upon the market, and very late, nearly half-past six o'clock, arrived at the church of our lady. All parts of the church were crowded with people, and the psalm: *From deep distress*, &c., was there sung amidst sobs and tears, with mournful, broken voices. If it had not been so late, a sermon would have been delivered; but as it was, the corpse was hastily borne into the sacristy, and there guarded by several citizens.

On the following morning, Sunday, the 21st February, about six o'clock, the corpse, amidst the ringing of all the bells and with an honourable Christian procession of the whole council, of all the preachers and schools, as on the evening previous, was brought out before the gate of the town, in order to be conveyed to Bitterfeld. Towards noon the corpse, together with the two counts, and those that had conducted it, was received on the borders, and in the town itself, by the commissaries of the elector, they being the captain Erasmus Spiegel of Wittenberg, Gengolf von Heilingen of Düben, and Dietrich von Taubenheim of Brehna, and this evening conveyed as far as Kemberg, where, as also at Bitterfeld, it was received and honoured with the usual Christian ceremonies.

At Wittenberg the information concerning Luther's death had been received on the 19th February, through the letters of Dr. Jonas to the elector, and to the pastor of the parochial church, Dr. John Bugenhagen. The students having, on this day, at nine o'clock in the forenoon, assembled to attend to the lecture on the Epistle to the Romans, Melanchthon addressed to them the following words: "Dear young men, you know that we lately began the grammatical exposition of the Epistle

to the Romans, in which epistle there is contained the true doctrine concerning the Son of God; which God, according to his special mercy, has, in these times, revealed to us through the reverend father, our greatly beloved teacher, Dr. Martin Luther. On this day, however, we have received such sad news, and it has occasioned to me such great distress, that I do not know whether I can in future discharge the duties which devolve upon me as a teacher. I communicate this information to you according to the advice of the other gentlemen, that you may know what the true state of the case is, and that you may not credit false reports, as they are accustomed on such an occasion to be circulated here and there." Having then given them a brief account of Luther's departure, he concluded with the words: "Alas! he is no more, the chariot and horseman of Israel who in these last sad times has directed the Church. For not through the acuteness of human intellect, has the doctrine concerning the forgiveness of sin and faith in the Son of God been discovered, but it has been revealed to us by God, through this man, whom he has raised up. Let us therefore love his memory and the doctrine inculcated by him; let us be more humble than hitherto, and attentive to the great tribulations and the mighty changes which will succeed this fall. But thee, O Son of God, Emanuel, who were crucified and again raised from the dead for us, I pray, that thou wouldst govern thy Church, preserve and protect it. Amen."

On the 21st February the students had, through a public notice of the rector, been called upon to attend the funeral, which it was supposed would be after the middle of the day; about this time, however, letters were received, which stated, that the corpse would not yet arrive on this day, but on the next day about nine o'clock. When therefore on Monday, the 22d February, the counts of Mansfeld, Hans and Hans Hoier, who had ridden from Eisleben with about forty-five equipped horses, brought the corpse before Wittenburg to the Elsterthor, there were assembled there, as the elector had directed, the rector, the magisters and the doctors, and the whole university, the honourable council, the whole congregation, and all the citizens. The ministers of the Gospel[9] and the school preceded the corpse, with the usual christian singing and ceremonies, from the Elstergate through the whole length of the town to the castle church. In advance of the corpse, there rode the aforesaid commissaries of the elector of Saxony, and the two

young counts of Mansfeld, in all about ninety-five horsemen. Next after the carriage upon which the corpse was conveyed, the wife of the doctor, lady Catharine Luther, together with several matrons, rode in a small carriage; then followed his three sons, John, Martin, Paul, his brother Jacob Luther, citizen of Mansfeld, his sister's sons, George and Cyriacus Kaufmann, also citizens of Mansfeld, and others of his relatives. Then came the Rector Magnificus of the university, Dr. Augustine Schurf, with several young princes, counts and barons, who prosecuted their studies at Wittenberg, then Dr. Gregorius Brück, M. Philip Melanchthon, Dr. Justus Jonas, Dr. John Bugenhagen, Dr. Kaspar Cruciger, Dr. Jerome Schurf, and others of the oldest doctors of the university of Wittenberg, then all the doctors and magisters, the honourable councils, together with the counsellors, then the whole number of the students, and finally, the citizens, matrons, young women and the children of many honourable people, amidst loud weeping and lamentation. In all the streets, and also upon the market, the crowd was so great, that the like had never before been seen at Wittenberg.

The corpse having been brought into the castle church, it was set down opposite the pulpit. Then they, firstly, sung christian funeral hymns; afterwards, Dr. Bugenhagen ascended the pulpit, and, in the presence of several thousand people, delivered a sermon, concerning 1 Thessal. iv. 13, 14: "Dear friends," said he, "I am now to deliver a sermon at the funeral of our dearest father, Dr. Martin, deceased, and I willingly do so: but what or how shall I speak, when I can scarcely utter a word, for weeping? Whither shall I turn from you? I shall, undoubtedly, by my discourse, only increase the lamentation and sorrowing. For how is it possible for any of us not to mourn, now that God has visited us with this affliction, and taken from us the noble and dear man, the honourable Dr. Martin Luther, through whom he has bestowed unspeakable gifts and blessings, not only upon us, but upon all the churches in German lands, as also upon many in other countries, through whom he also has gloriously put down the kingdom of Satan, so much disgraceful idolatry and human tradition, yea, as St. Paul says, doctrines of devils, throughout the world, and has through his Gospel revealed to us the exalted, great, heavenly mystery concerning his dear Son, Jesus Christ (as St. Paul, in the Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians also denominates

Dr. JOHN BUGENHAGEN,
called Pomeranus.

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it.) Through this our dear father, Christ has maintained his Gospel, against the pernicious pope, and various sects and tyrants, yea, against all the gates of hell; to this dear man he gave the spirit of power and firmness, so that he dreaded no one, no matter how great and mighty he was; and so joyfully and unwaveringly did he abide in the Gospel and the pure doctrine, that the world often judged him to be too excessively severe in his rebukes and reproofs, as the Jews and the Pharisees also, those bitter and poisonous vipers, accused Christ, for it pained and vexed them sorely, that they were rebuked by the pure truth; but the wholesome doctrine they after all would not receive. This exalted teacher and prophet, whom God had commissioned to reform the Church, he has now taken from us; alas! how can we refrain from mourning and weeping? How is it possible for us to obey the beloved Paul here, when he says: *Ye shall not sorrow concerning those that sleep?* But, he adds, *like those that have no hope.* But we, who believe, know, that those who have fallen asleep in Christ will again arise to a better life, in which we shall again meet them and be eternally with them. But the world was not worthy, that it should longer possess this dear man of God, further to calumniate and to persecute him, although this same ungrateful world has received much good through this great man, especially in having been delivered from so many tyrannical oppressions of the pernicious papacy; so that many of the adversaries (in whom there is any wisdom or understanding) would rather that the dear man were still alive."

"This I have said by way of introduction, to show that we verily have great cause for deep sorrow, because we have lost so great and dear a man. And of a truth, (if that is of any avail,) we sorrow not alone, but many thousand Christians scattered abroad, both kings, princes and cities, and all that have known the Gospel of Truth, sorrow with us. The pernicious present pope, the cardinal of Mayence, and duke Henry, (all of whom he had greatly exasperated through the truth,) have not been permitted ever to rejoice over the death of this man, and I trust that the adversaries will not long rejoice over his death, for the person indeed has departed in Christ, but the powerful, blessed, divine doctrine of this dear man, still blooms in vigorous life. For he undoubtedly was the

angel of whom we read, Rev. xiv., that he flew through the midst of heaven, having the everlasting Gospel," &c.

Having then applied this passage to Luther, he called upon his hearers, that they should in their grief also acknowledge the goodness and mercy of God, for having, through his Spirit, one hundred years after the death of the pious John Huss,[10] raised up this man against the doctrines of Antichrist, and that they should rejoice with the dear father Luther, who had thus departed in the highest apostolical and prophetical office, the duties of which he had faithfully discharged. He had now obtained, he said, what he had often desired; and if he should now return again, he would rebuke such sorrowing and mourning on his account, with the words of Christ, John xvi.: *If you loved me you would rejoice, for I go to the Father*, and you would gladly wish me the eternal rest and joy. "I remember," added he, "that when our revered and beloved father, Dr. Martin Luther, beheld any falling sweetly asleep in the confession of Christ, he would say: God grant that I may also fall thus sweetly asleep in the arms of Christ, and may not be tormented with lingering pains of death in the body; the will of the Lord, however, be done!" upon which he gave an account of a pious man of the university of Wittenberg, M. Ambrosius Bernhardus, of Juterbock, whom God had freed from all feeling of pain during his last illness, so that he had spoken as if he had already been in another life. If they had spoken to him concerning Christ, he said, he had returned thanks for the great mercy and salvation which our heavenly Father bestows upon us; but if they had attempted to converse with him, concerning his beloved wife, children, house, money, debts, &c., he had again wandered in his mind. "This blessed and joyful account," continued he then, "concerning Magister Ambrosius, our beloved brother, I have gladly given now, for two reasons: in the first place, that I may, by means of it, somewhat restrain you, my beloved hearers, from the lamentation and weeping which have very properly come upon us. God has afflicted us; may He in his mercy comfort us again! In the second place, because this account serves to illustrate the point, of which we treat. For this magister Ambrosius was the brother-in-law of Dr. Martin, wherefore the latter visited him so often in his illness; and when he spoke to him concerning Christ, Ambrosius also spoke of Christ, ac-

cording to the blessed Gospel, as said before: but when he attempted to speak with him concerning his wife, children, property, &c., Ambrosius knew nothing of such things, but immediately began to wander in his mind, joyfully speaking of other things, as remarked before; especially did he with laughing and gratitude say to the doctor: Good doctor, I thank you for your visit; I shall again visit you some evening, when we will take a good collation together, and converse with one another about many agreeable things. Now, indeed, this may be accomplished in the eternal life, whither they both have journeyed. Here in this life they did not come together in this way. When Dr. Martin left him now, the doctor said to me: He is departed, he knows nothing of death; when we attempt to advise him how he is to arrange his affairs, he knows nothing of this world and life any more, but is joyful, laughs, speaks of other things to us in his joyful mental wanderings, signifying to us by such words: I have nothing further to arrange or to regulate upon the earth. May God also shortly grant me such a peaceful and blessed death! why should I remain longer upon the earth? Magister Ambrosius having now been buried in the middle of winter, in the year 1542, in the month of January, Dr. Martin not long after passing the grave with me, pointed to the place with his finger, and said: He did not know that he was sick, neither did he know that he died, and yet he was not without confession of Christ; there he lies, he does not know yet that he is dead. Dear Lord Jesus Christ, take me also thus from this vale of tears to thyself, &c. Such language I was often constrained to hear from my beloved father; and when he perceived my displeasure, at times also perhaps from my words, he said to me: Pray our dear Lord God, that he may shortly take me hence; I can accomplish nothing more upon the earth, neither am I of any further use; assist me with your prayer; pray not that I may live longer. Now every one can easily imagine how I replied to such words from my beloved father, and dearest doctor. All this shows how anxiously he desired in his last days to be delivered from this vale of tears, and to be with Christ, by which he also sung his *consummatum est*, (it is finished,) and commended his spirit into the hands of his heavenly Father." He added, that there had also been indications, that the dear father would journey into a better land, he having often, during the whole of the last year, said, that he desired to remove to

another place; that he had also left home more frequently during this year than formerly. This had been an indication, he said, that he would begin his journey into the eternal life.

Having now given a brief statement concerning Luther's blessed departure, he referred to Bishop St. Martin, of whom report said, that all heretics had grown pale at the mention of his name, that there had been great weeping and lamentation at his death, among all believing and true Christians, that there had, moreover, been a dispute and strife between a number of cities and countries, as to which was to retain his body, and to have it buried with it. All this, he said, had also been the case with this holy apostle and prophet of Christ, the preacher and evangelist in German lands, Dr. Martin.

In conclusion, he exhorted his hearers to reform, and to call upon our heavenly Father, that he would preserve his believers in the pure doctrine, through Christ defend them against sects, tyrants, and other gates of hell, and preserve faithful and true preachers to his Church. And if the impudent calumniations of the adversaries and our own ingratitude should be the occasion of great calamity and punishment, he prayed God to fulfil and to verify the prophetic epitaph which Luther had composed for himself: *Pestis eram vivus, moriens tua mors ero, papa!* (Living I was thy pest, and dying I'll be to thee death, O pope!)[11]

After this sermon by Bugenhagen, Melanchthon delivered a Latin funeral oration, which began thus: "Although in this general distress, grief and tears choke my voice; I must nevertheless say something in this large assembly, not after the manner of the heathens, only in praise of the dead, but much rather for the purpose of reminding the assembly of the marvellous guidance and perils of the Church, that we may consider for what we should be concerned, for what we ought especially to pray, and what examples it behooves us to imitate. For, although wicked men imagine that every thing happens by accident and mere chance, because in this life things are so perplexed; we will nevertheless permit such various and clear testimonies of God to direct us, will distinguish between the Church and the ungodly multitude, be assured, that God in heaven certainly governs and preserves it; we will rightly examine the mode of its government, learn to know its true guides, contemplate their lives, and choose for ourselves the chief teachers and leaders, whom we will then

faithfully follow and esteem. Of such important things we must think and speak, as often as mention is made of the revered man, Dr. Martin Luther, our most beloved father and teacher. Although many wicked men most bitterly hate him, yet will we, who know that he was a minister of the Gospel whom God raised up, love and praise him, and collect the testimonies which demonstrate that his doctrines do not consist in seditious opinions, spread in the heat of fanatical excitement, but that they are an exhibition of the divine will and of the true worship of God, an exposition of the Holy Scriptures and a declaration of God's Word, that is, of the Gospel of Jesus Christ." After this introduction, Melanchthon treated of the office which Luther had filled in the Church, showed whom and how God called to this service; then enumerated the continuous series of chosen servants of God, as a noble testimony of the presence of God in his Church, and said, that Luther was to be numbered among this noble band of excellent men, whom God had sent to collect and to build up his Church, and who were to be looked upon as the noblest ornaments of the human race.

The orator then directed attention to the great truths which had been brought to light through Luther; and observed that many, nevertheless, exclaimed against him as having distracted the Church, and having occasioned irremediable divisions in it; to which he, however, replied: that this was always the case in the government of the Church, for if the Holy Ghost rebuked the world, divisions were occasioned through the obstinacy of the ungodly; that the censure, however, attached to those who would not hear the Son of God. Luther, he said, had brought the true and wholesome doctrine to light, had dissipated the thick mist which had hung over the true doctrine of repentance, and had shown what constituted true repentance, and how hearts that were terrified in view of the wrath of God, might be certainly comforted. He had also, he said, explained the doctrine of St. Paul, that man is justified only through faith, had pointed out the difference between the Law and the Gospel, between spiritual and temporal righteousness. He had taught how God ought to be worshipped, namely, in faith, and with a good conscience, and had pointed to the only Mediator, the Son of God, who sits at the right hand of the Father, not to images or to the saints. He had shown what were true good works, acceptable to God, and had, by his defence of

the temporal stations, conferred such honour upon these, as no other man had done in his writings. Finally, he had also separated the childish observance of human ceremonies and those usages and traditionary rites which interfere with the true worship of God, from necessary works. And in order that the divine doctrine thus brought to light might also descend to posterity, he had rendered the prophetical and apostolical writings into German, and this with such plainness, that his translation afforded more light to the reader than most commentaries did. He had in addition also written many expositions, which far excelled all others, as Erasmus also testified. And as at the building of Jerusalem, the builders had built with one hand and with the other had wielded the sword, so he also had fought in the advance against the enemies of the truth, and at the same time had written many excellent expositions of the heavenly doctrine, and had afforded consolation to many consciences through his pious advice. Since a great part of these doctrines now were beyond the comprehension of the human understanding, it could not but be confessed, he said, that Luther had been taught by God himself. Many also, he said, had beheld the contests, in which he had learned, that we must through faith become assured, that God receives and hears us. Therefore, he said, we ought forever to praise God for the blessings which he through Luther conferred upon his Church. Neither, said he, had the apple of discord been cast into the Church through his doctrines, as some maintained, for all pious and god-fearing men would soon, by a comparison of the different doctrines, discover which doctrine was in accordance with the pure Word of God, and which was not; yea, all pious men had already decided upon this disputed point, he said, for since God had wished to reveal himself through the mouth of the prophets and the apostles, his Word durst not be deemed ambiguous, as the pages of the Sibyl. Some also, he said, and those not malicious men, had complained of Luther as having been too severe; in reply to which he would only say, what Erasmus had frequently said: "Because of the obstinacy of their maladies, God has given to these last times a severe physician." God, he said, did not either govern his Church according to human counsels, and did not wish that all his instruments should be alike. That men of inferior attainments and moderate views always were dissatisfied with vehement zeal,

whether it were good or evil. It could not be denied, however, he said, that too great vehemence often operated very prejudicially, but that, even though a man were somewhat harsh, if he were only upon all main points a good man, he was deserving of all praise; and whoever, as Paul said, fought the good fight in the Church, preserving faith and a good conscience, was pleasing to God and deserved to be esteemed.

"That Luther was such a man," continued he, "we know. For he not only firmly defended the purity of doctrine, but also preserved his conscience inviolate. Who has known him, and does not know how friendly he was, how amiable in his intercourse, nothing less than contentious or quarrelsome? Yet everything in him was possessed of such a dignity as was becoming such a man, his heart was without guile, his lips overflowed with profitable instruction. Or rather, as St. Paul says, all that was found in him, which is true, which is honest, which is just, which is pure, which is lovely and of good report, so that his peculiar vehemence evidently proceeded from zeal for the truth, not from a love of strife. To this we all, and many others, can testify. But if my design were to eulogize this man, what a noble and instructive discourse could I not deliver, concerning the remainder of his life, which being prolonged to his sixty-third year, was a continued exhibition of the greatest and most strenuous exertions in the attainment of piety and of useful knowledge. No impure desires were ever observed in him, no insurrectionary designs, much rather did he repeatedly dissuade from a resort to arms, he did not combine intrigue with the affairs of the Church, in order to procure power for himself or his friends. This I conceive to be such wisdom and virtue, to which it is impossible to attain by means of mere human efforts, it requiring divine power and grace to curb the dispositions of the soul, especially of one so vehement, lofty, and ardent, as Luther's was."

What shall I say of his other virtues? Often, when I visited him, I found him in tears, praying for the whole Church. For he nearly every day devoted a particular time to the repetition of several psalms, among which he with sighs and tears mingled his petitions, and he often expressed himself dissatisfied with those who, either from indolence or because ot being too much occupied, as they said, conceived it to be sufficient to pray to God with a few brief aspirations. Therefore, said he, we have forms of prayer prescribed to us according

to the will of God, that our hearts may be kindled through the reading of them, yea, that we may also with the mouth confess the God upon whom we call. Therefore, we also observed, when many important consultations occurred concerning public and dangerous affairs, what gigantic strength of mind he possessed, he being wholly undismayed, and not to be awed into compliance by any kind of terrors. For he relied upon a holy anchor, that is, upon the protection of God, and suffered nothing whatever to rob him of faith. He was also possessed of such acuteness of intellect, that, in difficult cases, it was he alone who perceived what was useful. Nor was he at all, as many conceive, regardless of the general good and of the wishes of others, for he well understood the common good, and he saw through the dispositions and inclinations of all with whom he lived, most clearly. But although he was possessed of such lofty and admirable understanding, he, nevertheless, with the greatest eagerness, perused the writings of the fathers of the Church, both old and new, and all histories, the examples of which he applied to the affairs in hand, with admirable skill. Of his eloquence we possess unfading memorials: it was so great that he is undoubtedly to be compared to the greatest of orators."

After this delineation, Melanchthon said, that we properly lamented that such a man had been taken away, but that we ought also to rejoice and to congratulate him, that he enjoyed the communion of God and his Son, of the prophets and apostles, for which he had always longed in faith, &c. In connection with this, he said, that many in this assembly had no doubt once heard Luther explain the passage: *Henceforth you shall see the heavens open, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of Man,* and added: "These great and lofty things he now himself beholds; and as he formerly, under the guidance of Christ, ascended and descended with the servants of the Gospel, so now he beholds how the angels are sent by him, and with them enjoys the contemplation of the divine wisdom, and of the divine works." Further, he says: "We remember with what delight he was accustomed to speak of the governments, counsels, perils, awakenings of the prophets, and how skilfully he compared the times of the Church with one another, so that he indicated by it how greatly and ardently he longed for these noble men. With these he now associates and rejoices, that he can hear them themselves, and

hold converse with them, and they bid him, their fellow-labourer, a joyful welcome, and all return thanks together to the Lord, who collects and preserves his Church."

In conclusion, he calls upon his hearers diligently to remember the virtues of this man, and the blessings bestowed through him, to imitate his virtues, often to contemplate his life and his doctrines, and in heartfelt prayer to return thanks to God, (which he also forthwith did himself, in a prayer of thanks,) but finally, because the death of great men frequently prognosticated punishment to those that succeed us, to remember the impending dangers, and also to arrange their lives and studies in a Christian manner, always bearing in mind, that where the pure doctrine of the Gospel was retained, heard, learned, and loved, there was the abode and Church of God, as the Son of God said: *He that loveth me, keepeth my words, and my Father will love him, and we will come to him and make our abode with him.* "Let this noble promise," said he, in conclusion, "excite us to learn the truth of God, and to remember that the human race, and the temporal kingdoms, are preserved for the sake of the Church; and let us in the spirit contemplate the future glory, to which God has called us; for he did not reveal himself through such clear testimonies in vain, he did not send his Son in vain, but for those whom he truly loves, and for them he cares who esteem these blessings. Amen."

When the oration was concluded, several learned magisters, who had been appointed for the purpose, took up the corpse and let it down into the grave, and thus, that dear instrument of the Holy Spirit, the body of the revered Dr. Martin, was committed to the earth in the castle church, at Wittenberg, not far from the pulpit, (in which, during his life, he had delivered many a powerful christian sermon, in the presence of the electors and princes of Saxony, and of the whole Church,) and as St. Paul says: 1 Cor. xv.: *Being sown in weakness, that it may arise on that day to eternal glory.*

AUTHORITIES.—Letters, vol. 5, No. 1933, 2035, 49, 54, 2905. Seckendorf Hist. Lutheranismi, lib. III., p. 634. Let. No. 2301. Melanchth. Epp. in the Corp. Ref. T. V. No. 3337. Let. No. 2293, 2307. The first sermon at Halle, Works, (Leipz. ed.,) vol. 12, p. 356, seq. Seckend. l. c. Let. No. 2310. The last sermon at Wittenberg, Works, vol. 12, p. 371. Seckend. p. 631. Mathes. 14. Pred. Works, vol. 21, p. 693, seq. (where the date of the arrival at Halle is to be corrected from Let. No. 2312.) Tischr. ed. Stangw. p. 829, (Comp. Mathes. as before, and Keil, vol. 3, p. 261.) Let. No. 2312. The second sermon at Halle,

Works, vol. 12, p. 363, seq. Let. No. 1214, 18, 20. The four sermons delivered at Eisleben and written down by Aurifaber, with preface to them, Works, vol. 12, p. 402. The report of Dr. J. Jonas and M. Michael Cœlius concerning Luther's death, Works, vol. 21, p. 693, seq., forms the thread of the narration for the last days of his life to his burial. The following authorities, however, have been used in addition, according to their order: Letter of Dr. Jonas to the elector in Seckend. lib. III., p. 638. Tischr. p. 24, 378, 401, 613, 718, 783, seq., 777, seq. Seckend. lib. III., p. 640. Let. No. 2322, 21. Ratzenberger's geh. Geschichte, &c., in Arnold's Kirchen- und Ketzerhistorie, vol. 4, p. 88. Seckend., p. 646. The Sermon of Dr. Jonas, Works, vol. 21, p. 707, seq. The letter of the elector of S. and the answer of count Albrecht, of Mansfeld, in Gœtzii tractat. de relig. Lutheri, also in Hoffmann, de funere acsepuloro Lutheri, p. 36, seq. The sermon of M. Cœlius, Works, vol. 21, p. 699, seq. Corp. Ref. T. VI., p. 57, seq., 61 seq. The sermon of Bugenhagen, Works, vol. 21, p. 715, seq. Melanchthonis oratio funebris in the Corp. Reform. T XI., p. 726, seq.

Notes.—1.) Seckendorf, whom, as he relates according to a manuscript of Ratzenberger's, we have in other respects followed in the report concerning the Mansfeld negotiations, speaks only of two journeys of Luther into the Mansfeld territory, of that in October and the one towards the close of January, and seems not to have known anything of the one undertaken at Christmas; it is fully established, however, through Luther's and Melanchthon's letters which are cited, and only through it is it understood how Luther came to preach at Halle on the festival of Epiphany.

2.) What Seckend. relates, p. 631, can namely be connected with this sermon only, although he does not expressly say that it was the last.

3.) This complaint was particularly directed against Dr. Melchior Kling, Prof. at Wittenberg, and the Mansfeld Counsellor, who also withdrew. Luther declared, that when he would return he would write a book against the silver and golden lawyers. See, in reference to this matter, Ratzenberger's letter as contained in Arnold's Kirchen- und Ketzer Historie, vol. 4, p. 88. Comp. Let. No. 2314.

4.) This sermon cannot have been delivered on the stated festival day itself, since the latter occurred on the 24th of February. It was, undoubtedly, delivered on the Sunday Septuagesima, the 14th February, for, according to the letter of Jonas to the elector, Luther preached every Sunday. Seckend. lib. III., p. 638.

5.) This has reference to pictures against the papacy, which Luther had published with the addition of remarks, and upon one of which the pope was represented as riding upon a hog.

6.) This report, which extends from Luther's departure to his burial, and gives a very detailed account of the last hours of his life, as well as of the funeral, closes with the words: "We, Dr. Justus Jonas, and Magister Michael Cœlius, and John Aurifaber, Vinariensis, aforesaid, having been present at the happy death of our beloved father, from the beginning of his illness to his last breath, testify before God, and upon

our final departure, and our consciences, that we, together with the princes, counts, lords, and all that came in, did not hear or see anything here stated differently, and did not relate it otherwise than it all occurred and happened. May God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, grant us all his grace. Amen." How will the falsehoods and calumnies with which, especially after the precedence of a Cochlæus, Roman authors have, even after his death, assailed Luther, maintain themselves, in opposition to this testimony from approved eye witnesses? The honourable von Seckendorf and others have long since satisfactorily refuted them.

7.) Jonas further requested in his letter, that the Elector would despatch an especial letter of consolation to Luther's widow, as also to his Wittenberg friends, Melanchthon, Bugenhagen and Cruciger. That this was done, is testified by Seckendorf, lib. III., p. 647. Comp. Hoffmann de fun. ac. sep., p. 48.

8.) The sermon found in the Works, vol. 21, p. 707, was delivered by Jonas seven weeks later, at Halle; it was, however, merely a repetition of the one delivered at Eisleben.

9.) These, as the pastor Dr. Bugenhagen followed among the mourners, were the four deacons, M. Sebastian Frœschel, (comp. this work, p. 123,) M. Andreas, M. Gallus Marcellus Mœller and John Magius.

10.) Here he refers to the well-known prophecy of John Huss, and interprets it of Luther. The same is also done by Jonas, in his sermon. Comp. also Mathesius' Predigten über Luther's Leben, 1te Predigt.

11.) In the other two funeral sermons there also is especial reference to this saying of Luther's.

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